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PREFACE.

A survey of the contents of Vol. XXXIII brings to our notice the increasing activity that has been evinced in early archæology, notably Prehistoric, which bids fair to overtake the Roman. Linked with this, and perhaps inevitably so, is a second feature, namely the growing number of illustrations. Indeed, this Volume can be said to have been devoted largely to the purpose of bringing before our readers the work that has been, and is being, done in this field of archæological interest. The scholarly work of Dr. Whiting and of Dr. Raistrick in particular deserves our gratitude in this connection.

It is not implied, however, that other branches of archæology have been overlooked, though naturally greater selectivity has had to be adopted for this Volume. Indeed, the longer articles have been on subjects of interest of later than Prehistoric times, and readers have been enabled to reap the benefit of much solid work done for Yorkshire archæology by Miss M. Riley in her study of the Foundation of Chantries—a work which evidently has attracted the interest of students of the subject. We are glad to include in our pages another interesting and authoritative, if short, article by Mr. Hugh Braun, F.R.I.B.A., on the Keeps of Scarborough and Bungay, and to welcome to the number of our contributors Mr. A. G. Dickens, of Keble College, who has dealt in an able manner with new matter on the Pilgrimage of Grace, besides clarifying the situation as regards much that had formerly been written on the same subject. Mr. Gowland has followed up his study of the Manors and Liberties of Ripon with the one published in Part IV of this Volume, on the Honour of Kirkby Malzeard, and his industry and extensive local knowledge both merit our gratitude for the furtherance of our historical cognizance of this part of the County. This Volume also includes various other articles of diverse interest and importance which it is not proposed, however, to discuss in detail, but to the writers of which we tender our thanks. One

perhaps should be mentioned because of its unusual character in our pages, namely Mr. R. Keith Kelsall's study of an economic subject of the eighteenth century.

In the Roman section, the full reports of the work at Rudston have inevitably curtailed other matter, though Miss Kitson Clark keeps us well informed of the salient features.

J. W. HOUSEMAN,
Hon. Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE v

ILLUSTRATIONS ix

INDEX 435

EDITORIAL AND OTHER NOTES:

Stone Tenter Posts in Saddleworth 1
Finds in Bramham Church 2
Sheffield Cathedral 3
Middleton Church—A Correction 3
A Bronze Age Whetstone 115
A Polished Flint Axe from Harrogate 116
Birstall Church Books 118
Heraldic Exhibition at Birmingham 118
Architectural Graphic Records Committee 118
A Bronze Age Beaker from Whitwell Hill 119
Cup and Ring Stone 120
Formation of Group Movement at Harrogate 121
The Harrogate Group Movement 235
Committee on Prehistoric Antiquities 235
Summer Excursions, 1937 235
An Ancient Chest from Brighouse 236
Foundation of Chantries in Notts. and Yorks.—The Chantry in Pickering Castle 347
Prehistoric Section 348

ESHOLT PRIORY (H. E. Bell) 5

FLINT IMPLEMENT SITES IN MID-WHARFEDALE (E. T. Cowling) 35

THE GENERAL TREND OF REAL WAGES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (R. Keith Kelsall) 49

EXCAVATIONS ON SUTTON COMMON, 1933, 1934 and 1935 (C. E. Whiting, D.D., F.S.A.) 57

THE ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON (E. YORKS.):

Third Interim Report (A. M. Woodward, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A., and K. A. Steer, B.A.) 81
Fourth Interim Report (K. A. Steer) 321

PAGE

Newbiggin in Egton and the Salvin Family (Hugh P. Kendall) 87

The Foundation of Chantries in the Counties of Nottingham and York (Marjorie A. Riley, B.A.):
Part I 122
Part II 237

Prehistoric Cultivations at Grassington, West Yorkshire (Arthur Raistrick, Ph.D., M.Sc.) 166

The Castle and the Tolbooth—A Sixteenth-Century Dispute in Knaresborough (W. A. Atkinson) .. 175

Two Spearheads of the Middle Saxon Period from Ferrybridge (J. D. Cowen) 196

A Catalogue of Illustrations of Churches in the Undivided Diocese of Ripon (G. E. Kirk) 199

Comparison of the Keeps of Bungay and Scarborough (Hugh Braun, F.S.A.) 287

Cup and Ring Markings to the North of Otley (E. T. Cowling) 291

New Records of the Pilgrimage of Grace (A. G. Dickens) 298

A Document Relating to the Collection in Yorkshire of a Subsidy under the Act of 1601 (C. T. Clay, M.A., V.P.S.A.) 309

The Kellington Serpent Stone (Canon Egbert C. Hudson, M.A.) 314

Giants' Graves, Penygent (W. Bennett, M.A.) 318

The Honour of Kirkby Malzeard and the Chase of Nidderdale (Tom S. Gowland) 349

Royal Pardons for the Pilgrimage of Grace (A. G. Dickens) 397

Report on a Bronze Age Burial at Sutton Bank, near Thirsk, Yorkshire (Edward Fawcett, M.D., F.R.S.) .. 419

Roman Yorkshire 215, 426

Obituary Notices:
George Benson, A.R.I.B.A. 105
James R. Wigfull, Hon. M.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. .. 108
Hugh Percy Kendall 339
Rev. Canon A. A. R. Gill, M.A. 342

Yorkshire Scheduled Monuments 110, 343

Reviews 111, 229, 344, 428

Transactions of Yorkshire Societies 112, 232, 344, 432

Papers on Yorkshire Subjects in Non-Yorkshire Transactions 113, 232, 345, 433

Yorkshire Bibliography 113, 233, 345, 433

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Esholt Priory—Reconstructed plan 4
Tombstone of Elizabeth Pudsay .. *facing* 9
Windows in the Cellar of Esholt Hall ,, 30

Flint Implement Sites in Mid-Wharfedale—
Map 34
Implements 38, 42

General Trend of Real Wages in the North of England during the Eighteenth Century—
Charts .. .. *facing* 49 and 55
Table of Prices of certain English Grains 56

Excavations on Sutton Common—
Plans of Camps A and B 60, 69
Views of the Excavations *facing* 61, 62, 66, 71, 72, 76
Stone Implements 74

Roman Villa at Rudston—
Excavations West of the Pavements *facing* 82
Plan of site 320
Ditch Section 326
Pottery from the Workshop 332
Pottery from the Ditches, etc. 334
Objects of Bronze, Bone and Iron .. 336

Bronze Age Whetstone 115

Polished Flint Axe from Harrogate 117

Beaker from Whitwell 119

Cup and Ring Stone .. .. *facing* 120

Prehistoric Cultivations at Grassington—
Plan .. .. *facing* 166
Air Photo .. .. ,, 168
Metal and Bone Objects from Lea Green 170
Neolithic Stone and Flint Implements from Lea Green 172
Flint Arrow Points from Lea Green .. 173

The Castle and the Tolbooth—
Map .. .. *facing* 176
The Old Courthouse, Knaresborough ,, 178
The Town Hall, Knaresborough .. ,, 178
"A Mapp of Roper Hill" (*ca.* 1685) ,, 183

PAGE

Two Spearheads of the Middle Saxon Period from Ferrybridge—Anglo-Saxon Spearheads .. .. *facing* 196

Roman Yorkshire—Cinerary Urn 217

A Roman Altar from Bowes 225

Ancient Chest from Brighouse 236

Comparison of the Keeps of Scarborough and Bungay .. 286

Cup and Ring Markings to the North of Otley—

Map of Area 290

The Various Markings .. 292, 294, 296

The Kellington Serpent Stone .. .. .. *facing* 314

Giants' Graves, Penygent—Map of Site .. .. ,, 318

Plan of the Honour of Kirkby Malzeard .. .. ,, 349

Bronze Age Burial, Sutton Bank—

Map of Site 418

Sketch of section of road, covering stone and Cist 419

Walls of Cist .. .. *facing* 420

Debased Beaker and Jet Bead . ,, 421

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MCMXXXVI.

CONTENTS OF PART 129.

(Being the First part of Volume XXXIII.)

PAGE

EDITORIAL NOTES—Stone Tenter Posts in Saddleworth . . 1
Finds in Bramham Church . . . 2
Sheffield Cathedral 3
Middleton Church—A Correction . . 3

ESHOLT PRIORY 5
H. E. BELL.

FLINT IMPLEMENT SITES IN MID-WHARFEDALE . . . 35
E. T. COWLING.

THE GENERAL TREND OF REAL WAGES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY . . 49
R. KEITH KELSALL.

EXCAVATIONS ON SUTTON COMMON, 1933, 1934 and 1935 . 57
C. E. WHITING, D.D., F.S.A.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON (E. YORKS.)—Third Interim Report 81
A. M. WOODWARD, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A., and K. A. STEER, B.A.

NEWBIGGIN IN EGTON AND THE SALVIN FAMILY . . . 87
HUGH P. KENDALL.

OBITUARY—GEORGE BENSON, A.R.I.B.A. 105
JAMES R. WIGFULL, Hon. M.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. 108

YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS 110

REVIEWS 111

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES . . . 112

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC. 113

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY 113

Illustrations.

ESHOLT PRIORY—Re-constructed Plan 4
Tombstone of Elizabeth Pudsay . . *facing* 9
Windows in the Cellar of Esholt Hall . ,, 30

FLINT IMPLEMENT SITES IN MID-WHARFEDALE—
Map 34
Implements 38, 42

GENERAL TREND OF REAL WAGES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—
Charts . . . . . *facing* 49 and 55
Table of Prices of certain English Grains 56

EXCAVATIONS ON SUTTON COMMON—
Plans of Camps A and B 60, 69
Views of the Excavations . . . *facing* 61, 62, 66, 71, 72, 76
Stone Implements 74

ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON—
Excavations West of the Pavements . . *facing* 82

THE

Yorkshire Archæological Journal

Editorial Notes.

STONE TENTER POSTS IN SADDLEWORTH.

Mr. Ammon Wrigley has recently called attention to a remarkable set of standing stones that are aligned, approximately east and west, on the hill-side between the old Austerlands road (from High Thurston Clough to Doctor Head) and the later and lower turnpike that passes through Wall Hill and Scout Head. Though the row is now interrupted by a modern field wall and a few of the stones have been broken up or removed, there are still about sixteen standing, regularly spaced over a distance of approximately 44 yards. They are massive slabs (of Highmoor stone), obviously all cut to the same shape for some purpose, but what that purpose was is not apparent. The original six-inch Ordnance map (Yorkshire, sheet 270) supplies the clue, for on the site of these stones, in the second field south of Greaves, it shows a line of "Tenters," and another shorter one in the next field towards Wall Hill. Long rows of wooden tenters for drying and stretching flannels and cloth were a familiar feature of the landscape in parts of the West Riding not so long ago. In Saddleworth timber was scarce and stone abundant, and Robert Greaves, flannel manufacturer of Wall Hill about a century ago, showed the native resource of the domestic clothier in utilising what came to his hand, when he probably set up these unique tenter posts. They stand fully six feet high and their narrow faces (to the south) are recessed at the top to carry the upper rail bolted to the slabs. The lower slot was cut deeper and considerably longer (about 13 ins.) because the lower rail had to be movable to stretch the blankets. So the rail itself was free but was held in the slot by a bar in front of it, sunk flush with the face of the stone and bolted to it top and bottom.

W.B.C.

FINDS IN BRAMHAM CHURCH.

In February 1936, the red encaustic tiles forming the Victorian floor of the old chancel of Bramham Church were removed and thus revealed an interesting cross-head and certain inscribed slabs, which were not previously known to persons now living.

The cross-head is circular, 14 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, with four spherical projections from the circumference, formed by the strips or bands of the well-marked segmental curves which enclose the slightly sunk surfaces between the arms of the cross. Both sides are alike, except that one of the centres is square and the other circular. The cross would appear to have had a rather short and wide-spreading shaft, of which only a small stump remains. The Bramham object, which lies unfixed in the chancel, is considered by an expert to be a headstone from the churchyard and to date from the eleventh or twelfth century. It is of a form uncommon in the neighbourhood, but may be compared with the cross-head near Towton, where, however, the dimensions are 16 inches by 8 inches and the sunk surfaces are deeply hollowed. Although less pleasing and more damaged than the Bramham one, the Towton example would seem to belong to an earlier period than the military event of 1461 with which it has been associated (see *Y.A.J.*, xxix, 352).

Of the grave covers (1) has a marginal inscription in rather crude lettering, partly defaced:—*Orate* ꝑ *aiā Elianora* [*sic*] *uxoris Robertus* [*sic*] *Oglesthrp quae obiit* [*anno Domini M° quingentesimo* (....v....?) *X° Decembris*]. The bracketed words being very indistinct are here adopted from Roger Dodsworth, who visited Bramham Church in 1630–1, but his record of the date of death is uncertain (see Y.A.S. Record Series xxxiv, 106). The lady commemorated was probably the wife of Robert Oglethorp, of Thorp Arch, who died after May 9 and before July 31, 1534, when his will was proved at York, in which he desired " to be beried within the kirke of Bramham " (*Test. Ebor.* vi, Surtees Soc. cvi, 46). He was the third son of John Oglethorpe, of Oglethorpe in Bramham, and ancestor of the Oglethorpes of Rawdon—see Glover's *Visitation*, ed. Foster, where, however, the wife of Robert is not named, nor is she mentioned in his will. Eleanor may have been dead at the date of her husband's will, in which he mentions his sons, John and Nicholas, who are named in Glover's pedigree. No will of Eleanor Oglethorpe has been traced.

The slab bears the steps and bottom of the shaft of an incised cross, but in the middle is an inscription to the memory of Ann

Linley, wife of Nicholas Linley of Otley, who was buried 14 July 1658.

The other grave covers commemorate:—(2) "Susanna wife of Leonard Scott of Hull," buried 7 October 1640; (3) "Franccis Clovgh, wife of John Clovgh," died 21 February 1691; (4) "[Christopher] Sanderson, 19 years vicar of this place," died 17 December 1734; (5) "[Alick] Marshall, Gent., of Clif[ford]," died 25 April 1796, aged 87.

Nos. 1 to 4 have been preserved by being set in the new flagged floor, by the side walls of the chancel, a few feet eastward of the positions in which they were uncovered. No. 5 has not yet found a permanent resting-place. There are also four smaller stones, broken, but retaining fragmentary inscriptions without dates.

These finds owe their preservation to the present vicar of Bramham, the Rev. F. W. Hicks, a member of the Society. They will be more fully described and the cross-head illustrated in a monograph on Bramham Church now in preparation by the undersigned.

11 May 1936. G. E. KIRK.

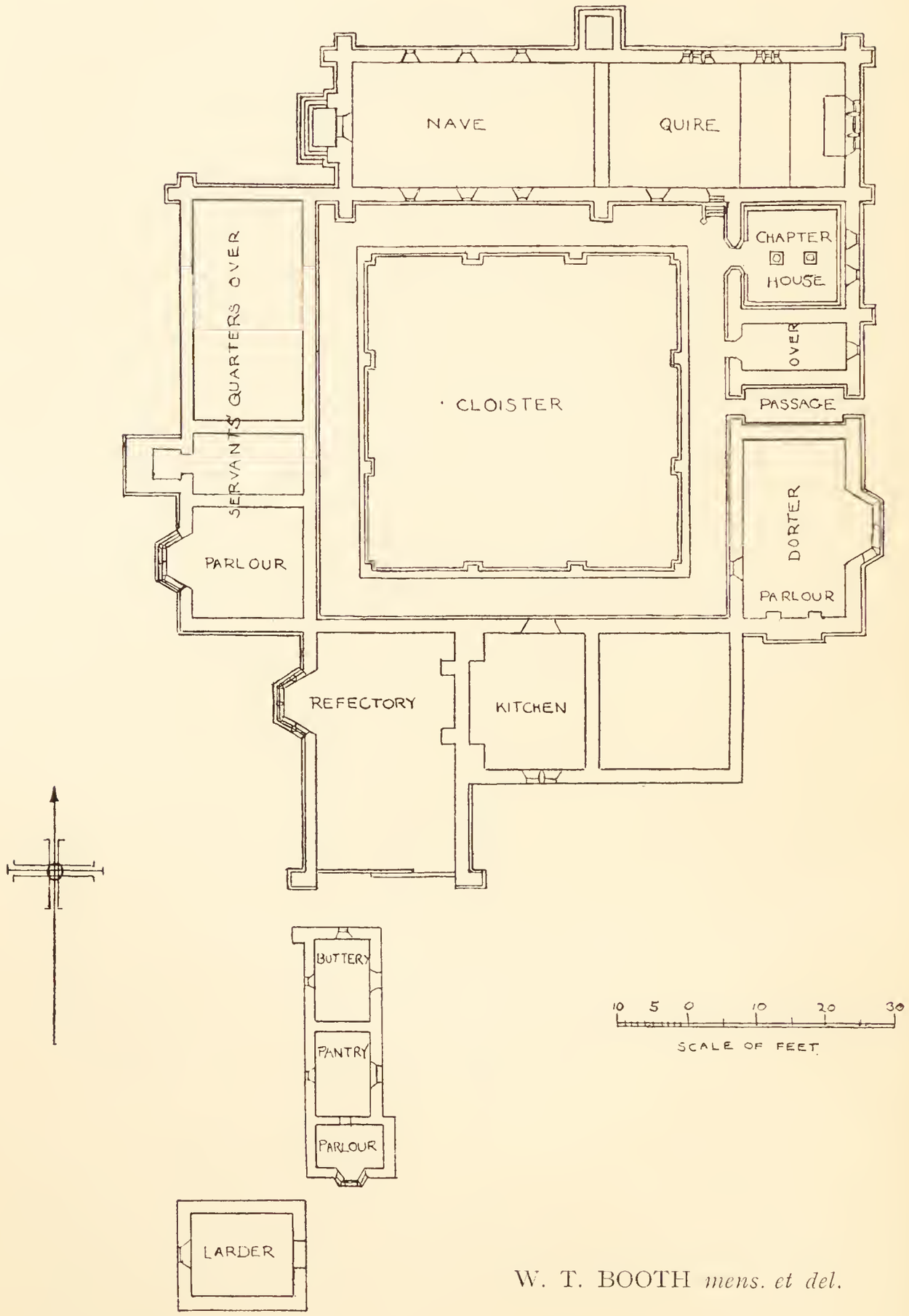
SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL.

The proposed alterations to the Shrewsbury chapel, which at one time gave rise to some misgivings, have been completed in as conservative a manner as under the circumstances was possible. The chapel and south choir aisle now form the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral. The encaustic tile floor of the chapel has been replaced by one of Hoptonwood stone, and the stone floor of the south choir aisle has been levelled. The screen remains in its old position. The font has been removed from the south choir aisle to the eastern end of the south aisle of the nave. The monument which stood in the centre of the chapel has been re-erected in its entirety beneath the south arch of the tower. E.W.C.

MIDDLETON CHURCH—A CORRECTION.

In the Report of the Summer Excursions, 1935, in Vol. xxxii of the *Journal* (p. 456), in the description of this church it is stated that the building was described as "largely fourteenth-century." This account was prepared from the statement of a reporter. As a matter of fact, little if any alteration of which there are visible remains was made to the building between the end of the thirteenth century and the fifteenth. The description of the church given was that by Mr. A. W. Clapham, printed in *V.C.H., N.R.*, ii, 458.

E.W.C.



W. T. BOOTH *mens. et del.*

RE-CONSTRUCTED PLAN OF ESHOLT PRIORY.

ESHOLT PRIORY.

By H. E. Bell.

Early History: The Convent and the Families of the Neighbourhood.

There is a certain amount of doubt regarding the foundation of Esholt Priory, first as to the exact date when it took place, second as to the original endowment, and third as to the identity of the founder. This initial problem seems to have attracted antiquaries from the seventeenth century onwards, and it has received more attention than any other aspect of the priory's history.

"Here was a small priory of about six Cistercian nuns in the latter part of the reign of Henry 2 or the beginning of that of King Richard 1," says Burton. But his reference for the statement is vague, and the remark itself lacking in precision.[1] The first relevant document is a Bull of Pope Alexander III, of date 1172 and addressed to the prioress and nuns of Sinningthwaite.[2] This is the usual form of papal privilege, and contains a confirmation of the possessions of the convent: "quascunque possessiones, quaecunque bona idem monasterium inpresentiarum juste et canonice possideat aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium seu aliis justis modis praestante domino poterit adipisci firma vobis vestrisque succedentibus at illibata permaneant." The crucial point as regards Esholt turns on how the catalogue of possessions, which follows the above, is punctuated, and its consequent interpretation. On the whole, I am inclined to think that the gift of Simon and Maud Ward, and their son William, to Sinningthwaite was simply "the place called Esholt," with no specification as to the size, or detail as to the nature, of the endowment, except that it was to be held in full and absolute ownership.[3] This parcel of land was in all probability the site on which the nunnery of Esholt was ultimately built, and represents the original possessions of the place, transferred at

[1] Burton, *Mon. Ebor.*, p. 139. His authority for this statement is unfortunately only MSS. Corp. Christi Coll., Cantabrid. I spent some time looking through the most likely MS. there, but without success.

[2] Dugdale, v, 465–6.

[3] Dugdale prints two copies of the Bull, and punctuates them differently.

some subsequent date from Sinningthwaite's ownership. Nevertheless, the convent was not immediately founded. There is no mention of such a project in Pope Alexander's bull, and Pope Lucius III, twelve years later, merely sanctioned his predecessor's grant and still made no reference to a monastery at Esholt.[1] The inference, indeed, is quite the other way, for when William Ward came to quitclaim these possessions in Esholt to Sinningthwaite[2] he used the words " quam de illis tenueram," which seem to imply that no nunnery had yet been built at Esholt, otherwise the nuns would themselves have held the lands in question.[3] Thus it is not possible to date the foundation at much before the last decade of the century. The contemporary evidence as to the founder is equally unsatisfactory: there is nothing to point to Simon Ward apart from the documents already instanced. In this case, however, there is no doubt from later references that the Wards were generally accepted as the original patrons of the house. In the period immediately preceding the Dissolution of the Monasteries there was a theory current that all monastic properties should be returned to their donors, and consequently Layton and Leigh, the commissioners of the King, made a practice of noting the founder of each house. Their comment on Esholt is curious: " Fundator incertus quia plures sunt heredes Christoferi Ward fundator'."[4] But whatever may be the exact meaning of this enigmatic sentence, it is clear that one or other of the Ward family was credited with having founded the nunnery.

Esholt Priory was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Leonard. The dedication of nunneries to the Virgin was usual, but it was customary to have another patron, and the existing deeds leave no doubt that this was St. Leonard—it is significant, too, that a thirteenth-century rent, due to the priory, was paid on St. Leonard's day.[5] Somewhat curiously, Burton mentioned that the nunnery was also dedicated to St. James,[6] but I have found no reference to this saint in contemporary documents.

Since the original property in Esholt was granted to Sinningthwaite, it has been suggested that Esholt was in its early days a cell of that house and that its affairs were governed from there. There is little, however, to be said in favour of this view. The

[1] See note 3, p. 5.

[2] Dugdale, v, 467–8. W. P. Baildon, *Baildon and the Baildons*, cites another deed of confirmation of Wm. Ward (i, 224).

[3] This point is made by Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 199.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII* x, 139.

[5] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17127.

[6] Apparently on the authority of *Dodesworth's MSS.*, viii, 146.

foundation of daughter houses was the normal method by which the Cistercian order expanded; but the connexion between the old and new foundations was generally loose, the new monastery having as a rule its own independent head. As early as 1219 a prioress of Esholt is mentioned, transacting the business of her house without reference to any external authority[1]; perhaps the first of the Plumpton deeds, addressed to the prioress and convent of Esholt, is even earlier than this date[2]; at any rate, by the middle of the thirteenth century the priory is treated as a long established institution.[3] Another possibility that must not be lost sight of is the existence of a certain measure of supervision by the Abbots of Kirkstall. There is no evidence that they enjoyed any such general right, but their appointment as visitors of the priory in a particular matter has survived. When John of Yeadon granted an annual rent of three marks to support a chaplain to celebrate at Esholt, he specifically appointed the abbots of Kirkstall to visit the priory and see that the terms of the gift were carried out.[4] Kirkstall, after all, was only a few miles down the valley from Esholt, and it is possible that more commissions of the same sort came its way.

A more important form of supervision was that which seems to have been exercised by the Wards as patrons of the convent. In 1303, when Juliana de la Wodehall wished to resign from the office of prioress, the Archbishop refused his consent until such time as he had been able to discuss the affairs of the house with Simon Ward.[5] This fact will serve to introduce perhaps the most important conclusion so far as the early history of Esholt is concerned: the very close connexion between the priory and the upper-class families of the neighbourhood—the Wards, Plumptons and Calverleys; the Hawksworths, Chellerays and Wodehalls. To trace the history of these houses in any detail must have been a difficult task for even so accomplished a genealogist as the late Mr. W. P. Baildon,[6] since each family had its favourite Christian name that is constantly and confusingly repeated from generation to generation: during the fourteenth century the eldest son of the Calverleys was named John for three successive generations, and the Simon Wards and Nigel Plumptons are almost equally in evidence. The details of genealogy are not our purpose; the fact that must be noted here is that these Squire Westerns of the Middle Ages were allied to Esholt by the strongest ties of blood and interest. They are

[1] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxii, 30.
[2] Dugdale, v, 472.
[3] Dugdale, v, 471.
[4] Dugdale, v, 473.
[5] Surtees Soc., cxxxviii, 93.
[6] See Vol. 1, *Baildon and the Baildons*; also *Calverley Charters* (Vol. vi, Thoresby Soc. publications).

important as representing a tendency that seems to have been general in England, the link between the nunneries and the local nobility.

That the nunnery very often provided a vocation for the unmarried daughters of these families is borne out by the occurrence of their names among the members of the house. The fame of Beatrice de Hawksworth is unfortunate; but it is interesting to note that, when she became pregnant, she sought refuge in her father's house.[1] Elizabeth de Calverley, and Alice her niece, are names that can be traced amongst the nuns of the fifteenth century.[2] Particularly striking is the dispensation of 1472, in favour of Joan Ward "super defectu natalium."[3] Her presence in the house illustrates one of the uses to which patronage could be put—the nunnery was a convenient place for an unwanted bastard, and there the fault of her birth was overlooked and she afterwards became prioress. Esholt was, indeed, for the greater part of its history, ruled by prioresses drawn from one or other of the local families. Though the list is incomplete, and it is impossible therefore to say for certain the length of time each prioress ruled, it is clear that the privileged position went the round of the great families of the neighbourhood. Juliana de la Wodehall, who had such a stormy career as prioress at the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the first case in point.[4] Isabella de Calverley was elected prioress in 1315,[5] and apparently still held the office in 1349,[6] while fourteen years later another prioress of the same name was elected.[7] The names of Maud Ward[8] and Joan Ward,[9] prioresses at the end of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively, are other examples of the working of this tendency. At times, of course, the honour went further afield, as in the case of Joan de Hertlington,[10] a member of a family that was settled at the far end of Craven; Elizabeth Pudsay,[11] too, came from the noted Pudsay family whose tomb may be seen in Bolton-by-Bowland. But so far as it can be traced, the list of prioresses is an aristocratic one. It is probable that the Wards, as patrons, made an intermittent claim to the right of presentation to the office of prioress: I can read no other meaning into the Fine, in Trinity Term of 1526, where Walter Strickland, kt.,

[1] Surtees Soc., cxxxviii, 95.
[2] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 281.
[3] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 161.
[4] Surtees Soc., cxxxviii, 40, 92.
[5] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 162; but Surtees Soc. (cxlix, 222) gives the name Joan Calverley.
[6] Dugdale, v, 470.
[7] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 162.
[8] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17105.
[9] Dugdale, v, 470, 473.
[10] Surtees Soc., cxlix, 222.
[11] See below, p. 31.



Tombstone of Elizabeth Pudsay—not *in situ*, but built into the laundry wall at Esholt Hall.

[*Photograph by K. Garside.*]

and Katherine his wife (who was one of the heirs to the Ward property), were deforciants of, among other possessions, a third part of the advowson of the monastery of St. Leonard de Essholt.[1] Another interesting point is the *cross patée*, the armorial bearing of the Wards, which figures on the central shield on the base of Elizabeth Pudsay's tombstone.[2] Whether any such right of patronage existed or not, however, it is indisputable that, in spite of monastic ideals, "government followed the balance of property" as much then as in the days of Sir John Harrington.

It is tempting to mention education as another factor which brought the daughters of the local nobility into close touch with Esholt: Robert Aske, the leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, was of the opinion that one of the reasons why the Dissolution was so odious to Yorkshire people was because "in nunneries their daughters were brought up in virtue."[3] Dr. Coulton has shown, however, that the extent of monastic teaching has been greatly exaggerated[4]; and though it is clear from at least three surviving references that girls were admitted as boarders, there is no means of telling what education they received. In September, 1315, Archbishop Greenfield wrote to the prioress ordering the removal within six days of all secular women and girls over twelve years, and forbidding others to be taken without special licence.[5] It rather looks as though Esholt was too zealous in this matter, for Archbishop Melton found it necessary to repeat the injunction three years later.[6] Even then the nuns cannot have been permanently discouraged, for amongst the accounts in the Suppression Papers there is a note of an interesting debt—a certain Walter Wood of Otley is owing 33*s*. for a child's board for a year and a half.[7] It is much to be regretted that there can be no certainty as to whether the boarding of girls in these cases was for education or not. Nevertheless, the fact that it was not, apparently, impossible for secular girls and women to go and stay at Esholt opens up a new possibility of mutual influence between the nunnery and the families of the countryside.

The patronage of the wealthy families in the district would seem to have been the only thing that kept the poverty-stricken nunnery in existence. Elsewhere in this essay the temporal endowments of Esholt are dealt with; and it is not necessary here to do

[1] Y.A.S. (Record Series), ii, 47.
[2] See photograph opposite.
[3] Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries*, p. 282.
[4] G. G. Coulton, *Monastic Schools in the Middle Ages* (*Medieval Studies*, no. x).
[5] Surtees Soc., cxlix, 222.
[6] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 161.
[7] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 83.

more than mention the fact that the nuns owed most of their property to the Wards, Plumptons and Calverleys. Besides deeds granting property to Esholt, there are in existence more intimate documents in the form of wills of various members of the surrounding families, and these show that, often in his last hours on earth, a man's thoughts would turn to the priory under the hill. Sometimes the bequests were monetary—as when, in 1447, Thomas Hawksworth left 40*d.* to the convent.[1] The women, too, though they might not have desired the conventual life for themselves and were probably glad enough to escape it, remembered in their wills the house that had provided a vocation for their sisters and daughters. Thus a Joan Ward left 20*s.* to the "Abbey of Esholt," and 10*s.* to be distributed amongst the nuns—a significant illustration of how far, by 1473 (the date of her death), the monastic ideal of individual property had been abandoned.[2] Personal possessions were also on occasion bequeathed, and in that age it was inevitable that many of these should be agricultural. Elizabeth Patefyn in 1341 left to the prioress of Esholt, who was apparently her sister, all her corn at Burley and the Steed[3]; and towards the close of the following century William Calverley left a cow with calf to his sister, and five cows with calf and twenty sheep to his daughter, both women being nuns at Esholt.[4] The latter was to receive an even more intimate legacy—"a mattras, two coverlets, two sheets and two blankets" coming to her in 1498, on the death of her uncle, Robert Calverley.[5] Yet not merely individual nuns, but the convent as a corporate body benefited from the generosity of the district. Stapleton's theory that Elizabeth Patefyn was responsible for the re-building of the choir of the priory church, which took place sometime in the fourteenth century, is plausible enough. Daughter of John de Calverley, she had married Thomas Patefyn, a wealthy foreigner settled in Headingley, and together they had undertaken the restoration of Calverley Church: considering the religious tendency manifest in her will, it is by no means improbable, though merely conjectural, that Esholt had been repaired under her patronage. It would be interesting to know what was the response, a hundred years later, to Archbishop Kemp's indulgence to all assisting in the reconstruction of the buildings after the disasters of 1445.[6] Unfortunately no record remains, unless the legacy of 10*s.* from Walter Hawksworth "to the fabric of the nuns of Esholt"

[1] *Baildon and the Baildons*, i, 401.
[2] *Baildon and the Baildons*, i, 260.
[3] Dugdale, v, 471.
[4] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 281.
[5] Surtees Soc., liii, 159.
[6] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 161.

be counted as an echo of the needs of this period.[1] There is something rather pathetic about the will of one of the three Joan Wards who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century. She died in 1472, leaving her best furred gown and a gilt girdle to buy a vestment for the priory; also her "bedys of coral, gauditt wit calsedone . . . . to the payntyng of an ymage of our Lady de Pete at the Abba of Hassholde," and 6*s.* 8*d.* to the chapel of the convent "to the payntyng of the ymage."[2] It was in this way that the fabric and the religion of the nunnery were upheld by the contributions of the local aristocracy.

It is difficult, indeed, to over-emphasise the position of Esholt as the centre of the life of the gentry and their families. The bequests already dealt with had their other side: an essential corollary to them is a list of the burials which are known to have taken place within the precincts of the nunnery. Nigel de Plumpton in the thirteenth century expressed a desire to be buried there,[3] and Elizabeth Patefyn in 1341 left her body to be interred at the priory.[4] There are several instances of members of the Ward family expressing a desire to be buried at Esholt. Sir Simon Ward in 1383,[5] and one of the Joan Wards in 1474,[6] left such instructions. "I bequeth my saule to God all myghtty and to our Lady Sanct Mary and to the hole companie of Hevven, and my body to be beryd at the Abbay of Esschehold in Ayredale," runs the will of Sir Roger Ward, who died in 1453.[7] It is a very fair statement of the general attitude of the Airedale families.

The days of shame were to come upon the priory, when Henry Thompson, one of the "new men," received the estates. The Wards, after the meteoric career of Christopher, had become no more than a name[8]; the Plumptons were present at the battle of Towton, but the heir was killed and his children sold in marriage, a division of the estates resulting. Still, it was peculiarly fitting that Sir Walter Calverley should come into the property by marriage, although that event did not occur until the end of the seventeenth century. There is one more event worthy of record—the visit of Ralph Thoresby to Esholt, best told perhaps by an extract from the great antiquary's diary for the year 1711: "The present heir, Walter Calverley, of Calverley and Esholt, Esq., has lately erected here a noble and beautiful house, to which he is adding gardens

[1] *Baildon and the Baildons*, i, 406.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, 260.
[3] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 47.
[4] Dugdale, v, 471.
[5] Burton, p. 140.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Baildon and the Baildons*, i, 259.
[8] *Baildon and the Baildons*, i, 262 *ff.*

and waterworks, etc.; but my business lay chiefly among the old writings of which there is a valuable and very numerous collection. I ran over three drawers full, took extracts of some and made alterations and additions to the pedigree from original deeds etc.; and after a most courteous entertainment by the worthy gentleman, and resisting his importunity to stay all night (which I could not comply with, because I left my dear child Richard in the measles, though under most comfortable circumstances), returned home on foot with Mr. Calverley, and got home in good time (though about 15 miles)."[1] Perhaps as they walked towards Leeds, Thoresby tried to impress upon his host how much the nunnery had meant to the Calverleys of other days; if Walter Calverley were really the original of Sir Roger de Coverley, as he is supposed to have been, he might not prove very receptive. At any rate, it is not unfitting to conclude a sketch of the connexion between Esholt and the great families of Airedale with a member of the Calverley family actually in residence on the site of the nunnery.

The Possessions of the Priory.

Monastic property falls naturally into two classes—spiritual and temporal possessions.

The only recorded spiritual possession of Esholt is the church of Belton in the Isle of Axholme, and it is doubtful whether, even in this solitary case, the nunnery ever enjoyed the privileges of ownership. On June 1st, 1485, Richard III granted Margaret Clifford a licence to give the advowson of the church to the prioress and convent[2]; in the March of the following year, Henry VII gave his letters patent of *Inspeximus* and confirmation of Esholt's right in the church[3]—these do not appear to have been enrolled either on the Patent, or Confirmation, Rolls, but there is not necessarily anything extraordinary in that. What is curious is the fact that the nuns never seem to have been able to appoint to Belton, much less to appropriate it as had been provided for in 1485. The advowson of the place had been granted much earlier, in 1327, to another Yorkshire house, the monastery of Haltemprice[4]; and the prior and monks appear to have made good their claim against the new owners. On the death of the incumbent in 1518 Esholt presented

[1] *Thoresby's Diary*, ii, 86.

[2] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1476–1485, p. 535. The grant of the licence was 2 Richard III, and not, as given in Dugdale (v, 471), 2 Richard II. Read, the historian of the Isle of Axholme, goes one better and makes it 2 Richard I! Slater, *Anc. Parish of Guiseley*, prints a facsimile, but dates it Richard II (p. 63).

[3] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17126.

[4] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1327–1330, p. 178.

a certain William Littester to the living, but evidently met with no success, for a man by the name of William Ashton was appointed, who had been presented by a Roger Ashton to whom Haltemprice is said to have granted the advowson.[1] Nor does the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* mention any revenue as accruing to Esholt from Belton: in that survey the incumbent was styled rector and his church therefore not appropriated, but Haltemprice still received an annual pension of 66*s.* 8*d.*[2] The final word is in the Particulars for Grants, where the receiver says of Esholt " Item as concernynge any spirituall promocions to thesame apperteynynge I knowe none."[3] It is a sad fact that the solitary spiritual possession of the nunnery of which its whole history gives any indication turns out to be more a mirage than anything else.

Turning to Esholt's temporal property, there is a great deal more evidence available. Despite its poverty, the priory of St. Leonard made a brave effort to keep up the Cistercian tradition of farming. It is unfortunate that, until the Dissolution period, there is nothing from which to construct a picture of the Esholt estates as a living organism; no ministers' accounts, or court rolls, have survived for this earlier period. Such material as there is falls under two headings—deeds granting property to the prioress and nuns and, after 1279, licences to alienate land to them, on the one hand, and particulars of transfer of land by them (such as awards, sales and fines) on the other. From these sources it is possible to tell where the nunnery held lands and, in many cases, to add the actual amount of land held. The objection to the material is, however, that it does not make possible an account of the possessions of Esholt at any one given date.

The earliest grants were mainly of land in Esholt, Idle and Hawksworth, and the donors principally the two families of Ward and Plumpton. The foundation endowment, a gift (as has been seen) to the house of Sinningthwaite, is detailed in a bull of Pope Alexander III as two carucates of land from Simon and Maud Ward and William their son, and " locum qui dicitur Esholt cum suis pertinentiis in bosco et plano et in terra arrata et aqua."[4] There is perhaps an alternative description of the same piece of ground in a quitclaim of William Ward—"quicquid continetur infra sepem versus Air de rivulo de Eiadona usque Chotthesoitesiche."[5] This

[1] Esholt's presentation printed Dugdale, v, 471. Read (*History of the Isle of Axholme*, 1858), p. 343.
[2] V.E. (*Record Commission*), v, 127.
[3] P.R.O., Augmentation Office, Particulars for Grants no. 1114.
[4] Dugdale, v, 465.
[5] *Ibid.*, v, 467.

was in all probability what developed into the home farm of the nunnery, for as late as the Suppression the prioress is described as lady of the Aire on both sides, on the north for three-quarters of a mile and on the south for half a mile.[1] The outlying lands in Idle were also an early acquisition. About 1190 Nigel de Plumpton granted the convent an essart of 21½ acres there[2]; and two deeds of his grandson, also named Nigel, survive, granting an adjacent meadow, and meadow and wood within the essarts called Eholm, Strangford and Aldredrode.[3] The whole was confirmed by a descendant about a hundred years later,[4] and in exchange for the surrender of its rights of pasture and pannage in the wood at Idle the priory in 1420 obtained a licence to hold in severalty and enclose the essarts, Strangford and Aldredrode.[5] In Hawksworth, too, the nunnery had its possessions—due, in this case, to the generosity of the Wards. Of two surviving deeds the first records the gift of an essart called Northcroft,[6] the second what sounds an extensive property, consisting mainly of land purchased from a certain Martin of Hawksworth.[7] Both deeds are clearly thirteenth-century: it is unfortunate that neither specifies the extent of the lands mentioned—description by field-names and by the names of former owners is a method that must often balk the historian. Among these thirteenth-century endowments must be mentioned the grant of Alan de Yeadon of a property in Yeadon, the bounds of which are minutely described.[8]

After 1279, with the passing of the Statute of Mortmain, it became impossible to grant away lands to a monastery without first obtaining the royal licence: thus for much of the property acquired during the fourteenth century there is an alternative form of evidence to casually surviving deeds, the licences being often enrolled on the Patent Rolls. On July 3rd, 1327, John de Calverley secured the King's licence to alienate to the prioress and nuns the manor of Esholt[9]: he received another licence to the same effect from the prior of Bolton, who was his feudal overlord.[10] Five years later the prioress and convent received the royal licence to acquire in mortmain land and rent not held in chief to the yearly value of £10,[11] and this was the forerunner of three interesting

[1] *Y.A.J.*, ix, 323.
[2] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 45.
[3] *Ibid.*, vi, 46–47.
[4] Dugdale, v, 472.
[5] Wheater, *The Cistercian Priory of St. Leonard at Esholt-in-Airedale* (1866), p. 19. I cannot trace this reference to its source.
[6] B.M.—Add. Ch. 15703.
[7] Dugdale, v, 472.
[8] *Ibid.*, v, 473.
[9] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1327–30, p. 134.
[10] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 104–5.
[11] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1330–1334, p. 331.

endowments spread at intervals through the century. In 1360 Brian de Normanville wished to grant 3 bovates and 44 acres of land in Yeadon to the convent in consideration of this licence of 1332, which put the priory in a position to receive the gift.[1] In 1374 John de Sandale, who was parson of the church of Langeton, sought to alienate to Esholt a very considerable quantity of property in Yeadon, Rawdon, and Esholt itself: this consisted of no less than 9 messuages, 4 tofts, 7 bovates and 82 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow and 40 acres of pasture.[2] Eight years from the end of the century came the third licence applied for on the grounds of the permission of 1332—granted to Nicholas son of Adam de Ottelay, and permitting him to alienate 7 bovates containing 60 acres of land and meadow.[3] Thus it is clear that throughout the fourteenth century the possessions of Esholt were increasing. A certain number of deeds points to the same conclusion. In 1349 a certain Custancia, described as the daughter of Roger son of Helias de Ottelay, gave a toft and a bovate of land in Yeadon[4]; the same year Alice de Raudon granted a messuage[5]; and in 1368 Richard son of Richard de Chelleray quitclaimed lands in Yeadon and Esholt.[6] The royal licence for these alienations has not been enrolled, but they were probably covered by the same permission to acquire to the annual value of £10, which was brought forward by Normanville, Sandale, and Nicholas de Ottelay.

Alongside these grants of land, and indeed often in the self-same deeds, were various gifts to the priory of a miscellaneous nature. On occasion the endowment was purely monetary, as in the case of the annual rent of three marks of his mill by John of Yeadon,[7] or the rent of 6*s*. from a property in Burley belonging to Nicholas Freeman.[8] During the thirteenth or early fourteenth century the priory seems to have enjoyed a small annual rent, paid by a certain Hugh of Berewick.[9] Rights of pasturage were another valuable privilege. One of the Idle deeds, dating from early in the thirteenth century, records the grant of pasture for 32 oxen, 20 cows, a bull and 60 pigs.[10] In Hawksworth, too, Nicholas Ward's benefactions included pasture for 240 sheep with their lambs, and pasture for 20 cows, one bull and their young.[11] In the district of Esholt itself the right to use his common pastures was among the

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1358–61, p. 465.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1370–74, p. 359.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1391–96, p. 149.
[4] B.M.—Add. Ch. 15655.
[5] Dugdale, v, 470.
[6] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17091.
[7] Dugdale, v, 473.
[8] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 174.
[9] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17127.
[10] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 47. Apparently quitclaimed in 1420: see above, p. 14.
[11] Dugdale, v, 472.

privileges granted by Simon de Braam.[1] Much of the pasture was woodland, and it should not be forgotten that at the Dissolution woodland formed a comparatively valuable part of Esholt's possessions. In addition to all this the prioress and convent received odd gifts of corn and wood. Thus Elizabeth Patefyn of Headingley left to the priory all her corn at Burley and the Stede[2]; the Plumptons granted fuel from their wood at Idle.[3] The endowment of Simon de Braam falls into yet another category. He conceded the right of way through his manor and his lands to the essart called Nunnespies which belonged to the convent: he also gave his permission for the building of a toft on the piece of ground known as le Gresscroft—apparently a gift to Esholt by one of his forebears.[4]

The catalogue of deeds completed, it may well be asked what light they throw, in a general way, on the conditions of tenure enjoyed by the nunnery and on the technique of agriculture. As regards the former point, the temporal possessions of a monastic house did not differ in essentials from any other temporalities. The grants, it is true, were generally in frankalmoin; but sometimes very substantial returns were asked of the prioress and nuns. Thus although the generosity of the Plumptons and Wards has been referred to above, it must be admitted, on the other side of the picture, that they often demanded a *quid pro quo*. In the instrument by which Nigel de Plumpton made over considerable parts of his lands to the convent it was made a condition of their tenure that a chaplain should be found by the nuns to celebrate in perpetuity for his soul[5]: at the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* a chaplain on this foundation was still receiving an annual fee of £4. Harvests might be bad and the lands bring in little profit, but the nunnery could not cease to keep the chaplain for fear of losing the Plumptons' gift altogether. William Ward was still more mercenary—his condition is stated quite unashamedly: "Et ut haec libenter concederem, dederunt mihi domus x marcas argenti, et viii boves, et x vaccas, cum vitulis et centum oves."[6] The inference is that, when it came to a matter of business, Esholt was simply another neighbour, even if one that was privileged in certain directions. Another instance of lands being granted from a motive that was at least partly selfish is where the gift has obviously taken place to bribe the prioress for some specific purpose. It

[1] Dugdale, v, 473.
[2] *Ibid.*, v, 471.
[3] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 47.
[4] Dugdale, v, 473.
[5] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 47.
[6] Dugdale, v, 468.

was a condition of the thirteenth-century grant of Alan of Yeadon, for instance, that his three daughters—Hoda, Helewit and Sabina—should be received into the nunnery.[1]

Concerning the technical side of agriculture, deeds are hardly the place where one would hope to find much help, and it can only be repeated that no mass of them makes up for the unfortunate absence of anything in the shape of ministers' accounts. On the other hand, in view of the point so often made by Roman Catholic historians that it was the constant function of the Cistercians to bring waste land under cultivation, it may be remarked that many of the grants were of essarts—a fact which makes the original cultivation pre-monastic. In Idle there was the original essart of twenty-one and a half acres and the essarts called Eholm, Strangford, and Aldredrode[2]; in Hawksworth the essart named Northcroft, "ex omni parte fossato inclusum," and another known as Fritscadrod.[3] It should be mentioned, however, that Nigel Plumpton at least envisaged the possibility of the nunnery's being an improving landlord—"Concessi etiam eisdem monialibus praenominatam terram edificare, infossare, essartare pro voluntate sua quum voluerint."[4] Yet the point must be stressed that at best the nuns were often only carrying on the work begun by the lay donors.

It remains to consider the second type of material—such evidence of Esholt's possessions as comes from documents that record the transfer of land *by the nunnery*. These are less abundant than the grants of land to the nunnery, which have been dealt with above, and they may be dismissed in a few lines. Early in the reign of Henry III there is a fine between Agnes, prioress of Esholt, and a certain Walter of Percy, regarding half a bovate and a quarter of a bovate of land in Marton in Burgesir.[5] A little later, in 1231, the same prioress granted away to the Abbey of Rievaulx three bovates, with crofts, tofts and all appurtenances, which the convent had held originally of the grant of Adam de Birkyn in Cullingworth.[6] In 1246 the nuns effected an exchange with William son of Jordan, of Idle, of a *cultura* known as Aldredrode and Hustedes in return for a parcel of land known as Heholm, which they still preserved at the time of the Dissolution.[7] The next evidence of alienation of property comes from later in Edward III's reign, when the

[1] Dugdale, v, 473.
[2] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 47.
[3] Dugdale, v, 472.
[4] *Calverley Charters*, Thoresby Soc., vi, 47.
[5] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxii, 30.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1, 57.
[7] Dugdale, v, 471. This transaction gives some idea of the 'fluidity' of the priory's possessions; *cf.* p. 14 above.

convent sold for 300 marks what must have been extensive lands in Esholt, Yeadon, and Carlton: this is an interesting example of an outsider being employed to act for the nunnery—the indenture of the prioress with a certain Thomas Lumley, regulating the details of the affair, has been preserved.[1] In 1416 the then prioress, Emma Porter, granted to Nicholas Adamson, chaplain, lands formerly belonging to Richard Chelleray in Netheryedon; they owed a service to the chief lord of the fee of £10 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, and, bearing in mind the constant financial difficulties of Esholt, one must sympathise with the prioress who decided to give up such a costly possession.[2] The last of these details left to quote is the case, from Henry VII's reign, of the lands in Yeadon known as Stonehouse oxgang, Holdrode, Hierode and Armayn rode. Here a dispute had arisen between the prioress and her tenant, Richard of Yeadon; the matter seems to have been settled by a local committee, and their Award provided that Richard should pay an annual rent of 4*s.* 10½*d.* for the first-mentioned parcel of land and 2*s.* 1½*d.* for the other three.[3] Such is the material illustrating the transfer of convent property, and it is difficult to present it with any unity. In itself, however, it is valuable evidence for the extent of Esholt's possessions, and its very disconnectedness will serve as a reminder that our account of Esholt's property cannot be complete. It would not be wrong to infer a rather greater acreage than is indicated in the deeds that have survived, and to make some slight allowance for those that have not.

Before attempting a sketch of the possessions of the priory in its last phase, perhaps it would be as well to mention the available sources from which such a description can be constructed; of their nature they are more vivid then the deeds with which we have been dealing so far, and from them a much more detailed picture should emerge. The usefulness of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, as regards Esholt, is rather problematic, but it is the first great documentary source of the Dissolution period.[4] The rough notes of a rental, made by Henry VIII's commissioners on May 10th, 1536, and subjected to considerable alteration at the final suppression of the convent two years later, form an invaluable, if tantalisingly difficult, source of material.[5] The notes are scrappy and disconnected in the extreme, they are full of erasures and cancellations; nevertheless, they are worthy of attention, for it is from the data supplied by

[1] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17098 and 17099.
[2] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17093.
[3] Dugdale, v, 473–4.
[4] Dugdale, v, 476.
[5] P.R.O.—State Papers Henry VIII, Suppression Papers 2, folio 25b following.

them that the Rental known as the Paper Survey,[1] the Particulars for Grant, and the Minister's Account[2] are all derived. These last-mentioned, together with the particulars amongst the Suppression Papers, form the main body of evidence. One fact of interest that may be sought here is how far the nunnery retained possession of the lands granted to it during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and, on the other hand, how far its possessions at the time of the Dissolution are different from those mentioned in the earlier deeds. More important than this, however, some idea may be gained of the tenurial and agricultural frame-work of Esholt's estates.

The most important distinction in the monastic revenue is that between the income from the demesne in hand and the payments of the tenants. The annual value of the *terra dominicalis* at Esholt was stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* to be £10; in the First Minister's Account the higher sum of £14 9*s*. 4*d*. was mentioned. Of the two valuations there need be no hesitation in accepting the latter as nearer the truth, for it has been shown that the demesne was very generally under-valued in the 1535 survey, particularly in the north of England: this arose from the very nature of the case. The uncertain returns from the demesne gave the monasteries an opportunity for a low estimate that was not offered by the tenancies, where the facts were already in black and white.[3] This sum of £14 9*s*. 4*d*. represents the annual value of 165½ acres, worked by the nunnery as a home farm. That it was held in this way seems a justifiable conclusion from the evidence as a whole. The profits arising from these lands are described in the First Minister's Account, it is true, as *firma terre dominicalis*; but according to Savine '*firma*' is a term that was often used loosely, simply in the sense of '*exitus*' or '*proficua*.'[4] Moreover, although in no sense a compact block of land, this part of the nunnery's possessions retained a definite entity at the time of the Dissolution: it was leased, as it stood, to William Knevett on 16th April, 1540,[5] and seven years later passed, still as a whole, into the hands of Henry Thompson.[6] The demesne consisted mainly of small closes or parcels of land, each with its own field-name, some of which might still strike familiarly on West Riding ears. There were

[1] Dugdale, v, 477.

[2] P.R.O. — Aug. Off., Particulars for Grants, no. 1114. 1st Minister's Account—Special Collections (M.A. Henry VIII, no. 4522).

[3] Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, p. 38.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[5] P.R.O.—Aug. Off. Misc. Books 212, f. 79: date given in Dugdale, v, 474.

[6] Dugdale, v, 474.

seventy-six acres of arable land, situated in eight blocks of varying size, named Northwestfeld or Oxeclose, Newclose, Stakkclose, Langerode, Mylne feld, Dayet Crofte, Strangilfrith, and Eyholme. The amount of pasture was only slightly less, there being fifty-one and a half acres in Northwestfeld, Farrewestfeld or Shepeclose, Crossley feld, Newclosehede, Littel Pightell, Nunewode leys, Coll Rods, and Pese flatte. Meadow lay in three pieces in Commen ynge, Normanholme and Brygge rode, and totalled twenty acres. The remaining eighteen acres it is impossible to assign exactly: Seynte Leonerds home close was arable and meadow, as might be expected; a piece of land known as Long holme was pasture and meadow—further detail in these two cases does not appear. There is nothing in the nature of a stock account, and the only clue to what crops were grown is a scribble in the notes for the Rental that two of the fields were sown with rye and wheat. The purchases of agricultural produce, noted in the Suppression Accounts, make it appear that the priory was not self-subsistent.[1]

There were five woods—Strangilfrith, Nonnewode, Middilwode Sprynge, Bastone Cliff, and Evesey woode: it is very doubtful whether they formed part of the demesne of the priory, although, with the exception of the last, they were granted to Thompson along with the other lands of the *terra dominicalis*. At the time of the First Minister's Account it is interesting to note that these four were held by the collector himself, Richard Derelove. In the commissioners' papers their extent had been estimated at fifty acres, and their nett value at £21 6*s*. 8*d*.[2]; but when David Clayton, Surveyor of the King's Woods, made his examination he reduced both figures considerably—the extent to thirty-two acres, and the total nett value to £18 16*s*. 8*d*.[3] The sort of profit that arose from woodland is instanced in the minister's account for 1540–41, where the farm of the herbage in the woods was put at 10*s*. during the year, and the sale of wood at 7*d*.[4] Whether held in the hand of the nunnery or not, the woods must have proved a useful source of income.

Farms and rents from tenants form a considerable section of the First Minister's Account, and the nunnery appears to have enjoyed an annual revenue from such payments of £21 1*s*. 7*d*. In the greater part of their possessions the actual relationship of the nuns to the land did not extend beyond the right to receive

[1] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 84.
[2] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 87.
[3] P.R.O.—Aug. Off., Particulars for Grants, no. 1114.
[4] P.R.O.—Views of Accounts—Special Collections (M.A. Henry VIII, no. 4523).

from it a fixed payment. A heading amongst the notes for the Rental is eloquent—"Terr dmicał dci pioratus de Essholt ptineñ et dimiss ad firm diu9sis psonis ut inferius." Unfortunately this title was scratched out, and there is no guarantee that the tenements which follow have any connexion with it; nevertheless, it throws some light on the prevailing tendency towards letting out the land on lease and to tenants who paid rent. The lands granted to Esholt in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are to be sought, at this period, just as much among the tenancies as in the demesne. In Yeadon, for instance, the convent had still extensive property, divided by this time into sixteen separate holdings, each of which generally consisted of a *tenementum* or *cotagium*, sometimes with a barn and orchard, and with a varying amount of arable, pasture and meadow attached. Although the account is very detailed, the nature of too much of the land is unspecified to make a comparison of the acreage of arable, pasture and meadow, such as was made in the case of the demesne, worth while. Nevertheless, so far as Yeadon is concerned, a fairly clear picture of a three-field system, with a large meadow called Commen ynge, may be said to emerge. In Hawksworth, Calverley and Guiseley there was a total of fourteen such tenancies, the most interesting of which are perhaps Stonehouse oxgang, which re-appears, and a water-mill of the annual farm of 26*s.* 8*d.*, both in the last-named district. Smaller tenancies were held of the nunnery in Micklethwaite, Rawdon, Esholt itself, and Idle; but it is significant that the large grants of the Plumptons in Idle had dwindled to a mere 6*d.* of rent a year. All the tenants held their land freely, and simply on the basis of a money payment; but if the legal position was thus one of complete independence, economically they were bound closely to the convent—a fact which must have had its importance at the time of the Suppression. Robert Tiddswell, who held a small corner of land in the field named Langerode,[1] was employed by the priory; so was John Wayte, who held a cottage in Esholt and a piece of land, "*nuper de vast'*," which he had perhaps carved out for himself. At the Dissolution 20*d.* was owing to William Smith, another tenant, "for shoynge oxen and sharpinge the mylne pikks." At that time too, Christopher Bateson, Thomas Hardwick, Anne Hawksworth and Richard Rooks were all creditors of the nunnery: the first two appear to have been men of some substance.[2]

The home farm was certainly not worked, and the tenancies

[1] Suppression Papers 2, f. 34b. The name is omitted in the transcript in Y.A.S. (Record Series), vol. lxxx.

[2] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 83–5.

were scarcely administered, by the nuns themselves. From an early date the duties of administration were probably carried out by a bailiff, possibly supervised by a steward. The entry into history of the former official is not very happy. In 1369 the prioress sued a certain John Love of Yeadon to render account of the time when he was her bailiff and receiver in Yeadon and Esholt; and she brought the further charge against him that he had cut down trees and underwood to the value of £10.[1] At about the same date Thomas Lumley was acting in effect as steward of the estates, when he negotiated the sale of lands in Esholt, Yeadon, Carlton and Rawdon, although he seems to have had no such official position.[2] But for fuller evidence as to the personnel of the estates recourse is necessary, as usual, to the period immediately prior to the Dissolution. Luckily the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and the accounts among the Suppression Papers are supplementary in the matter of the monastic staff: the former only mentions the permanent officials, while the latter deal with the persons receiving wages and hired for a comparatively short time. The *Valor* states that 2*s*. a year was paid to the steward of the monastery: the sum is surprisingly low, and it may be that the reward was simply nominal and the post more or less honorary (a Calverley, Ward or Chelleray might not have been above holding it). The bailiff is mentioned by name—a certain John Colier—and he received an annual fee of 13*s*. 4*d*. Turning to the accounts, the rate of pay of the men who worked the home farm is by comparison generous. John Wayte, "owerman," was paid 13*s*. 4*d*. at the Dissolution for nine months' wages; William Yve, milner, was paid the same sum—10*s*. as half a year's wages and the rest in reward; nine months' wages for the ploughman, Thomas Fawchey, was 11*s*. Five other farm servants are mentioned—Robert Tiddeswell, paid 5*s*. for a quarter's wages and another 6*s*. for his keep, John Tiddeswell 2*s*. for a quarter's wages, Edward Yeddon 3*s*. 4*d*. for six months, and two boys, Thomas Royte and Gilbert Yeddon, 3*s*. 4*d*. and 2*s*. respectively for the same period.[3] The staff is perhaps larger than might be expected for the size of the demesne, and the possibility of part-time work must be borne in mind.

It is tempting to follow the fate of the Esholt estates at the time when the priory was finally dissolved. On January 20th, 1539–40, Thomas Hardwick obtained from the Court of Augmentations a lease of both his holdings,[4] but one of these was shortly afterwards granted by Letters Patent to William Romesden of Longley and

[1] Y.A.S. (Record Series), xvii, 57.
[2] B.M.—Add. Ch. 17098 and 17099.
[3] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 82–3.
[4] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, xv, 562.

Edward Hoppey of Halifax, who obtained the bulk of the Yeadon tenancies, certain small closes in Hawksworth, and the water-mill at Guiseley as part of a very extensive purchase of religious property.[1] The land in Hawksworth, which had been held in the last days of the monastery by Thomas Woode, changed hands three times within ten years of the Dissolution.[2] Other property in that district was the subject of an amusing disagreement between Anne Hawksworth and William Knevett: there is a certain discrepancy in the stories that she told to the Star Chamber,[3] and he to the Court of Augmentations.[4] Knevett had obtained all the convent's lands in Calverley on a twenty-one years lease, and the demesne lands on similar terms.[5] Long before his lease for the latter had run out, however, they were granted by Letters Patent to Edward Thompson.[6] Thompson had shown bravery at the siege of Boulogne in 1544, and received as his reward the Maison Dieu, a confiscated French hospital at Dover; on July 14th, 1547, he was allowed to exchange it for certain other properties, which included Esholt. There is an old superstition, recorded by the antiquary Spelman, that the possessors of the properties of the dissolved monasteries were cursed by failure to continue their family through the male line. Esholt, as Mr. Wroot shows,[7] bears out this superstition. The estate, much cumbered by the debt incurred in Commonwealth days, finally passed by marriage in 1662 into the hands of Walter Calverley through just such a failure of male heirs. Those who fancy that the Dissolution was a crime may find a certain amount of satisfaction in the fact that at Esholt the priory's possessions were not exempt from the accompanying curse.

The Dissolution.

The Dissolution of Esholt was a process rather than an event. It was visited, in the technical sense of the term, by the notorious Layton and Leigh—in the technical sense only, because an interesting debt of the convent appears in the Suppression Accounts: "Item to Wm. Skoles for money by hym paid for expenses of the prioresse and other the Convent and other goynge to Dr. Le at Seynt Oswalds."[8] This makes it clear that the Commissioners

[1] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, vol. xx, part I, pp. 526–7.

[2] P.R.O.—M.A. Henry VIII, no. 4522; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, vol. xix, part I, p. 640; *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edward VI*, iii, 54.

[3] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxx, 54.

[4] P.R.O.—Aug. Proc., Bundle 18, no. 53.

[5] P.R.O.—Aug. Off. Misc. Books 212, folio 110b; Aug. Off. Misc. Books 212, f. 79.

[6] Dugdale, v, 474.

[7] In his admirable note on the history of the priory in *The Esholt Sewage Disposal Scheme* (pub. Bradford Corporation).

[8] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 84.

established themselves at Nostell Priory and sent out mandates to the heads of houses, such as Esholt, to attend upon them in that place. This visitation may no doubt be regarded as the prelude of the Dissolution, but the piece was still far from being played out. Esholt, needless to say, came within the scope of the Act of 1536, by which the monasteries with a nett value of less than £200 per annum were dissolved. Nor was it one of the religious houses that purchased a grant to continue.[1] Yet, in spite of these facts, the priory was not dissolved until August 29th, 1539—I have seen no deed of surrender and the surrender is apparently not enrolled, as so frequently happened, on the Close Roll; but many of the surviving accounts and papers agree in giving this date.

The reason for the delay is perhaps to be found in the comparative unimportance of the nunnery. There is a letter of Sir William Musgrave, dated March 17th, 1537, which is worth quoting in full, both for the general attitude of the writer and its bearing on the particular problem:

> 1536–7, 17 Mar. To the Right Honorable myn espesall good lorde my lorde Prevey Sealle.
>
> Right honorable & my espeschall good Lord. This shalbe to advertis youre lordschipe that wher ther is a vere small priore of nonys callyd Esholt within a lordshipe of my lait graunfather Sir Christopher Ward, who lyeth ther, callyd the manner of Esholt, which standeth vere commodyuslye for me, the holle valew thereof by yere xix*li.* or there about, wherefore my request shalbe unto youre lordshipe that it may pleas yow to be so much my good lord as to helpe me to the sayme of the King's Highnes for me and my heres, not only for such puer servyce as I have downe unto his Grace but also for the same I am content to release unto youre lordshipe during the mynoritie of John Tamworth and also shall accompte myself therby by youre lordeshipe. Which is my speciall dissiare & request yf this may stand with your pleasure. That I may have the Kinges Highnes letter in breff tyme unto the Pryores and convent for the premysses commaunding them to ssaye all ther gudes and ther commoditise from any further saill or other grauntes. And thus I pray God . . . . etc. . . . . William Musgrave.

This makes it apparent that Esholt was remote, poor and—from the point of view of the government—unimportant; the authorities had even to be reminded that it existed at all.[2] On

[1] Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, vol. ii, Appendix I.

[2] Y.A.S. (Record Series), xlviii, 36.

the other hand there is a certain amount of evidence that some move had been made in the matter ten months before Musgrave wrote to Cromwell. Among the Suppression Papers[1] are the rough notes of a Rental, the fair copy of which was the document known as the Paper Survey; these preliminary notes were originally taken on May 10th, 1536, before Ralph Ellerker, who was one of the royal commissioners for the county,[2] although that date and the commissioner's name have later been crossed out and the date on which the priory was finally dissolved put in. The top of a torn Inventory of Esholt also bears this early date,[3] and an inquiry must have been held into the possessions of the place about this time. Nevertheless, the fact that nothing came of it points to the general conclusion that its very insignificance prolonged the life of Esholt in common with others of the Yorkshire nunneries.

Certainly the convent was poor enough; and instances of the crippling effects of this poverty are not wanting throughout its history. In 1301 there was a significant notice to the prioress and nuns from Thomas Corbridge, Archbishop of York, of the appointment (on account of their poverty) of Sir Richard, vicar of Bradeford, as master of their house; "proviso quod de administracione, cura et custodia hujusmodi nobis annis respondeas singulis ut magistro, et nos de statu domus predicte non negligas reddere cerciores."[4] Some seventeen years later, in 1318, Archbishop Melton held a visitation. Once again the house was heavily in debt, and accordingly he issued injunctions, exhorting the nuns to use moderation and forbidding the prioress, under pain of removal, to grant pensions, or to alienate or lease for long periods any of the granges.[5] After this early part of the fourteenth century, generally speaking a period of decadence among the Yorkshire nunneries, no mention of further poverty has been found, so far as Esholt is concerned, until 1445. This was a year of disaster—the bell-tower of the priory had fallen into ruin; the River Aire had flooded seriously and done wholesale damage to the nunnery's lands; Archbishop Kemp granted an indulgence of two hundred days, valid for two years, to anyone who would assist in the maintenance and relief of the nuns themselves, or assist in the work of repair and reconstruction.[6] It seems probable that Esholt never fully recovered from the difficulties of this year. Perhaps the prior and convent of

[1] P. R. O.—Suppression Papers 2, f. 25b following.
[2] *L. and P. Henry VIII*, x, 304.
[3] P. R. O.—Suppression Papers 2, f. 47a.
[4] Surtees Soc., cxxxviii, 53.
[5] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 161.
[6] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 161.

Newburgh were simply recognising a *fait accompli* when, in 1493, they renounced all right to payment of debts due to them from the nunnery.[1]

At any rate, by the time of the Dissolution the problem of poverty must have become acute. Although, as has been seen, the gross annual income was greater than the £19 0*s.* 8*d.* assessment of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the other Yorkshire nunneries were in all probability similarly under-valued in that survey, so that the figure serves for purposes of comparison. Such a comparison shows Esholt to have been the poorest of the Cistercian houses in the county, with the single exception of Ellerton. The nunneries of Basedale and Kirklees fall into much the same class; but Nunkeeling had a gross income of £50 17*s.* 2*d.* per annum, Sinningthwaite of £62 6*s.* 0*d.*, Hampole of £85 5*s.* 11*d.*, and Swine of £133 6*s.* 9½*d.*[2]—and even they were by no means free from financial difficulties. Proof of how involved the finances of Esholt became is to be found in the accounts among the Suppression Papers. The sum of debts owing to the house is totalled there at 53*s.* 9*d.*, as compared with £25 3*s.* 11*d.* of debts owed by the house.[3] Most of the amounts that the nuns had found themselves unable to meet do not—it must be said in justice to them—make extravagant reading; the sums owing by the convent were mainly for foodstuffs bought and for expenses of the home farm. On the other hand, the prioress had evidently fallen into the habit of borrowing money, and £7 17*s.* 4*d.* was the total of such borrowings that remained unpaid at the Dissolution. According to Miss Power, one means by which the nuns sought to augment their income, which often proved disastrous in the long run, was by the sale of corrodies.[4] Since the only mention of a corrody I have come across at Esholt dates from this time (1518), it is tempting to put it down to this cause.[5] However that may be, the general conclusion that the income of the nunnery was unequal to its expenses fits all the evidence that has survived.

The other great general question raised by the Dissolution is the standard of morality of the religious houses; and as far as this is concerned only two periods have so far shown evidence indicative of immorality at Esholt—the first years of the fourteenth century and the age immediately preceding the Suppression. How far the "argument from silence" may be employed in dealing with this

[1] Dugdale, v, 470.
[2] Savine, Appendix.
[3] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 83–5.
[4] Eileen Power, *Med. Nunneries*, p. 206.
[5] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 86.

matter is, of course, debatable; the absence of any record of immorality is not necessarily the proof that it did not exist. On the other hand we must adhere to what evidence there is on this matter at Esholt. The Cistercian nuns were not free from episcopal control—"Bishops who would never have dreamed of interfering with houses of Cistercian or Cluniac monks," it has been said, "visited the nuns of those orders as a matter of course and no objection was as a rule raised by the houses or by the orders."[1] It is true that Esholt's mother-house, the convent of Sinningthwaite, contested the right of the archbishop to visit it and appealed to the Pope in 1276 against the visitation of Archbishop Giffard; but although the decision is not recorded, it clearly went against the nunnery.[2] It is improbable, therefore, that grave irregularities would pass unnoticed and uncensured; and such evidence as there is perhaps represents the greater part of Esholt's delinquencies.[3]

The incidence of the first period was mainly during Juliana de la Wodehall's tenure of office as prioress, and the evidence is in the form of a series of mandates from Archbishop Corbridge. Juliana's election as prioress was confirmed by the archbishop on December 6, 1300, and Sir Nicholas Ward, rector of Guiseley, was instructed to install her.[4] The priory was visited in the following year,[5] but no irregularity emerged until 1303, when one of the nuns, Beatrice de Hawksworth, became pregnant. On October 7 of that year the prioress and convent were instructed not to permit Beatrice to leave her father's house, where she had apparently resorted, nor to let her return to Esholt "quousque graciam obtinuerit revertendi."[6] Five months later, however, the archbishop ordered that she should be taken back.[7] Clearly there is more in this than meets the eye, for about the same time the prioress resigned. Her resignation was refused, and she was informed "quod dominus non fuit certioratus de statu domus nec de causa ob quam cedere voluit, resignacionem suam de statu priorisse per ipsam domino factam non duxit tunc aliqualiter admittendam, set iniunxit sibi in virtute obediencie et mandavit firmiter quod curam domus ejusdem tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus haberet et regeret ut priorissa, quousque prefatus dominus super statu domus predicte cum domino Simone le Warde patrono ejusdem domus, colloquium habuerit, vel donec dominum venire contigerit

[1] Eileen Power, *Med. Nunneries*, p. 482.
[2] *V.C.H., Yorks.*, iii, 176.
[3] The evidential value of the archbishop's visitation is discussed by Dr. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. ii, chapters xvii–xix.
[4] Surtees Soc., cxxxviii, 40.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

ad partes illas."[1] Further facts on this topic are that the *notice* of a visitation by Archbishop Greenfield on the Sunday before the Feast of St. William, 1307 (?),[2] has survived, and that two years later a nun was sent from Keldholme to do penance at Esholt.[3] Also the same archbishop in 1313 appointed Sir John de Hemmyngburgh, rector of St. Wilfrid's, York, and Master Thomas de Scakelthorp, rector of Panhale, to correct the *comperta* at Esholt, as well as at Bolton, Monk Bretton, Kirklees, and in the archdeaconry of York[4]; and two years later, when he himself visited the priory, he forbade the boarding of secular women over twelve years of age in the house[5]—for it was a favourite belief that contact with the outer world made conventual discipline more difficult of realisation.

The evidence for the second period of incidence, the years immediately preceding the Dissolution, is a good deal clearer. The fact that one of the nuns had borne a child was disclosed when the priory was visited by the archbishop's vicar-general, Dr. William Clyff, in 1535; and Lee made it the subject of his longest injunction. "Dame Joan Hutton," he says, "nune professid there, contrarie to her profession and vowe made to all mighty God, to the great daunger of her sowle and yll example of odre religious persons, hath lyued incontinentlie and unchast, and hath brought forth a child of her bodie begotten." The penance inflicted was severe. The prioress was exhorted to keep the erring nun in prison or in some place where neither the sisters nor anyone else could speak to her without permission. This was to continue for two years, and to be accompanied by a restricted diet. On Wednesdays and Fridays she was to have only bread and ale: flesh, fish, butter, eggs, cheese, milk—all were expressly forbidden. Worst perhaps of all, she was to receive such discipline in the chapter-house each Friday, in the presence of all the sisters, "as ys accustomed to be had and done for like offences according to the Rule." Nor was this nun's immorality the only matter for rebuke. There were "diuerse things worthie to be reformed and set in better order," and the general impression of the injunctions is that the strict obligations of the conventual life had been considerably relaxed. There was a general injunction to the nuns to obey their prioress "without any grug or murmur," and to observe chastity and poverty according to the Rule, some part of which

[1] Surtees Soc., cxxxviii, 92–3. It should be noted that "status domus" need not necessarily mean anything more than the financial position of the priory.

[2] Surtees Soc., cxlix, 30.

[3] Eileen Power, *Med. Nunneries*, p. 52.

[4] Surtees Soc., cxlix, 168.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

was to be read daily. For the rest, the remedy applied was typical of the enclosing of the nuns which went on at this time, with its two sides of preventing the religious from going out into the world and of preventing the world from coming in to them. The prioress was enjoined to provide locks and keys for the cloister doors, which were to be locked immediately after compline; the dorter door was to have a lock and key, and to be fastened at night-time. Also an order was made to build a high wall to prevent the sisters from wandering down to the riverside. No member of the house was to go out of the precincts without a reasonable cause, and even then she was to be accompanied by some "discrete and wyse suster," appointed by the prioress. The entry of secular persons was restricted by the injunction forbidding any man to be lodged in a room opening onto the cloister, and by the abolition of the convent ale-house.[1]

The reports of the King's commissioners have long been regarded as a tainted source; but it must be said that, in the case of Esholt, the injunctions of Archbishop Lee give their findings the colour of probability. The report of Layton and Leigh on the house was brief and concise:

"Incontinentes { Agnes Bayne peperit. / Agnes Wood cum duobus solutis. / Johanna Hutton peperit."[2]

At any rate, such was the process of events that led up to the dissolution of the nunnery. There is perhaps sufficient material to make possible a fairly detailed sketch of the society of the place in this last epoch of its history. Something has already been seen of the agricultural system, which was the background of life at Esholt, and something also of the tenants who held land of the monastery. Here the actual buildings of the house and its inmates will be considered.

There is an account of the former amongst the Suppression Papers, which goes into such detail that an architect's plan may be constructed without undue conjecture. The priory was more extensive than might, from its poverty, have been expected: most of the usual offices are to be found and, though everything was of course on a small scale, it is clear that the nunnery was rather larger than, for instance, Kirklees—the cloister was sixty feet square as compared with forty feet at the latter place. The church was a simple little rectangular building, twenty yards long

[1] *Yorks. Arch. Jnl.*, xvi, 451–3.
[2] *Compendium Compert.*—P.R.O.: State Papers Henry VIII, General Series 102, folio 96b.

by six and a half broad: it was well lighted with glass windows and had a wainscot roof, covered with slate. The conventual buildings lay on the south side and followed the usual monastic plan, with the chapter-house on the east of the cloister, the servants' quarters on the west, and the refectory on the south. There was no lack of domestic buildings, those which are described including kitchen, buttery, pantry, larder and brew-house. A feature of some interest is the number of little chambers, where some effort towards extra comfort had been made; these suggest either the presence of secular persons living within the nunnery, or alternatively a mode of living by the nuns themselves that was hardly in keeping with the provisions of the Rule. As might be expected, barns and stables are well to the fore in the description of the place; and there were two orchards. From what is said about the gate-house, it must have been a similar building to that which still survives at Kirklees. Nor is the impression altogether one of buildings that had seen better days. With certain exceptions, such as the steeple of the church which was "muche in decay," the fabric seems to have been in good order. If the extent of the buildings is surprising, their comparatively good repair is even more so.[1] On the other hand, the maintenance of the house must be put down as one of the chief causes of the financial difficulties of Esholt. Even from those last years, when the nuns might have been expected to have lost pride in their home with the hope of being able to keep it, there come two accounts of debts due "for workmanshype"—in each case the sum of 2*s*. was owing.[2]

In addition to this expense there was the continual drain of the nunnery's servants. The Benedictine Rule had contemplated that much of the manual work of a house should be done by the monks and nuns themselves; but long before this time the idea had been lost sight of and even the Cistercian compromise of *conversi* abandoned. In a nunnery the transition to employing secular servants must have been peculiarly easy—for much of the agricultural labour was of its nature too arduous for nuns and had to be undertaken by hired labourers. Amongst the Suppression Accounts there is evidence of domestic servants also. Jane Brerey was paid 6*s*. 6*d*. for her half-year wages as butler to the house and Margaret Parkynson 5*s*. as cook. There is even mention of a man-servant, Richard Jenkynson, "servyngman," who received 10*s*. for his services for six months. As there were various sums paid out to no less than four other women, most

[1] *Y.A.J.*, ix, 321–325. [2] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 83.



The Windows in the Cellar of Esholt Hall, possibly part of the conventual buildings.

[*Photograph by K. Garside.*]

probably engaged in some domestic employment, this must be regarded as an item of expense, not to say extravagance,[1] for the number of nuns at Esholt at the time of the Suppression was not greater than eleven. The list of names, with ages attached, which is to be found among the Suppression Papers,[2] suggests that at the actual Dissolution on August 29, 1539, there were only nine nuns in the house. This document is the strongest possible evidence that a thorough inquiry was held at Esholt two years before the final blow fell. At the head of the list of nuns, as it originally stood, Elizabeth Pudsay figures as prioress. However, she was aged seventy and described as " decrepita et non abilis ad equitandum neque eundum," so that it is no surprise to find that, when the list was revised, her name was struck out. In any case, a sort of retirement had terminated her headship of the nunnery, for in the margin is scribbled " to hyr friends "; but since her tomb-stone was found on the site of the nunnery, we may go further and ascribe her death conjecturally to the period between the earlier inquiry and the actual Dissolution. Perhaps the same would be true of Joan Hollynraws, who was 74 when the original list was compiled, and in much the same condition as the prioress; she, too, was put upon the mercy of her friends and later her name was deleted. Who the new prioress, Joan Jenkinson, was, is a matter of some interest: she was apparently new to the house as her name does not figure until that of the old prioress is crossed out, and it is possible that she was brought in with the specific purpose of proving amenable to the commissioners. The other nuns scarcely require separate mention: among them are Joan Hutton, Agnes Bayne and Agnes Wood, whom Layton and Leigh had stigmatised as immoral at their visitation of the priory some years previously; the other names are Barbaria [*sic*] Dogeson, Agnes Cokyn, Elizabeth Maude, Joan Burton and Agnes Dogeson. In each case there is a note indicating that they continue in religion and the ages of all were subsequently altered, evidently at the later date.

There can be no doubt that the Dissolution was far more distressing for the nun than for the monk, who was often able to get himself declared *capax beneficii* and take a secular living. When this has been said, however, it is necessary to add that Esholt does not seem to have been hardly done by in the matter of pensions. Each surviving nun was given a lump sum of 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the prioress

[1] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, 83. 81-2; and see the list itself in Sup-
[2] Y.A.S. (Record Series), lxxx, pression Papers 2, folio 25a.

£1, to console her, and over and above this an annual pension—in the case of ordinary members of the house, £1 6*s*. 8*d*., and of the prioress £6.[1] Significantly enough, the alleged immorality of Joan Hutton, Agnes Bayne, and Agnes Wood did not prevent them from being included in the pension list, and there is a sort of cynicism about the government's generosity in this matter. The enrolments of the grants are absolutely stereotyped in form and it is most unlikely that individual differences were taken into account. Nevertheless, if the pensions were paid, the nuns of Esholt were not a great deal worse off, from a financial point of view, after the Dissolution than before it. As to this last point, of how far the annual payments persisted, two pieces of evidence may be quoted: the first is a list of monks and nuns receiving pensions in the year 1552, which has survived as regards the West Riding of Yorkshire[2]; the second is the Indenture of three years later whereby Cardinal Pole received from Mary such of the monastic lands as had remained in the hands of the Crown, in exchange for which he undertook the payment of the religious pensioners.[3] There is a curious discrepancy between the two lists—in the earlier only Agnes Wood, Elizabeth Mawde and Joan Burton are described as being "on lyve" and still in receipt of their pensions (albeit one year in arrear as regards payment !); in the later Joan Hutton and Agnes Dogeson are included. This contradiction may be explained, perhaps, by those two having somehow failed to appear before the commissioners in 1552; or, on the other hand, simply by an inaccuracy in the later year. The second list is at any rate quite definite about the stoppage of payment to Joan Jenkinson, the ex-prioress; it states succinctly "Null' quia mort'." Both lists show the nuns continuing to receive the same sum of 26*s*. 8*d*. per annum, and it is an interesting reflection how long they may have lived on in receipt of that sum. In his *Yorkshire Notes* for 1619, Roger Dodsworth has the following entry:

> "Near adjoining is East Esholt, sometymes a nunry, most neatly seated. Mr. Baildon, 1619, saith that Dame Margaret Martiall, sometime a nun at Esheholt, lived at Faweather adjoining, and had a pension of 4li. or 5li. a yere during her lief, and died some 12 yeres since, and was a good church woman."[4]

It is impossible to identify who this one-time nun may have

[1] P.R.O.—Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 234, 349.

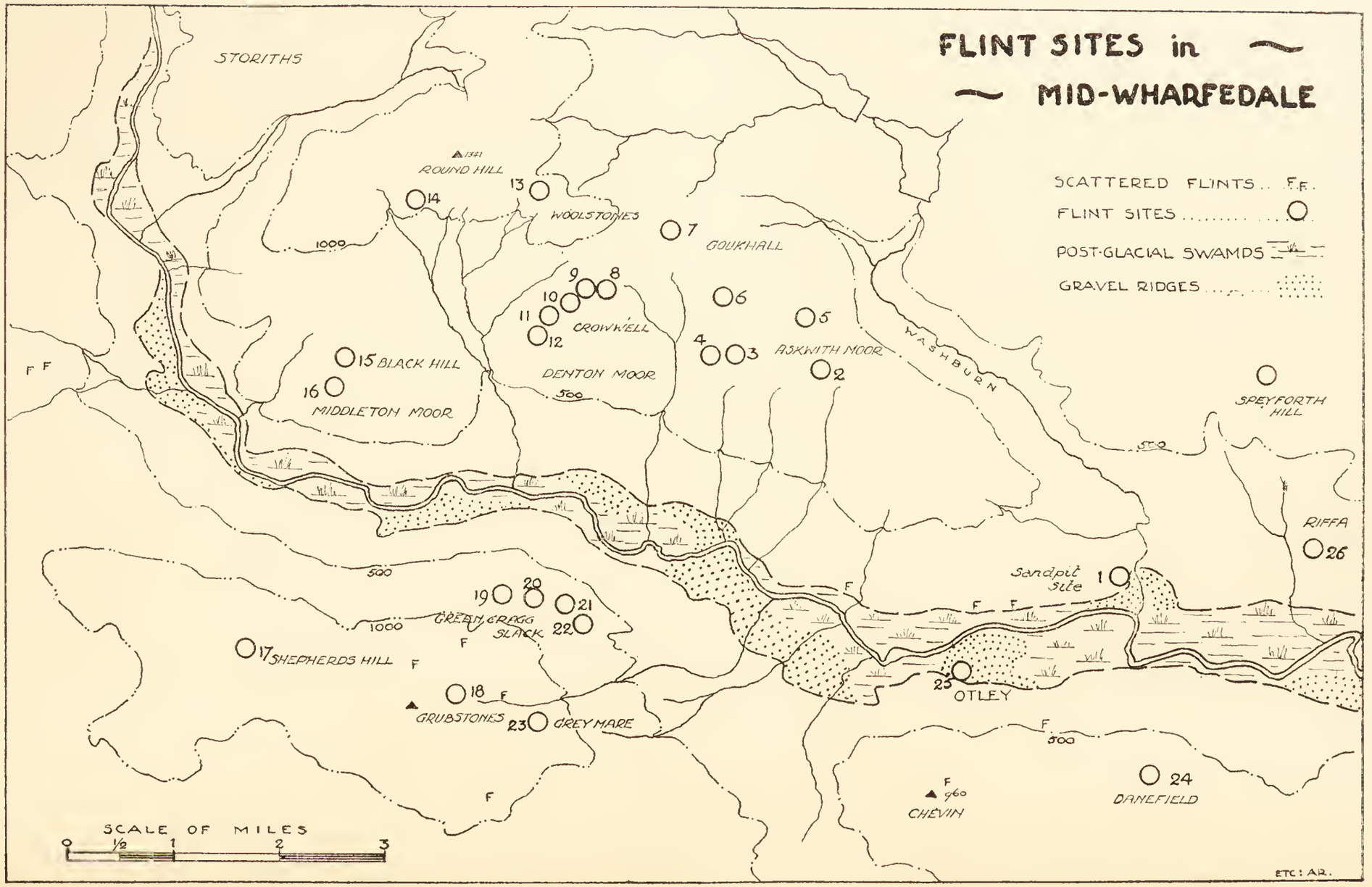
[2] P.R.O.—Exchequer Misc. Books of the Treasury of Receipt, vol. 59.

[3] P. R. O.—Exchequer K. R. Miscellaneous Books, vol. 31.

[4] *Baildon and the Baildons*, ii, 256.

been, nor is the sum of four or five pounds a likely pension. But if there is any truth at all in the garbled story, Dame Margaret may well represent the last rather pathetic survivor of the little Airedale nunnery.

The investigation of the history of Esholt Priory was begun on a co-operative basis, and the writer gratefully acknowledges the assistance, in the early stages of the work, of Messrs. W. T. Booth, K. Garside, J. D. E. Higson and O. M. Clement Jones.


FLINT SITES in MID-WHARFEDALE
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FLINT SITES ..... O
POST-GLACIAL SWAMPS
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STORITHS
ROUND HILL
WOOLSTONES
GOUKHALL
CROWWELL
DENTON MOOR
ASKWITH MOOR
WASHBURN
BLACK HILL
MIDDLETON MOOR
SPEYFORTH HILL
RIFFA
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FLINT IMPLEMENT SITES IN MID-WHARFEDALE.

By E. T. Cowling.

Much of the higher ground in Mid-Wharfedale is uncultivated moorland, where a diligent seeker can find many traces of flint-using and flint-working inhabitants of pre-historic times. Although it is proposed to record flint-sites and finds common to the Neolithic and Early Bronze cultures, it is necessary to point out that there is evidence of extensive occupation by the earlier peoples who had Tardenoisian affinities. The writer's own finds, confirmed by much other evidence,[1] point to wide-spread occupation by users of the "Broad Blade" flint-working technique; their successors who used the "Narrow Blade" method were not much in evidence and seem to have been only a short time in this area when the Neolithic method of flint-working spread over the country.

A glance at the map will show that the valley bottom in Wharfedale from Arthington almost to Addingham was formerly occupied by a series of swampy lakes, which covered an area about twelve miles long and from one to two miles wide. The banks of this series of swamps are roughly marked by the 200-ft. contour line on ordnance maps and are easily traceable on the ground. A very fine stretch is to be found in the Sandbeds, to the east of Otley. The remaining area may be divided into the lower cultivated slopes of the hills on each side of the valley and the higher moorland stretches.

Most of the flint-sites are situated on these moorland water-sheds, but the first and perhaps most interesting site is in the valley bottom in cultivated land.

Site 1. The map will show that the only stream of any size to enter the lake caused by the damming of the Wharfe was the Washburn. The termination of the water-shed at the confluence of these two streams is a sharp spur rising some twenty feet above the bottom of the one-time lake and giving immediate access to deep water to this day. This spur of land consists of boulders, sand and gravel in layers, and unfortunately has been used as a gravel pit for some time and much material has been removed.

[1] Dr. Raistrick, "Neolithic Sites in the North of England" (*Y.A.J.*, xxxi, 146).

In 1929 the writer's father, Mr. J. S. Cowling, noticed that flints were to be seen in the upper layer of soil, and a careful watch has been kept since that time. The top layer of soil varies from four to eight inches in depth and has been under the plough for years. All the flints found were mixed together in this layer and stratification is almost impossible. Many "Broad Blade" flints, especially cores, have been found, and a small group of "Long Blades." Neoliths are numerous. The writer's collection includes fifty tools of sorts and much waste material. A workman in the pit relates having re-buried a bucketful of flints. The latest find on this site is a portion of the rim of a second-century Roman vase, pointing perhaps to the last of a long series of occupations. The Neoliths are of varied material. The flint varies greatly in colour from black to grey and compares in variety with the raw material of collections from the Wold areas of East Yorkshire. There are specimens made from red flint, and as this variety is only found in the drift flint in the Bridlington area, it appears that the local Neolithic and later flint-workers imported their raw material from the East Coast. Small cores are numerous, many reduced to pea-like sizes and useless for any further human purpose.

One or two larger cores and some tools are made from local chert, usually black or green in colour, and obviously difficult to work. Many small chippings have been used as scraping tools and almost every piece of flint found bears signs of use. Most of the side-scrapers are small and much more numerous than round-scrapers, which require larger and broader flakes. There are several scrapers delicately fashioned to fit the hand, and one steep-sided thumb scraper has been made from an earlier "Broad Blade" tool; a portion of the earlier milky patination remains, surrounded by newer flaking. On the whole the finds are a common-place lot, but two pieces of brown flint afford a guide to date one occupation. Both are portions of arrow points. No. 26 appears to be the larger point of a leaf-shaped point and No. 27 is part of a hollow base point. Both these points are types usually allotted to the earlier part of the Neolithic period. A small white flake has a serrated edge and there are several small flake-knives and unfinished tools.

The presence of a few good tools amongst a large number of poorer examples and re-worked pieces seems to show a series of occupations by people who brought good flints but who had also to resort to using material left by earlier arrivals as well as the local chert. There appear to have been periods when the smallest piece of workable flint was valuable.

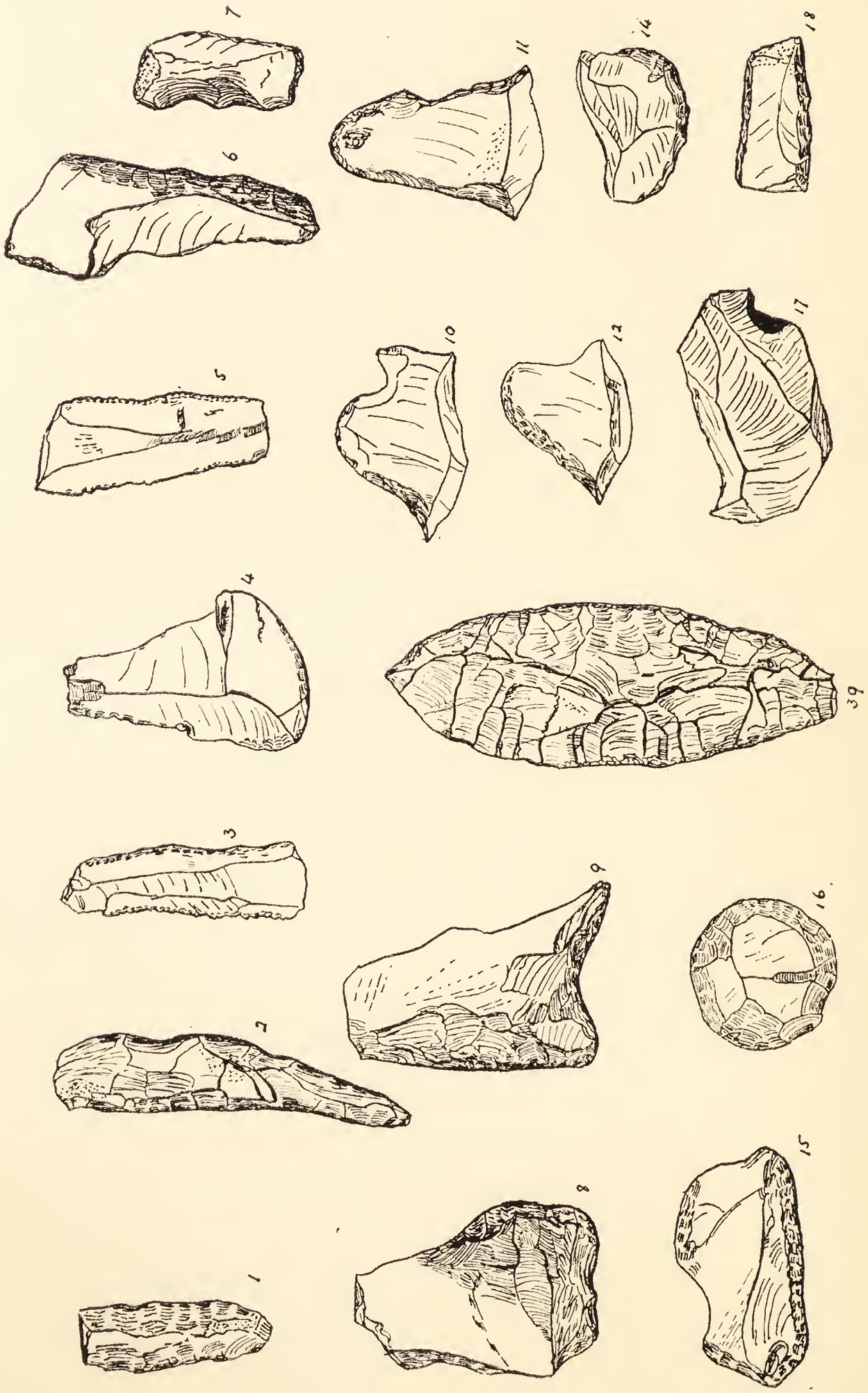
Site 2 lies on top of the watershed of the Wharfe and the Washburn, in the angle made by the joining of the bridle path to Askwith with the Snowden Moor road at about 900 feet. Here several scrapers have been found, and many worked flakes. The definite place where flint-working took place has yet to be found: in this area many portions of broken tools have been found, including the cutting edge of a flint adze. Close to this site on the east is a circular bank some 60 ft. in diameter. A well-worked flake of unusual shape is reproduced in No. 11.

Site 3. On the western slope of the highest part of Askwith Moor is a very interesting flaking site. For some time flints have been found in this area, but denudation revealed the working place about August, 1935. There were found some twenty finished tools of widely different varieties of flint. A large scraper of red flint is beautifully worked and has a fine glaze, as has a steep-edged side-blow scraper of brown flint. A small round scraper of dull grey flint has the appearance of newly-worked flint, and has been protected by being embedded in the peat. This presence of dull and glazed flints on the same working site shows that lustre is no guide to age locally. One blade of grey flint has been worked along both edges to form an oblong tool (No. 18).

A small scraper of clear black flint has been made from earlier patinated material, and several tools show small patinated areas. Still older material has been re-struck on the site but left as waste. The flint-worker on this site appears to have combed the neighbourhood to supplement the small supply of good flint.

Site 4. A small occupation site more to the west is found on a small hillock where the most important tools are a large end-scraper and a side-scraper of peculiar shape (No. 6). The broad end is held between the bent finger and thumb and the working part lies along the base of the thumb. The bare ground close at hand has yielded many flint chippings, and the finding of a scraper battered to the shape of a gun-flint indicates that this may be a flaking site robbed during the last century in the search for material for gun-flints.

Site 5. It is hardly possible to assign to Snowden Moor a definite flint-working site, for almost all the tools from this area are scattered finds of small scrapers except No. 24, a portion of a barbed and tanged point which shows a developed type with a hook-like incurving barb. The large stretch of moor sloping from the Snowden Moor road to the hamlet of Low Snowden affords evidence of pre-historic occupation by the presence of numerous barrows. Across the spur of the moor, which is a continuation of


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Snowden Craggs, towards the east, lies a small D-shaped enclosure, which has double banks on the lower and straight side. Whilst cutting a section of these banks in 1930 the writer found a side-scraper and a round-scraper resting on top of the upcast from the ditch. When the section was being re-filled two small flakes of the same flint were found. On the higher side of this enclosure a small hillock has yielded many chippings, but as smelting has been extensively done in the same spot, this appears to be another disturbed site. The whole of this area lies between 900 and 600 ft. (O.D.).

Site 6. Ellerker Pike is a well-known landmark at the highest part of the boundary between Askwith and Denton Moors, and many scrapers, worked flakes and cores have been found, including one or two of blue chert. A small flaking site was found in a small dry stream bed on the south side, and yielded one or two pieces of black flint of large size, several scrapers, flakes (worked for use as knives), unfinished tools, and a small core. Near at hand was found the finely-worked side-scraper shown in No. 15. A small barbed and tanged point, much damaged, was found a short distance to the west.

Site 7. The highest point of Gawk-Hall Ridge on Denton Moor is crowned by a stone cairn 1,083 feet above sea-level, and overlooks on the northern side a small site which appears to have been occupied by the "Broad Blade" people, for there occur several pieces of patinated flint, along with scrapers and worked blades. From the same site came the fine fabricater, shown in No. 2, which is the tool used in pressure-flaking flints of Neolithic times. There are also a flake knife and scrapers of the same period, along with worked flakes. To complete the lot was a "Broad Blade" core, re-struck and showing the inner black flint, along with a flake of the same material re-worked to a scraper edge. Many flakes with white patinated patches possibly testify to this re-working of earlier flints on the original occupation site.

Site 8. The western portion of Denton Moor is occupied by the valley of Dearncombe Beck. The ridge which forms the eastern side of the valley is known as Crow-well Ridge. This well-drained area appears to have been often inhabited during pre-historic times. Guarded on one side by a steep slope and on the other by extensive bogs, it was easy of access from the hill ridges and wooded lowlands. The name Crow-well appears to be the modern equivalent of "the circle of the well," for to the east of the present well and shooting hut are the remains of a circular earthwork, which is almost obliterated. In the upper portion of this enclosure the writer

found three rough-scrapers made from the same flint core, accompanied by another rough-scraper. No signs of flint-working were present. At the western side of the circle was recovered a small scraper from amongst the peat, between two stones of the bank.

Site 9. On the higher side of the circle to the west is a small flaking site which is peculiar in that the raw material appears to be portions of other tools. Several small scrapers have been found, and a portion of a broken scraper has a much-worn edge. One does not expect to find flint scrapers showing signs of excessive use, but the same class of find occurs on the next site, which is a short distance to the east.

Site 10. This stony area does not appear to have a flaking site, but appears to have been an occupation area which is above the average size ; it is notable for the high standard of flint-working, many blades of extreme thinness being found. Amongst the finished tools is a spoon-shaped scraper which has its edge so worn as to be unusable for scraping purposes (No. 4). There is a fine disc-scraper (No. 16), and a double-edged scraper of the slug variety is made from a close-grained local stone (No. 1). A saw (No. 5) and a portion of another were found together and show a fine workmanship, having some twenty teeth to the inch.

Site 11. Lower down the ridge is a flaking site where several large flints have been found, including a nodule showing an unsuccessful attempt to make a striking platform. A large scraper of black flint, nearly three inches across, has never received the finishing touches to the edge, whilst another of white flint, identical in size and shape, shows signs of long use. Cores are small, of different coloured flint, grey predominating. To the south side of this site the writer found at different times the two pieces of milky-coloured flint (No. 38). They show that a large scraper was reduced to a handier size by a single blow, a method needing considerable skill and not often seen in Mid-Wharfedale. Midway between this and the eastern side is a small badly-made point (No. 19) of unusual shape, having a thick base and an elongated tip. A few yards to the south was found a large unfinished hollow-base point of brown flint (No. 9) which shows skilful working on two sides.[1] Points of this type are usually associated with the Bridlington area in Yorkshire, and this find affords evidence of influence from that area.

The whole of Crow-well affords evidence of human habitation. Several piles of stones and traces of walling are to be seen, and flints can be found over the whole area. Perhaps the commonest

[1] *Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age* (Brit. Museum), p. 110.

type is that shown in No. 36; a stout blade is slightly worked to enable it to be used as a side-scraper.

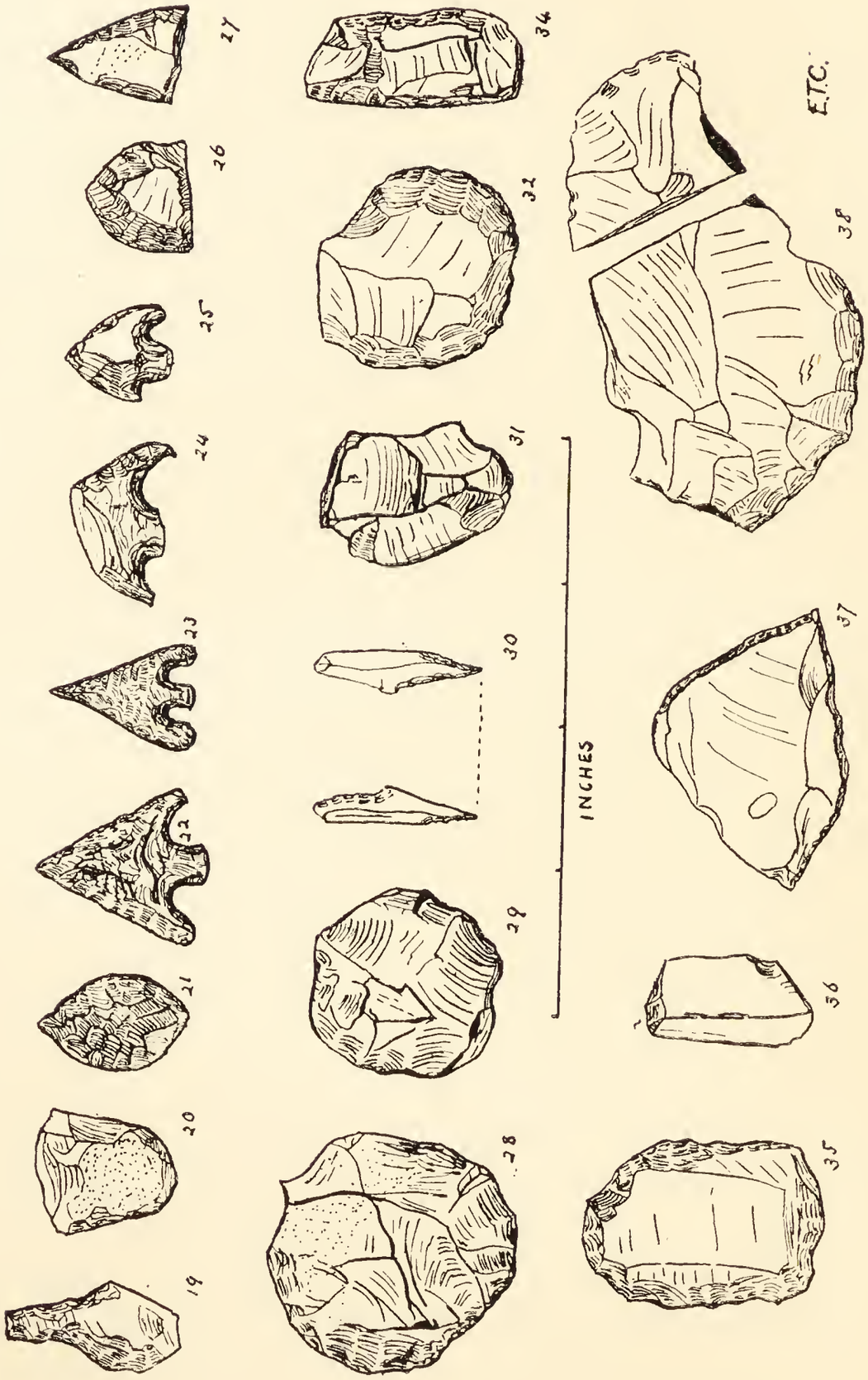
Site 12 is at the south-west corner of Denton Moor and near to Low Badger Gate. There are many traces of extensive flint-working on this patch, but it has been robbed of all larger pieces, perhaps in the search for gun-flints. Amongst several small cores and rough side-scrapers are a small core of black chert and an unfinished hollow-base point of the same material.

Site 13. To return to the ridge of the Wharfe-Washburn water-shed, a flaking site at Wool-stones is found. Amongst many chippings and "waster" flakes was the tip of a patinated point which had been re-touched at a later date. In the middle of the floor was a square gun-flint. On the bare ground to the west, flakes have been picked up along with a mutilated scraper, and a flake knife, much worked on one face.

Site 14. A recent discovery of several worked flints has been made at Middleton Moor at the point where the Catholic Gate foot-path crosses the 900-ft. contour. This recently-discovered site has produced a good side-scraper and several unfinished scrapers along with worked flakes. One portion of a well-worked tool has been burned. The nature of the ground around this area makes it the only suitable ground for occupation for some distance and the presence of a large cairn on the higher side seems to indicate an occupation of some length.

Site 15. The hillock on Middelton Moor which is known as Black Hill, is marked "tumulus" on the ordnance map and has a barren slope to the north which has been the finding-place of many flints, the only tools being rough-scrapers. Many pieces show signs of firing.

Site 16. Here, north-west of the Keeper's house at Upper Austby, on the edge of Middelton Moor, is a small occupation site where scrapers and worked flints were found. A black piece of flint is a "waster" point, whilst two spoon-shaped scrapers are grey, and two roughly-made side-scrapers grey and white respectively. The most interesting artifact, No. 8, is a large piece of local drift chert, black in colour, which shows extensive pressure-working on the greater part of one side. The conchoidal waves, left when each flake was detached, are much plainer than is usual in flint. After traversing the higher moorland which forms the northern boundary of Mid-Wharfedale, a distance of some ten miles, a crossing must be made to the southern side of the valley. The flint-sites on this side of the valley lie above the grit-stone


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escarpment, which forms a rough boundary between cultivated ground and moorland at about 800 ft. above sea-level.

SITE 17. The small hillock known as Shepherd's Hill lies astride the main ridge of Rombalds Moor, at 1,250 ft. This hillock was occupied in early times, and an early "Broad Blade" flaking site was found here. There is no trace of Neolithic flint-working on the spot, but several fine tools have been found here from time to time; amongst the best in the writer's possession are a horse-shoe scraper, a small knife of pink flint, worked on one surface (No. 34), and two well-made end-scrapers. A barbed and tanged point with serrated edges was found here by Mr. Crowther of Bradford. Mr. Crowther has in his possession a small stone axe which was found near the quarry in the nearby Whetstone Allotment. This is of gritstone, about 5 ins. in length, with a section almost circular in shape, a rounded edge and pointed butt.

The lower ground to the north has only yielded scattered finds, including a badly-made backed and tanged point from near the swastika-marked stone on Woodhouse Cragg. Several flints in Ilkley Museum, scrapers and cores, come from the site of the Ilkley Waterworks.

SITE 18. To return to the higher ridge of the moor, there is the area around Grubstone shooting box on Burley Moor. This area has already been reviewed by Dr. Raistrick (*Y.A.J.*, xxxi, 146) and has been well searched for years. Many fine arrow-points have been found, mostly of the barbed and tanged variety; many from this area are to be seen in the Lister Park Museum, Bradford. This intensive searching appears to have eliminated any trace of definite flaking sites; perhaps earlier searchers may have records. In the slack below the main ridge is Langshaw Dam, which is fed by Langshaw Beck. In 1926 the writer's father, Mr. J. S. Cowling, noticed a flint barbed and tanged point which had been revealed by the fall of a portion of the bank of this stream, and which lay two feet below the present surface of the peat. The drawing of this symmetrical and well-shaped point (No. 23) does not do justice to the most perfect specimen of flint arrow-point the writer has seen.

Lower down on the edge of the Moor, on the north, is a large area known as Green Cragg Slack. This stretch of moor overlooks the hamlet of Stead, and is bounded by Coldstone Beck to the east and Gill Head to the west. This area appears to have attracted pre-historic settlers for long periods, for barrows, remains of walls, and enclosures are numerous, and one may expect to find flints on any of the naturally well-drained patches.

Site 19. There were three sites on Green Cragg Slack where flint-working appears to have taken place. On the summit of the eminence which is traversed by the footpath to the Idol Stone the writer found many worked flints, amongst them a white leaf-shaped point and scrapers, most of which are small and thick. A few yards to the west a small barbed and tanged point was found.

From the bare, stony area above the Idol Stone two points were found together, along with a long stout blade. Both arrow-points are of the same material and appear to have been struck from the same core (Nos. 20 and 21). The leaf-shaped point (No. 21) is worked on both sides. The contemporary making of these two weapons of different type is worthy of notice. To return to the eastern end of Green Cragg Slack, there occurred a mis-shapen barbed and tanged point (No. 25) amongst the stones of a cairn which is one of the number of those which are grouped in the centre of the area.

Many fine tools have been found in this area. No. 37 is a flake of pink flint which has steep worked edges on all three sides and seems to have been a scraping tool of unusual shape. Close along-side this artifact the writer found a triangular piece of red rudd which had been hollowed out by continual scraping. The scratches made by the rough edge of the scraping implement are still visible, and a flint scraper appears to have been used. Prof. Gilligan states that the red rudd must have been brought from the banks of the Aire.

Site 20. The eastern end of Green Cragg Slack has two flaking sites quite close together. The first to be found is that which can be dated to the Bronze Age by the finding of the straight-edged barbed and tanged point, No. 22. Amongst a score of tools were the large steep-edged scraper, No. 32, and the small triangular sectioned flint blade, No. 30. Two flint cores from this site are cone-shaped and of brown flint (No. 31): the majority of the tools and chippings from this flaking are of the same material.

Site 21. A few yards to the west is another flaking site, which is smaller and of a different type. The first flint found was a white core (No. 28), discoid in shape, the flakes being struck from the circumference of the core. Some time after, the writer found a smaller core (No. 29); this core was identical with the first in shape and in the method of working, but made of local banded chert. Later were found several chert tools in the same patch, many clumsily worked, but some of definite Neolithic type, amongst them being the hollow side-scraper, No. 7, and two round-scrapers,

Here are two flaking sites close together (Site 20), with a Bronze Age point associated with cone-shaped cores, and the second site (Site 21) with discoidal cores and local chert tools. This use of local material points to a shortage of flint, a circumstance which would be expected during earlier occupations. Discoidal cores are typical of the flint-work shops of the Bridlington area. These two pieces of evidence point to the second site (21) being of earlier date than Site 20, and belonging to the true Neolithic period.

Site 22. At the western end of the ridge, overlooking Green Cragg Slack, is a small site which has only a few worked flints, but these must have been made by a flint-knapper who was above the average in skill. A long blade has one edge with teeth for use as a saw, and the other worked to a scraper edge (No. 3). A triangular flake is made into a hollow scraper and a pointed flake becomes a boring tool. Amongst worked pieces of black chert is the tip of a point of most delicate workmanship, but repeated searching fails to reveal the larger portion.

Amongst the scattered finds from Green Cragg Slack are the two halbert-shaped tools, Nos. 10 and 12. The edges and points of both tools show signs of use and the broad end of No. 10 is slightly worn. Halbert-shaped tools are most common in Derbyshire, Suffolk and Yorkshire.[1]

Site 23. At the eastern end of Rumbalds Moor occurs an occupation site known to several collectors, which has given many finds over a fairly wide area. Most of these finds are small cores, scrapers, flake knives and flakes, all of simple type, the only tool outstanding being No. 17. This is a large flake, worked at each end of the bulbar end, affording a comfortable grip for thumb and finger. The point and edges show signs of use. The writer always regarded this flint as a freak tool until he found one similar in every detail in the collection made in that neighbourhood by Mr. Kent of Tatefield Hall, Beckwithshaw.

To the east the steep ridge of the Chevin rises to the height of 960 ft. and overlooks the town of Otley. The western end of the hill does not appear to have been attractive to ancient flint-workers. Scattered finds have been found near Beacon House, Lawson's Wood and Ouslet Plantation, but no flaking sites have been found.

Alongside the right bank of the stream called Holbeck in Danefield Wood a few worked flakes and chippings indicate flint-working near a series of banks and enclosures of piled rocks. Above the wood, on the left bank, scrapers and flints made of East Yorkshire

[1] *Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age* (Brit. Museum), p. 105.

drift flint point to a site in the neighbourhood; from this stretch came a well-made scraper (No. 14).

Site 24. On the summit of the Deer Park a working site has just been found where the flints are situated immediately below the turf. So far the finds comprise cores, unfinished scrapers and flakes of flint. Surface finds have been made in this area for some time.

Site 25 lies on Bog Ridge, to the east of Riffa Wood. From the ploughed land on the eastern edge of the wood several cores, scrapers and flake knives have been found. Amongst the flints are two cores, but no traces of working sites are left. The plough turned up a green stone axe of Dolman type and in new condition. The sides are squared and the cutting edge is set obliquely to the axis of the weapon. The butt end is not pointed and the marks of the preliminary trimming are not entirely polished away. This site completes the chain of flint sites around Mid-Wharfedale and overlaps Site 1 at the confluence of the Wharfe and Washburn. The only other place worthy of special mention is the ground occupied by the oldest portion of the town of Otley.

Site 26. This stands on a ridge of glacial origin which lies north and south across the valley. It is breached by the river Wharfe to the north of the town. A glance at the map will show that this higher ground almost cut the lake which filled the bottom of the valley into two portions. On the ground itself it will be seen that a high, well-drained ridge was cut by a narrow gap through which the river flowed, and a stony bed afforded a convenient ford for man or beast. This would be the best ford and crossing-place from one side of the marshy lake to the other, conveniently situated about half-way along the flooded area. Not only was Otley a desirable, well-drained site in the pre-historic times, but also on the best cross-valley route for some miles in each direction to the east or west. Although the older portion of Otley has been inhabitated and cultivated for a known period of thirteen hundred years, traces of pre-historic occupation have come to light in the form of flint artifacts. One (No. 35) is an unfinished scraper of mottled brown flint, dug up in Croft Place. This tool was intended for an oval scraper with a continuous edge, but only half the final flaking was completed. The second find (No. 39) is perhaps the best-worked flint found in Mid-Wharfedale. In 1934 the ground, formerly a part of the churchyard to the east of the parish church, was removed to form a new footpath. About seven feet from the present surface, but below the general level of interments, two leaf-

shaped points were found by a workman. One was destroyed, but the larger was rescued by a friend, who noted that a skull and thigh-bone were visible near at hand. Unfortunately, all remains were removed before the find was reported. This point is $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins. across, and $\frac{5}{16}$ ins. in thickness at the broadest point. The point of one end has been broken off recently, for the surface of the broken flint is dull. This would perhaps be the result of a blow by the finder's pick. Both surfaces were covered by continuous flaking and the edges sharpened by delicate re-touching. The axis and one edge of the flint are straight, but the second edge has a slight S curve. The material is mottled brown flint of the kind which was often used for tools in the Bridlington area, and it is interesting that the previous find, No. 35, from Otley, is of the same material.

The position of this and the destroyed flint along with human bones suggest an early burial, probably Bronze Age. A search in Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain* reveals that the nearest points in type were javelin-heads found with a contracted skeleton (page 331). The presence of a burial implies a settlement, and in the case of Otley this could only be on the higher ground now occupied by the parish church.

The geological formation of Mid-Wharfedale appears to have largely influenced the settlement of pre-historic peoples. The lower slopes of the hills are composed of heavy clay soils and would formerly carry heavy growths of oak, ash and thorn, with an undergrowth of bramble and bushes. The hill ridges are a series of stony hillocks interspersed with peat bogs, and the early flint-workers settled in this more open ground because of lack of tools to clear the lower and richer soil. It is noticeable that the only two important sites in the valley, Otley No. 21, and Washburn No. 1, are on mounds of glacial origin, which would not carry heavy timber.

The only means of livelihood on these bare up-land sites would be the pursuit of game and the use of scanty pasturages for sheep and goats. The presence of scattered flints along the margin of the former lake shows that fishing and wild-fowling were practised. Agriculture does not seem to have been practised by the flint-workers of the non-metal period, for the stone axe, the tool of the husbandman, is remarkably scarce.

A glance at Dr. Raistrick's map of the "Bronze Age Finds in West Yorkshire" (*Y.A.J.*, xxix, 391) will show that these metal implements are found at a lower level than that of the flint sites. The advent of the metal axe appears to have caused the

clearing of much of the lower ground of the hill slopes. This would cause the removal of settlements to lower levels and the flint sites of that period would be made in these new clearings. This seems to show that the majority of the hill-top flaking sites were made before metal tools became common.

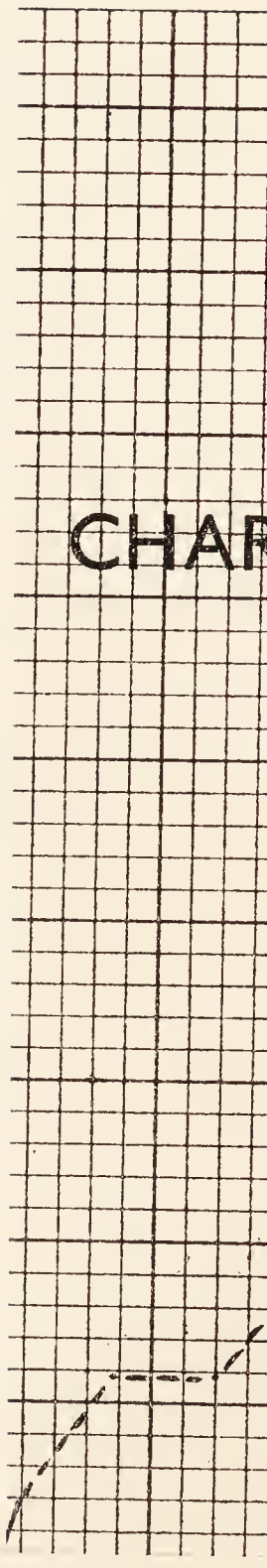
The flints themselves are made from material of drift origin, such as is found in the Bridlington area. The large number of completed tools in proportion to the waste of local flint sites and the quantity of isolated finds of unfinished tools shows that a considerable number of flint artifacts must have been imported both in finished and roughly-shaped forms. This importation of flint shows intercourse with the Wold area of East Yorkshire and the use of early tracks giving access to that area by way of the Plain of York.

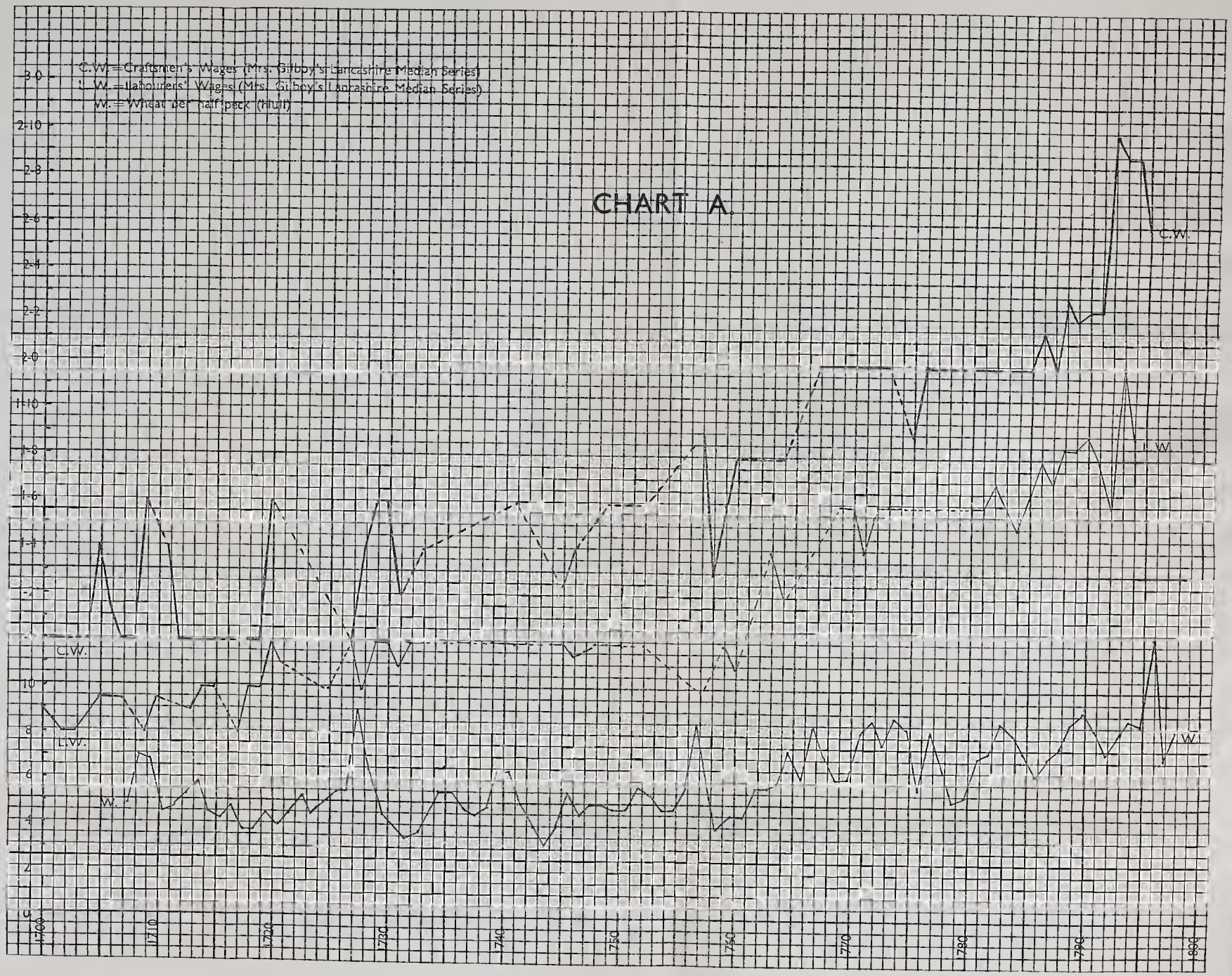
The flint men followed the hill ridges to Lancaster and crossed the tree-grown plain by way of York or Escrick by way of the elevated ridges formed by the terminal moraines of the glacial period.[1] Mr. Elgee has shown that this route formed the eastern half of a well-used route across North Britain in Bronze Age times, which carried trade between Ireland and the Continent. The search for flint by Wharfedale inhabitants helped to establish the eastern half of this most ancient of roads across Britain by way of the Aire Gap.

This road appears to have been unusable for periods, for local flint-workers had to turn to local chert and re-working older material to supply the current demand, but the variety of local flint forms and the prevalence of types of arrow-points common in the Wold areas shows continuous influence from that district. The artifacts made locally show considerable skill, equal to that of the makers of the Wold flints.

It seems that the early hill-top flint sites were made by peoples who were mostly of pre-metal times and lived largely by hunting. They were in constant touch with the cultures of the Wold area, and the need for flint insured that they shared in any advance of civilisation made in that district. The tracks they made to that area became an important trade route in later times and resulted in West Yorkshire gaining early benefits of the advances made in the Bronze Age.

[1] F. and H. W. Elgee—*Yorkshire*, 1933.


CHAR


C.W. = Craftsmen's Wages (Mrs. Gilboy's Lancashire Median Series)
L.W. = Labourers' Wages (Mrs. Gilboy's Lancashire Median Series)
W. = Wheat per half peck (Hull)
CHART A.
3-0
2-10
2-8
2-6
2-4
2-2
2-0
1-10
1-8
1-6
1-4
C.W.
L.W.
W.
10
8
6
4
2
1700
1710
1720
1730
1740
1750
1760
1770
1780
1790
1800

THE GENERAL TREND OF REAL WAGES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By R. Keith Kelsall.

It has long been recognised that the main obstacle in the way of the determination of the movement of real wages in the North lies in the lack of adequate series of grain prices. Mrs. Gilboy, the latest worker in the field of eighteenth-century wages, has laid all future economic historians under a lasting debt of gratitude, for she has collected and made available a mass of wage data, much of which lends support to her theory of the part played by the demand factor in the "Industrial Revolution." But when she came to make some comparison between wage and price trends in the North, she had to rely upon discontinuous data for short periods of time where oats were concerned, while the wheat price series she used also contained serious gaps. Nevertheless, in her own words, the peculiar interest of the North and its significant part in that whole course of events making up the "Industrial Revolution" is so great as to render it essential that some approximation be attempted.[1]

This lack of grain prices is all the more surprising in that, in an act of 1685,[2] it was laid down that Justices of the Peace in the maritime counties should, after the Michaelmas and Easter Quarter Sessions, send the collector of customs in each port the necessary information regarding the common market prices of middling English Corn to enable him to determine the duty that should be paid in the ensuing half year on imported corn. Partly because of the repetition and emendation of these provisions in 1729 and 1732, it seems to have been assumed that the instructions of the legislature were not generally carried out. The justices of Kingston-upon-Hull, however, took their duties in this matter quite seriously; and it is possible to obtain from the Quarter Sessions Records which have been preserved in the Guildhall the

[1] Gilboy: *Wages in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 191.

[2] 1st James II, c. 19.

prices that, from 1708 until 1791, they transmitted to the local collector of customs.

What, then, is the nature of these prices; and how far can they be used as an indication of the trend of real wages? It is comparatively easy to answer the first part of this question. Until the early thirties they were estimates as to the average price at which the various grains had been sold in the local market, presumably during the previous half year, made upon oath by two or more honest and substantial persons who 'were neither merchants nor factors for improving of corn nor any ways concerned nor interested in the corn so imported.' These persons had also to have either a £20 freehold or a £50 leasehold and were to be skilful in the prices of corn. From the early thirties onwards the Grand Jury at *every* Quarter Sessions presented upon oath the common market prices of middling English Corn, so that we have four prices per year on which to base our average instead of two. The grains covered were wheat, rye, oats and barley; pease and beans, and malt, being included also.

It is more difficult to provide an answer to the second part of the question, however, for the usefulness of these figures in determining the trend of real wages may be challenged on various grounds. It may be suggested, for example, that corn middlemen in the outports made a practice of forcing up the price just before the Quarter Sessions in order to get the port opened for the ensuing period.[1] When we are considering periods of ten years or more, however, and when our purpose is merely to establish a general trend, this factor of periodical manipulation of the market can perhaps be ignored. Again, it may be suggested that price estimates made only twice or four times a year are flimsy material on which to base yearly averages; particularly as in the large towns the bread assize was set weekly. In practice, however, assize prices also have their disadvantages. To begin with, they only provide us with wheat prices; and there are no oat prices for either Lancashire or Yorkshire which are even continuous for half the century. It is a choice between the continuous series of oat prices here presented, and fragmentary series for Manchester and Lancashire. Further, the assize was not, as a general rule, set weekly unless prices were changing very rapidly. Thus in Hull the assize was only set five times in 1784, and six times in 1782; and doubt will always exist as to whether a lapse of four or five

[1] Barnes: *History of the English Corn Laws*, p. 50.

months in setting the assize is due to the price of wheat not having varied by more than threepence a bushel, or to the laxity of the justices. It may or may not be significant that the Hull assize and "customs" yearly average prices correspond exactly when the assize was set frequently, and very inexactly when the assize was set infrequently.

On balance, therefore, it looks as though we are justified in using the "customs" price series for our immediate purpose, all available price series for the North having faults of one kind or another.

Mrs. Gilboy believes that her Lancashire median series for craftsmen's and labourers' wages provide the best representation of the general trend of money wages in Lancashire and the West and North Ridings of Yorkshire, looked at as a whole.[1] It is proposed in this article to relate these series to our Hull grain prices with a view of seeing how far the conclusions suggested by such a comparison differ from those suggested by plotting the same wage figures against discontinuous series of York Assize (and, from 1772, Yorkshire County) prices of wheat, and Lancashire prices of oats. Essentially, therefore, we are not comparing Lancashire wages and Hull prices, but are relating wage series which may be taken as typifying the trend in the West and North Ridings, to Hull price series. And it is arguable that the trend of Hull grain prices is at least as significant for the West Riding as the trend of York Assize prices.

A glance at Mrs. Gilboy's two Lancashire series in Chart A will show that there were three periods of comparative stability in wage rates—from the beginning of the century until 1719; from 1720 until 1760; and the short period from 1770 until the mid-eighties. In each of these periods it is fairly easy to pick out a modal wage which, though not necessarily representing a rate actually paid, usually does so in practice. It seems unlikely that, if the gaps were filled by interpolation and some other type of average extracted, the resulting average wage would be more useful for our present purpose than the mode.[2] The periods it is proposed to

[1] *Wages in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 192.

[2] The use of the mode seems to be appropriate in this connection, as extremes, which may be due to qualitative or regional differences, ought not to influence the result. In practice it so happens that the use of the arithmetic mean instead would hardly have altered the conclusions of this article at all. The arithmetic mean has been used, of course, in the case of our grain prices, where it is desired to give extreme items their full weight.

compare are the periods of relatively stable wages in which a typical rate can be picked out without much difficulty. As our Hull grain prices only begin in 1708, however, the first period must cover the twelve years 1708–1719.

What conclusions do our Hull grain prices suggest, then, regarding a possible change in real wages as between these three periods? It is proposed in what follows to take the family of six persons as our basis, and to assume that their daily bread allowance would be either half a peck of wheat, or half a peck of rye, or one and a half pecks of oats. It is certain that both oats and rye did, by virtue of long custom or necessity, figure in the northern worker's diet. In practice there must, indeed, have been a certain elasticity in the proportions of the different grains consumed; for however true the statement that the trend of wheat prices typifies the trend of the other grains may be in a general way, it is not altogether accurate when applied to the eighteenth century (see Chart C). In our calculations we may safely disregard the mixing of grains, however; for by assuming three types of family, each of which relied exclusively on one of the three grains, we shall be examining the extremes somewhere between which general practice must have fluctuated.

It must be made clear at the outset that our data do not enable us to estimate the actual proportion of the male worker's money wage which was spent on the family grain allowance at any time; in order to do so our wages and grain prices would have to be highly localised. It is obvious, for example, that a worker in Hull receiving the same wage as a worker in York must have spent a continuously smaller proportion of this wage on the family wheat allowance than his counterpart throughout the century, since York wheat prices ruled steadily higher than Hull wheat prices. Our data do, however, enable us to give a rough indication of percentage increases or decreases in the proportion of the money wage spent on the family grain allowance; which we may, for short, call the wheat, oats, or rye proportion. And on this basis remarks of a very general character regarding changes in real wages can be made.

Comparing our first two periods, then, it may be suggested that, as the mean price of wheat was the same for both periods and money wages rose as shown in Chart A, the labourer's wheat proportion fell by about ten per cent. and the craftman's by a little more than this. The decrease in the oats proportion was

of the same order of magnitude. Rye, however, was materially cheaper in our second period; and the rye proportion may be taken as having fallen, both for labourers and craftsmen, by 16 per cent. or more. There would seem to be adequate support, therefore, for the statement that our second period showed a substantial improvement in real wages as compared with our first. There is this qualification to be made, however, that if the available Hull grain prices had enabled us to make our first period begin in 1700 instead of 1708, the average prices of the grains in this first period would almost certainly have been a shade lower,[1] which would make the rise in real wages as between the two periods slightly smaller.

This particular rise in money wages, then, admits of no simple cost-of-living explanation. It is, of course, possible that money wages, after rising in response to an increase in prices which proved merely to be temporary, became "sticky" at their new level. But the wage data at our disposal are not sufficiently complete, and the wage and price series we are comparing are not sufficiently localised, to make it possible to test this point. Yet the point is of considerable importance; for it looks as though these were the years when the most substantial improvement in real wages took place.

Fortunately the next change to a new level of money wages, which took place in the sixties, is more easily explained: on that occasion there is a corresponding increase in grain prices, which do not again fall back to their old level. How, then, do real wages, in our third period of stable money wages (in the sixteen years from 1770 to 1785), compare with those in our second period? The labourer's wheat proportion seems to have remained roughly the same, while the craftsman's may even have risen very slightly. But the case is somewhat different with the other two grains. Here, while the craftsman's proportion remains the same, the labourer's shows a slight fall—perhaps some two or three per cent. On the whole, however, and speaking very generally, the evidence suggests that the improvement in money wages which ushered in our third period only served to balance the increased price of grain.

It has to be admitted that these conclusions do not altogether tally with those arrived at by Mrs. Gilboy when she related the same wage series to York Assize prices of wheat and Lancashire

[1] This supposition is based on early Hull market prices given in Houghton's *Collections*, and on the movement of York Assize prices.

prices of oats. Several important points of difference emerge. Thus in the first place our evidence does not suggest, as hers does, that real wages in the North increased steadily during the century, but rather that an increase took place in the twenties, and was subsequently maintained. This conclusion, it should perhaps be mentioned, does not depend upon the comparison of a short first period with a very long second period; for if we split 1720–1760 in half, the mean price of wheat, for example, is still roughly the same for the separate halves as it is for the period 1708–1719.

In the second place, it is difficult to reconcile our grain prices with her contention that real wages increased at a greatly accelerated rate from 1770 to 1790. "Money wages rose at a comparatively swift rate after 1760 . . . . There was no corresponding rise in the price of oats or of wheat. As far as may be judged, except for particular bad years, prices did not rise noticeably until the nineties."[1] On the contrary, our evidence suggests that there was a corresponding rise in the price of both oats and wheat, and also, to a less marked extent, of rye. This discrepancy is almost certainly due to the gaps in her grain price series; and in particular to the absence of wheat prices in the sixties and seventies, in the period between the lapse of York Assize prices and the commencement of the "county averages" published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[2] In the following table the ten years 1710–19 have been taken as base, and indices constructed from the decennial averages she uses[3] are compared with Hull wheat price indices.

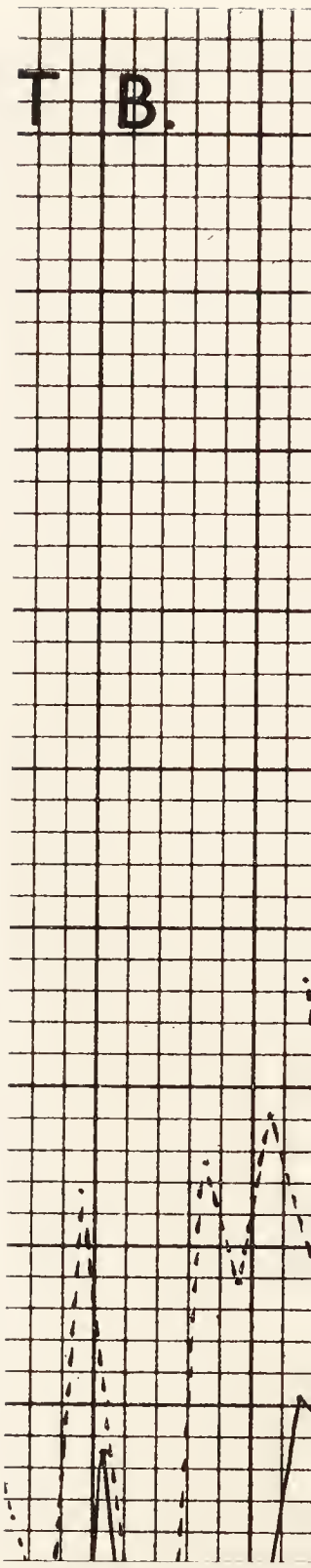
	York	*Hull*		*York*	*Hull*
1710–19	100	100	1750–59	107.4	112.1
1720–29	107.4	110.3	1760–69	100	128.2
1730–39	85.2	92.3	1770–79	107.4	130.8
1740–49	92.6	100	1780–89	133.3	130.8

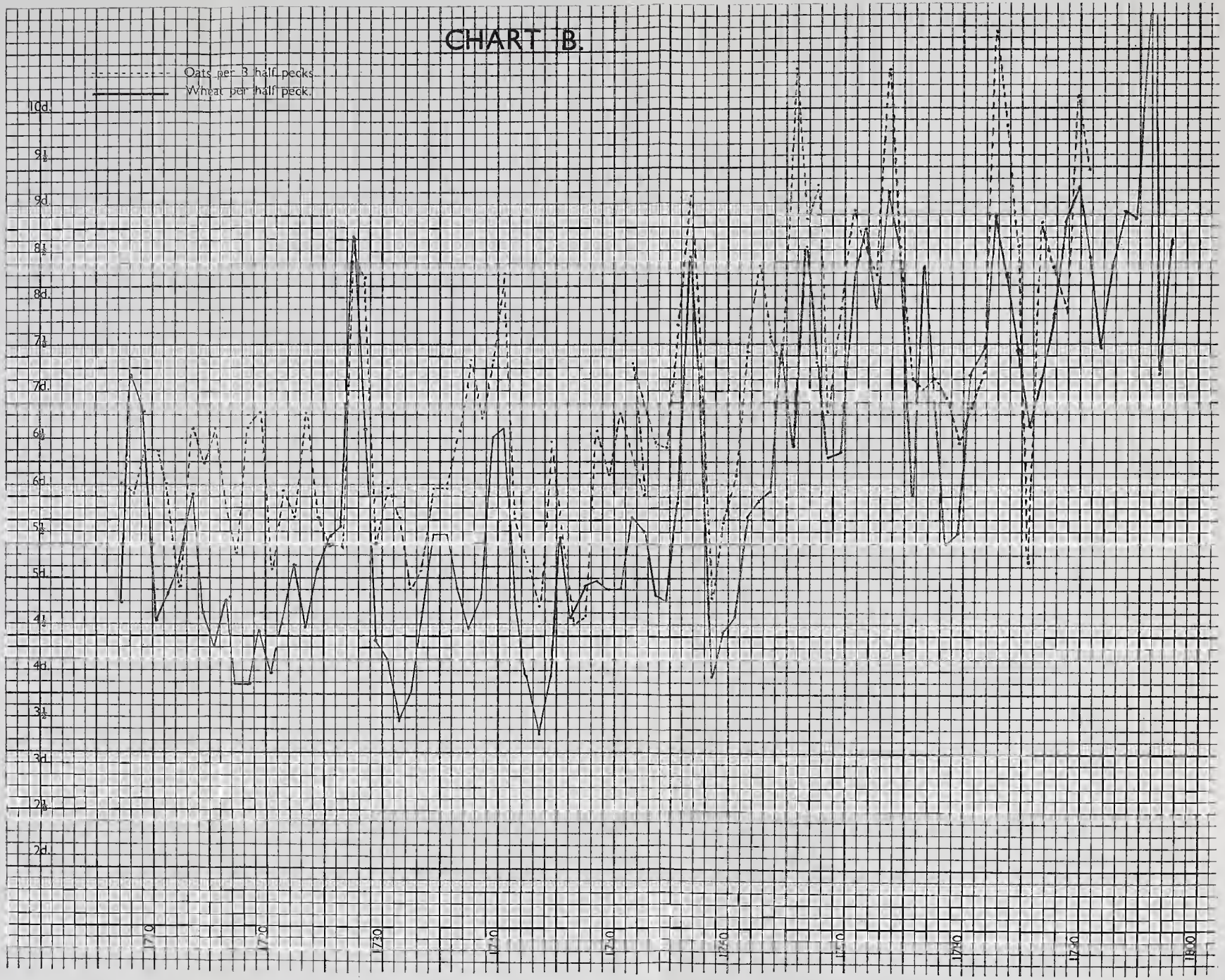
Although there are these important points of difference, however, there is at least one respect in which the Hull grain price series lend support to her conclusions, and that is in the matter of the general relation between the prices of wheat and oats. Chart B shows that the general trend of the prices of the two grains was the

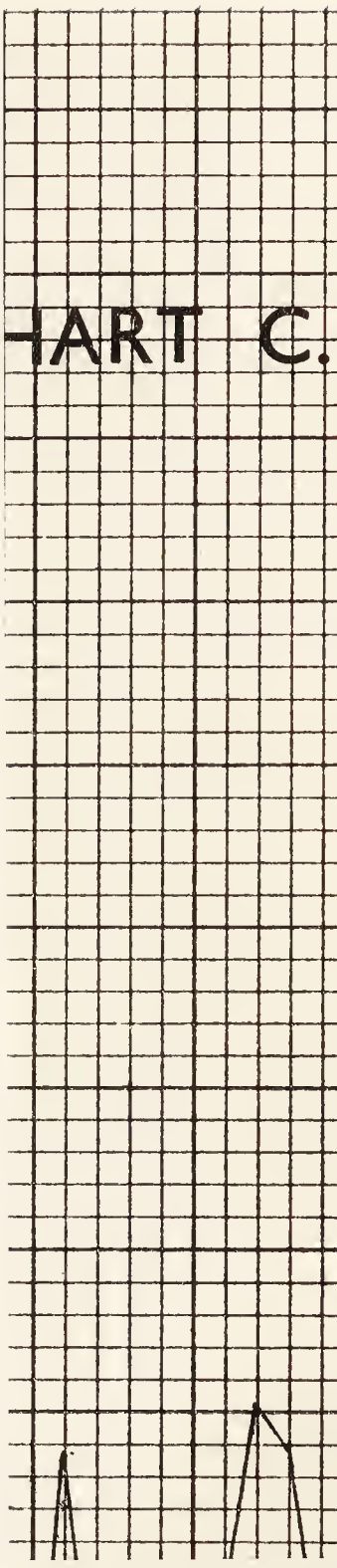
[1] Gilboy: *Wages in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 214.

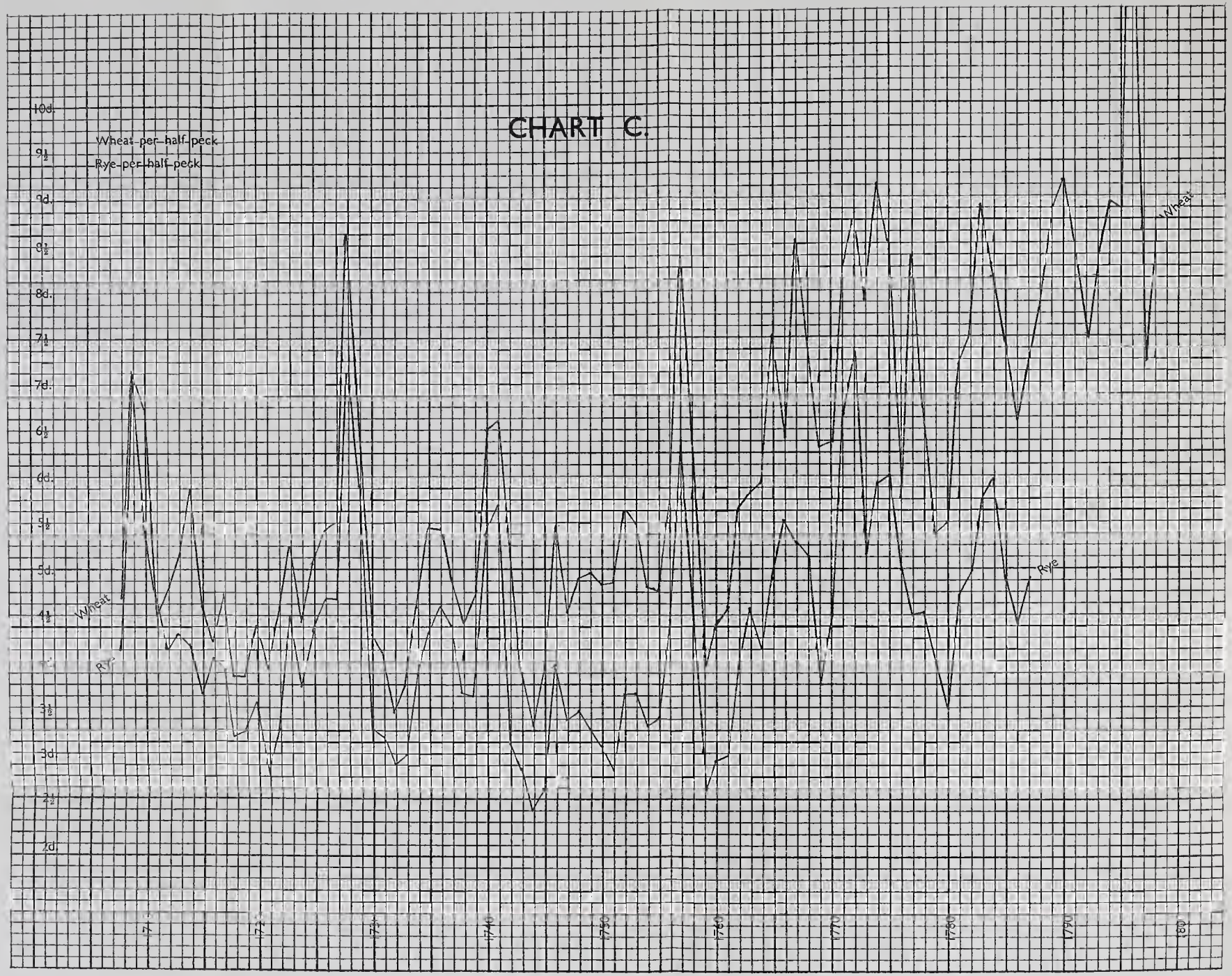
[2] The latter were published by authority of Parliament, and began in November 1770. But Mrs. Gilboy only makes use of them in her book from 1777; though in a previous article in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* she made use of them from 1772.

[3] *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1930.


T B.


CHART B.
Oats per 3 half pecks.
Wheat per half peck.
10d.
9½
9d.
8½
8d.
7½
7d.
6½
6d.
5½
5d.
4½
4d.
3½
3d.
2½
2d.
1700
1710
1720
1730
1740
1750
1760
1770
1780
1790
1800


HART C.


CHART C.
Wheat-per-half-peck
Rye-per-half-peck
10d.
9½
9d.
8½
8d.
7½
7d.
6½
6d.
5½
5d.
4½
4d.
3½
3d.
2½
2d.
Wheat
Rye
Wheat
Rye
1741
1751
1761
1771
1781
1791
1801

same throughout the century, and that a family could have obtained its wheat allowance more cheaply than its oats allowance during the greater part of the period. The question of regional variation as between one series and the other does not, as in her case, arise.

If those who remained faithful to oats did so for reasons which weighed more heavily with them than the relative prices of the wheat and oats allowance, however, the position with regard to rye is rather different. Rye was, of course, cheaper than wheat throughout the century; but proportionately its price did not rise as much in the second half. Thus the geometric mean of the ratios wheat/rye for the years 1715–50 is 1.266, while for the years 1750–85 it is 1.451. So that a movement of consumers in the North away from wheat towards rye as the eighteenth century progressed would have been justified on grounds of the increased relative cheapness of the latter.[1]

In conclusion, it has to be admitted that a policy of relating Hull grain prices to a series representing the general trend of northern wages can only yield very limited results. It does not enable us, for example, to offer any explanation of the rise in money wages in 1720, and their maintenance at the new level. It would seem, therefore, that an adequate general picture of the movement of real wages in the North in the eighteenth century can only be built up from a series of smaller " district " pictures, in each of which local wages are related to local prices. So far as the Hull prices are concerned, it is clear that they can only yield their best results when placed alongside wage series for the same district. I am at the moment collecting wage data with this end in view, and hope in the near future to be able to put forward at least an outline sketch of the movement of real wages in the East Riding.

[1] This increased relative cheapness may well have been partly due, of course, to the growing preference of English consumers for wheat.

[See table of prices overleaf.]

Table of Prices of certain English Grains, used for determining Import Duties at Kingston-upon-Hull.

Year	WHEAT per Bushel	RYE per Bushel	OATS per 3 Bushels	Year	WHEAT per Bushel	RYE per Bushel	OATS per 3 Bushels
1708	3/1½	2/9	4/–	1754	3/2½	2/2½	4/3¾
1709	4/9	4/9	3/11¼	1755	3/2¼	2/3¼	4/3
1710	4/6	3/8¼	4/3¾	1756	3/10½	2/10½	5/1½
1711	3/–	3/2¼	4/3¾	1757	5/7½	4/3	6/0¾
1712	3/2½	2/9	4/–	1758	4/2½	3/0¾	4/9
1713	3/5¼	2/10½	3/3	1759	2/7¾	1/9¼	3/2¼
1714	3/11	2/9½	4/4½	1760	2/11¼	1/11½	3/9
1715	3/0¾	2/5¼	4/1½	1761	3/0¾	2/–	4/0¾
1716	2/9¾	2/8¼	4/4½	1762	3/9¼	2/7¾	4/11¼
1717	3/2	2/7½	3/9¾	1763	3/10½	3/1½	5/6¾
1718	2/6¾	2/1½	3/6¾	1764	3/11½	2/9¼	5/0¾
1719	2/6¾	2/2¼	4/4½	1765	5/–	3/3¼	4/10½
1720	2/11¼	2/4½	4/6	1766	4/3¼	3/8¼	6/11¼
1721	2/7½	1/10½	3/4½	1767	5/8¼	3/6¼	5/10½
1722	3/–	2/2¼	3/11¼	1768	4/10½	3/5	6/1½
1723	3/6 (?)	3/– (?)	3/9 (?)	1769	4/2½	2/6	4/6
1724	2/11½	2/6	4/6	1770	4/3	3/–	5/3
1725	3/4½	2/10¾	3/9	1771	5/5½	4/5¼	5/11¼
1726	3/7½	3/1½	3/6¾	1772	5/10	4/10½	5/8¼
1727	3/8¼	3/1½	3/6¾	1773	5/3	3/5¼	5/6
1728	5/9	4/9	5/7½	1774	6/1	3/11¼	6/11¼
1729	4/4½	3/11¼	5/5¼	1775	5/8¼	4/–	5/8¼
1730	2/10½	2/2¼	3/6¾	1776	3/11	3/3¾	4/9
1731	2/9	2/1½	3/11¼	1777	5/6¾	3/–	4/8¼
1732	2/3¾	1/11¼	3/9	1778	4/6	3/0¼	4/9
1733	2/6	2/–	3/3	1779	3/7	2/7¾	4/7½
1734	3/0¾	2/7	3/4½	1780	3/8	2/4	4/3¾
1735	3/7½	2/10½	3/11¼	1781	4/9½	3/1¾	4/6¾
1736	3/7½	3/0¾	3/11¼	1782	5/–	3/3¾	4/9¾
1737	3/3	2/11¼	4/4½	1783	5/11	3/10	7/2¼
1738	2/11½	2/5½	4/10½	1784	5/6	3/11¾	6/6¾
1739	3/2¼	2/5¼	3/5¼	1785	4/11½	3/3	5/8¼
1740	4/4	3/7	4/10½	1786	4/4¾	2/11¼	3/5¼
1741	4/4¾	3/9½	5/6	1787	4/9¼	3/3¼	5/10½
1742	3/3¼	2/1	3/9	1788	5/2¾		5/6¾
1743	2/7½	1/10¾	3/5¼	1789	5/10½		5/3
1744	2/2½	1/7¼	3/1½	1790	6/1¼		6/9
1745	2/7½	1/9	4/3¾	1791	5/7½		6/3
1746	3/7¾	2/7¾	3/9	1792	4/11¾*		
1747	3/0¼	2/3	3/–	1793	5/6¾*		
1748	3/3¼	2/3¾	3/0¾	1794	5/11¼*		
1749	3/3¾	2/2¼	4/4½	1795	5/10¾*		
1750	3/2¾	2/0¾	4/0¾	1796	8/6*		
1751	3/3	1/10¾	4/6	1797	4/9¾*		
1752	3/9¼	2/5¼	4/10½	1798	5/7¾*		
1753	3/8	2/5¼	3/11¼	1799			

* Bread Assize Prices.

EXCAVATIONS ON SUTTON COMMON, 1933, 1934 and 1935.

By C. E. Whiting, D.D., F.S.A.

On Sutton Common, near Askern, there are two sets of earthworks, the larger roughly pear-shaped, the smaller, to the south-west of the former, roughly triangular. For convenience we may call the larger Camp A, the smaller Camp B. They are of the type known as contour camps, though rather unusual examples of these, and may be said to follow the outline of two sandbanks lying originally amid the marshes of the Don region. In Camp A a rampart runs right round the area; but on the north and east sides there are a ditch and a second rampart, and running round the north-eastern corner is a third rampart or breastwork. Camp B has a clearly marked ditch with outer and inner ramparts on the east side, and a rampart and ditch on the west. The south side has a rampart and ditch which only extend for about half the length of the base of the triangle, but slightly overlap at the eastern end.

Sutton Common was enclosed somewhere about 1850, but has never been under the plough. Draining operations were undertaken about that time, but wet weather to-day soon renders the lower ground water-logged. The portion in which the earthworks are found is separated into two fields. The fencing divides Camp A into two parts, but Camp B is entirely in the southern field. Mining has caused a considerable sinking in the land—we have been told as much as eight feet. The yellow sandy loam which represents the sandbanks lies over a stratum of gray clay, under which is a blue clay stratum.

The Rev. Scott F. Surtees described these earthworks in 1868 in a pamphlet entitled *A Roman Camp in South Yorkshire.* It contained a useful plan which is of value for comparison with the earthworks as they exist now; but the text was spoilt by peculiar theories about the Roman invasion of Britain.

Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft referred thus to these earthworks: " Here amongst the less determinable works is a complete enclosure of 800 ft. in length from north to south, and in width tapering from 400 ft. at the north to 200 ft. at the southern end. Its defences consist of one wide vallum with exterior fosse carried entirely round the area; a second similar line of works upon the north and east, and

at the north-east corner yet a third vallum, placed as a breastwork to the outer ditch. The whole of the surrounding ground is wet and swampy, and the actual area of the camp scarcely less so. This must be the explanation of the position of the dwelling pits, indifferently round and oval, which are set at irregular intervals actually on the broad inner vallum, to the number of thirty or more. The spot must have been the refuge of fugitives driven from the more habitable dry ground above the marshes, and compelled to make what shift they could in the way of dwellings." [1]

Dr. Corbett of Doncaster in 1909 or 1910 made some excavations on the site, but his records appear to be lost. The finds, said to include pottery, are reported to have been taken to Burghwallis Hall, but no knowledge of them remains. At various times between 1910 and 1914 the late Major Crathorne Anne and Mr. G. V. Charlton examined the site. They cut trenches through the mounds at three places on the western side of Camp A, and examined several of the hut circles, in which they found much decayed wood and thatch. Mr. Charlton informed the present writer that they found several flints, including arrowheads; but these have all disappeared. At one of the gates a pathway of brown pebbles was discovered. The present investigators searched for this but could not find it. Human bones were also reported.

Mr. Day, one of the masters at Doncaster Grammar School, with a party of boys from the school, made some investigations in 1926. Mr. W. T. Bennett and Mr. S. Hill were members of the party, and have furnished the present writer with their recollections. Trenches were cut through all three ramparts on the northern side, and the entrance to the north gate was examined. They found some fallen stakes in the inner ditch, these stakes lying on the lowest stratum of blue clay, and a skull of *Bos longifrons* was also found in the ditch. A pointed stake was found *in situ*, about midway between the two camps. Probably this was one of the series found in 1934. Some human bones were also found in the north-east gateway.

All this earlier work suffered from the fact that no records had been kept. It was therefore determined in 1933 that a further examination of the site should be made. Work was carried on for two weeks in August and September, 1933, two and a half weeks in September, 1934, and about ten days in September, 1935. We were particularly fortunate in our helpers, Mr. M. Eggleshaw, M.A., Mr. J. H. Eggleshaw, B.A., Mr. F. Eggleshaw, Mr. Wilfrid T.

[1] *Earthwork of England*, 1908, pp. 204–5, 246.

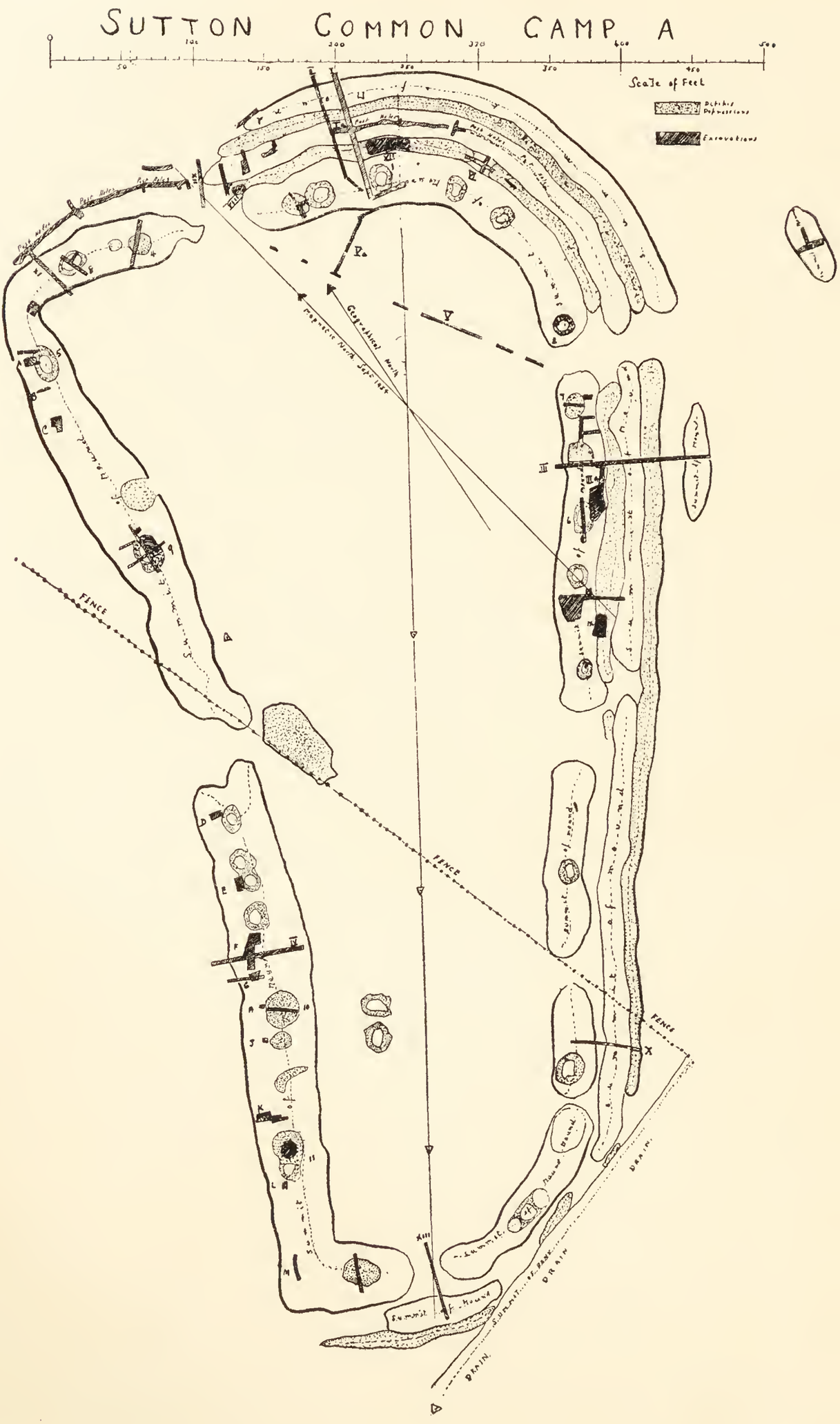
Bennett, M.A., Mr. S. Hill, M.A., Mr. K. A. Steer, B.A., and Mr. H. Thornton, B.A. To Mr. Bennett and Mr. Hill we are especially grateful for a careful survey of the whole site and the plan which accompanies this report. To Mr. Hill we are also indebted for the photographs here reproduced. In the actual work of digging we had the assistance of a number of senior boys from Doncaster and Wakefield Grammar Schools. Mr. George Lambert and Mr. L. A. Lambert of Sutton were always most helpful. Our thanks are due to Major Anne of Burghwallis Hall, who not only gave us permission to excavate, but took a kindly interest in our work. Dr. A. Raistrick of Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, very kindly examined the flints and made drawings of the most important. Most of all, the writer is indebted to Miss Mary Kitson Clark, M.A., who was present throughout the whole of the work, and whose counsel and assistance were invaluable.

Camp A.

Work was begun in Camp A at a point 232 feet from the eastern gates, the distance being measured along the middle rampart. A trench (I on plan) 128 feet long was cut through the three ramparts. A large post, larger and rougher than any found elsewhere, was found standing under the side of the inner rampart, and a flat strip of heart of oak was found lying in the outer ditch. The post showed no connexion with the system of posts and postholes which was discovered under the central rampart. A parallel trench (II) was cut through the three ramparts six yards west of trench I. Here, as in I, a few postholes were discovered under the central rampart, and a cross trench (Ia) along the rampart showed these postholes to be continuous.

Southwards from the east gate a third trench (III) was cut through the ramparts as before. In the inner ditch two stakes were found in position, the smaller much decayed, cut off at the top, and of the same size as those found in Ia; the other much larger, and more like the post found in I, and, like it, its point went down to a lower stratum, the blue clay. Both these stakes were on the side of the middle rampart.

These three trenches made the general construction of the earthworks fairly clear. The inner rampart, so called, was little more than a strengthening of the edge of the small plateau with yellow sandy loam thrown up from the ditch, or occasionally with turfy material. There is a slight depression on the inner side, so that some of the material may have come from the interior of the sandbank itself. The inner ditch showed no sign of Roman work;


SUTTON COMMON CAMP A
Scale of Feet
Excavations
Magnetic North
Geographical North
FENCE
FENCE
FENCE
DRAIN
DRAIN
Summit of Mound



(**1**) Trench IIIa. Line of stones on the edge of the inner mound. Looking southwards.



(**2**) South end of Trench IIIa. Looking northwards.

the bottom is very gently curved, almost flat in fact, and of irregular depth. Most of the up-cast from it must have gone to form the middle rampart: very little to the inner. On the south-east the middle rampart draws closer to the inner, and finally disappears. Between the middle and outer ramparts a space intervenes which could hardly be dignified by the name of ditch, but a certain amount of up-cast from it has gone to form a breastwork round the north-east corner. Under the up-cast of the ramparts we generally found the dark line of the humus of the original surface. Bones of *Bos longifrons* were found in the outer " ditch." The ramparts were constructed of sandy loam and turfy material. Although streaky lines of turf were often observed, there was no clear evidence of actual building with turf.

Thirty yards eastward from the eastern gateway is a short, low and isolated mound, the purpose of which is not manifest. Had it been nearer to the gate and covering the opening, it might have been compared to a Roman *titulus*. It was trenched lengthwise and crosswise, but nothing was revealed as to its construction or object. It is simply a heap of yellow sandy loam lying on the dark surface of the old humus.

A trench (IIIa) was cut at right angles to III along the edge of the inner rampart for a distance of forty feet. This showed a line of flat, unshaped stones, usually one or two deep; but close to trench III they were from six to eight deep (Fig. 1). At the southern end of this trench an area of about eight feet in width was found covered with stones of a similar character (Fig. 2). This may be the remains of the floor of a hut—a conjecture which is strengthened by the fact that a quantity of carbonized wood was found amongst the stone, showing evidence of large cut sticks or small poles. Then the line of stones, sometimes one or two deep, was found to continue intermittently along the edge of the mound, and was traced for another fifty feet southwards. There seems to be no question of a causeway here: the stones seem intended to strengthen the edge of the rampart.

In the north-east corner of the second field a trench (X) was cut right through the east rampart. The line of the old surface under the rampart was clearly marked. The outer ditch was quite clearly cut through the clay. The division, or inner ditch, between the two ramparts was hardly noticeable. That is to say, where further north the inner ditch was a real ditch and the outer ditch a mere space between the ramparts, here the position was reversed: the outer ditch was a real ditch, the inner space between the ramparts was hardly to be perceived.

The western rampart is single. Material seems to have been scraped up from inside to raise the edge, and the escarpment made as steep as possible. At A on the plan it is faced with rough stonework (Fig. 3). A trench cut behind this showed that this was not a wall, but that the stones lay on the side of the rampart, the broad and not the narrow edges in contact with the mound material, and practically covering it from top to bottom. Twenty feet further on, at B, there were seven courses of stone about half way up the rampart, and some fallen stone below. We say courses because the flat stones were laid one above the other. Twenty feet further on again, at C, there were also seven courses, originally ten, but three had fallen backward. At the distance of another twenty feet a few stones appeared laid one on the other. A fifth section, D, showed fallen stone lying low down on the face of the rampart. A sixth section, E, showed a fairly built low wall, falling backwards. The seventh section, F, showed on excellent piece of dry walling with an inward batter (Fig. 5). Its base was about a third of the way up the rampart, and rested on the yellow sandy loam. There were thirteen or fourteen courses of thin, flat, unshaped stones. Thinking there might possibly be a building here, a trench (IV) was cut to the east and west of this; but there was no evidence of a floor or of other walls. There were, however, evident signs of turfy material in the heaped-up matter behind this wall.[1]

In an extension of trench IV at the northern end of this walling were found fragments of a Romano-British pot. But this piece of good stone walling soon degenerated into very inferior work. The eighth section, G, showed six to eight courses, so roughly laid that they could hardly be called courses. The stones were set back into the material of the mound, and were in some cases two deep. A few loose stones had slipped back as though forced back when the up-cast was thrown over them. This section rested on the dark line of the old humus, under which is yellow sandy loam superimposed on the clay.

At H there were six courses standing on the black original humus line; the wall was about 2 ft. 6 ins. thick, set back into the material of the mound with a definite packing of turfy material behind it. At K the construction was much as the last; but the stone appeared to have been thrown backwards and forward by the up-cast. There seemed clearly to be turfy material behind it. Decayed wood amongst the stone suggested at first that a decayed hut had been cut through, but further examination seemed to show that

[1] *Cf.* Allcroft: *Earthwork of England*, p. 174, and illustration 54A.



(3) Stone facing of north end of west rampart.



(4) The line of postholes beneath the middle rampart, on the north side, eastern end.

the wood had been used as well as stone in this rough erection. A section beneath the hut circle (11) showed the stonework reduced to two courses near the foot of the rampart. This continued at L. At M there was nothing which could be described as a wall. There were loose stones spreading down the side of the mound, and evidence of turfy material behind them. Stone continued round the curve to the south side of the camp, but only a single line of single flat stones at the base of the rampart at the old humus level. Three trenches on the south side revealed no more than this.

The stones are all thin, flat, unshaped, undressed pieces of magnesian limestone not found on the site, but obtainable in abundance less than a mile away.

From Section A in the west rampart a trench was run out into the level ground at the foot. Trench IV at F was similarly extended. Both showed clearly that there was no ditch on this side.

The southern rampart of Camp A is the least marked of any, and seems to have been made by scraping up material on each side of the mound. There has, however, apparently been a good deal of aqueous denudation at this end.

On the north side of Camp A there is a gateway, the eastern side of which the middle rampart is seen to overlap. On the east side of the camp there is a second gateway. Trenches cut at various points in this entrance were barren of results, except that a few bones of *Bos longifrons* were found. There is an opening on the west side which has been thought to be a gateway, but it may have been caused when the common was divided into two fields. Similarly, an opening or depression at the south end has been called a gateway, and it has a small mound something like a *titulus* in front of it. But it is strange that there should be a *titulus* here and not at the obviously more important entrances. A natural depression at the edge of the sandbank, perhaps caused by flood water, would probably explain this opening.

The inner ditch between the middle and inner ramparts is in the main broad, shallow, and nearly flat-bottomed. Dr. B. Millard Griffiths, of the University of Durham, examined a specimen of the soil from the bottom of this ditch, and reported: "The soil is mainly humus with very little sand. Gypsum occurs in the aqueous extract. The soil is not a flood-water deposit, but has accumulated *in situ*." Two distinct causeways or crossings over this ditch have been noted and examined. Trenches at VI showed that the ground of the crossings was undisturbed soil. The ditch on each side of the crossing was somewhat deeper than the average. At VII the ditch

was cleared out for a distance of thirty feet. The rounded butt-end showed clearly against a crossing at the western end of this section (Fig. 7). Here the ditch was filled with loose peaty material, the demarcation between the sides and bottom of the ditch and the peaty filling being very clear. Some pieces of oak, probably remains of stakes (one piece certainly was), were found in this portion of the ditch.

Where the western end of the inner ditch abutted on the north gateway we found a broad plank badly decayed (Fig. 9). The finding of several other, though smaller, flat strips of oak led to a suggestion that these may have been planks fastened horizontally across the gateway in flood time. Immediately to the east of this point there was a deep depression, in which we found a larger quantity of bones than anywhere else, two flints, one or two light poles, and some sticks and branches. At first we were inclined to suspect a dugout dwelling, but this seems the least likely suggestion. If it was a rubbish pit there was not a great deal of rubbish in it. It may have been a natural " pocket " which had considerably deepened the ditch at this point, and rubbish had accumulated in it. It was not so certainly artificial as the next to be described, though it *may* represent a deliberate deepening of the ditch at this point. The lesser depressions on either side of the crossing mentioned above show the ditch varied somewhat in depth at different points, either from natural or artificial causes. At IX was found a similar but much deeper depression, cut right into the clay. It was undoubtedly artificial, and though it lay partly on the line of the ditch it was not directly united with it. Its base measured ten feet by eight. At the bottom of this pit were two large oaken planks, roughly hewn, with their ends embedded in the clay on each side (Fig. 11). A number of sticks and pieces of wood, and a few bones, were found here. One suggestion was that this was a water hole; but to make a water hole on this side would seem a needless piece of labour. It had been cut down to the clay at the base and at the sides. If it had been a rubbish pit one would have expected more rubbish. It was rather deep for a dwelling; moreover, we have found no other dwelling of this type on the site. Possibly it may have been a storage pit of some kind.

The makers of this ditch saved themselves trouble whenever possible by availing themselves of several depressions or pits along the line of it, though sometimes, as at VII, they had to make a fairly long stretch of ditch without such assistance. At two, at least, of the crossings the rampart on each side is slightly lower,

the total effect being reminiscent of the causeways on Neolithic sites. None of the "pits" showed any trace of habitation; what wood was found in them offered no suggestion of the roofing material of pit dwellings: moreover, such "dwellings" would have been filled with water for a great part of the year. The eastern ditch of Camp B seems to have been constructed in the same manner as this, the principal ditch of Camp A.

Trench Ia showed a line of postholes underneath the central rampart. This line was followed up in the direction of the north gate. In some the wood was almost entirely decayed, in others only partially, while in others again the pointed end and several inches of the wooden stake remained. One point was removed in a fairly complete though very decayed condition, and we attempted to get plaster casts of several practically empty postholes. In one case the experiment was successful, and showed the point of the stake, irregular but roughly square in section, nine inches in its greatest circumference and five inches long. The points showed very rough hacking, and though we found no trace of metal during our excavations, I am inclined to think that the hacking was done with a metal instrument.

This row of posts and postholes was followed up during the three seasons' work, and has been found to extend under the whole length of the central rampart from the east to the north gate. Both the placing and spacing are irregular. The average distance between two posts is about one foot, but varies from eight to fifteen inches. Though following the line of the rampart, the course of this line of posts does not exactly coincide with the central axis of it (Fig. 4).

The way in which these posts follow the general curving course of the central rampart suggested at first a palisade on the rampart, but where portions of the posts still remain they never appear above the original surface level. This level is very clearly indicated by a dark band of humus underneath the heaped-up material of the rampart. Even the best preserved stake never rose above this dark line, and in no case were we able to find evidence of a stake thrusting up into the rampart material. This is made the more clear by the occasional discovery elsewhere of two much larger posts extending into the upper mound.

Moreover, the line of posts and postholes continues from the end of the middle rampart westward across the level ground in front of the north gate, showing a tendency to curve inwards, *i.e.* southwards. We were able to trace them in this direction for

about a hundred feet. After that all trace of them disappeared. In 1934 and 1935 a series of cross trenches and parallel trenches (not shown on plan) failed to find them. As far as we were able to trace them the stakes have on this side no connection with the rampart, though with the exception of two small gaps at the north-west angle the line extends along the whole of the north side. On the eastern side they appear to cease at the north side of the east gateway. Several trenches across the gateway, and at several points on the central mound south of that gateway, failed to find any evidence of such posts or postholes, with the single exception of the smaller post found in trench III.

At the western end of the central rampart the stumps were less decayed (Fig. 6), and there were less empty or nearly empty postholes. The stumps which remain are of oak, and vary from four to five inches in thickness; and in places there was evidence of brushwood between them. The general appearance of the stumps suggests that at some time or other the tops had been hacked off: there were no signs of burning that we could see. If the cause were natural decay this would suggest a very long interval between the palisade and the mounds. The postholes gave no indication that any stake had been wrenched out.

It must be admitted that this line of stakes follows suspiciously the line of the central rampart; but for reasons already given it would seem that the two are not connected, but that both merely follow the contour of the sandbank.

On the ramparts of the two camps are found frequent circular depressions, each surrounding a low mound. These appear to represent the sites of huts. Thirty-four have been noted, but there were probably others hidden by the long grass and rough vegetation of the common. Eleven have been examined.

(1) At the south end of trench I we found a number of unhewn limestone flags forming roughly one half of a circular floor. Above them was a layer of carbonized wood; over this a thin layer of yellow sandy loam. A few irregularly placed stones of the same kind suggested the other part of the floor. A net sinker (?) was found in this area, a clay ball, and a few bones of *Bos longifrons*.

(2) On the north side of the east gate, on the inner rampart, carbonized wood was again observed. Here were postholes; one, near the gateway towards the outside of the mound, contained decayed wood. A second was diagonally opposite to this, and there was a doubtful third.

(3) A trench (V) in disconnected sections was made inside the



(**5**) Camp A. Walling under the western rampart.



(**6**) The line of stakes and postholes under the middle rampart, western end.

rampart from the north to the east gate without result. From this another trench (Va) was cut towards hut (1). Thirty feet from (1) along this line was a small space flagged with small pieces of limestone. This was immediately under the surface formed by modern vegetation, but appeared to be ancient for all that, because at this level, and in this trench, were found bones and a horn of *Bos longifrons*. The stumps of two posts were also found in this trench.

(4) To the west of the north gateway on the extreme end of the rampart. A trench cut through this along the line of the rampart revealed a posthole with the stump of a post. A trench cut at right angles from this post towards the inner side of the camp showed that there had been a support made of turfy material for the base of the hut. A slight amount of carbonized wood was found; but this particular site had been examined before, and the ground was found to be much disturbed.

(5) On the west rampart just after it turns south. Here again were signs of turfy material, and one posthole with wood in it.

(6) On the east side, south of the east gate. There appeared to be two huts here, and carbonized wood was found to the north and south with a gap between.

(7) To the north of (6). Cross trenches through this circle showed a thick layer of carbonized wood. Signs of turf packing also appeared.

(8) In the north-west corner. Cross trenches were cut, and one half of the circular depression cleared out. The carbonized wood had fallen to the south side, outside the circular trench.

(9) On the west rampart. Probably two huts were close together here. A trench was cut north and south through the centre, and the eastern side was carefully opened out. Three postholes were found in the long trench, running north and south, but not in line with one another, for the most northerly of the three was 1 ft. 6 ins. west of the line of the other two. Two others were found to the east, outside the circular depression. These were not in alignment with any of the three in the centre. Perhaps if we had had time to open the western half of the site we might have found two others corresponding to them. Much carbonized wood was found, both at the south and north ends of the central trench.

(10) On the western rampart. A cross-trench through it revealed only a quantity of carbonized wood on the western half between the yellow sandy loam and the modern humus.

(11) On the western rampart. The whole surface within the circular depression was carefully stripped off, but nothing but the usual carbonized wood was found.

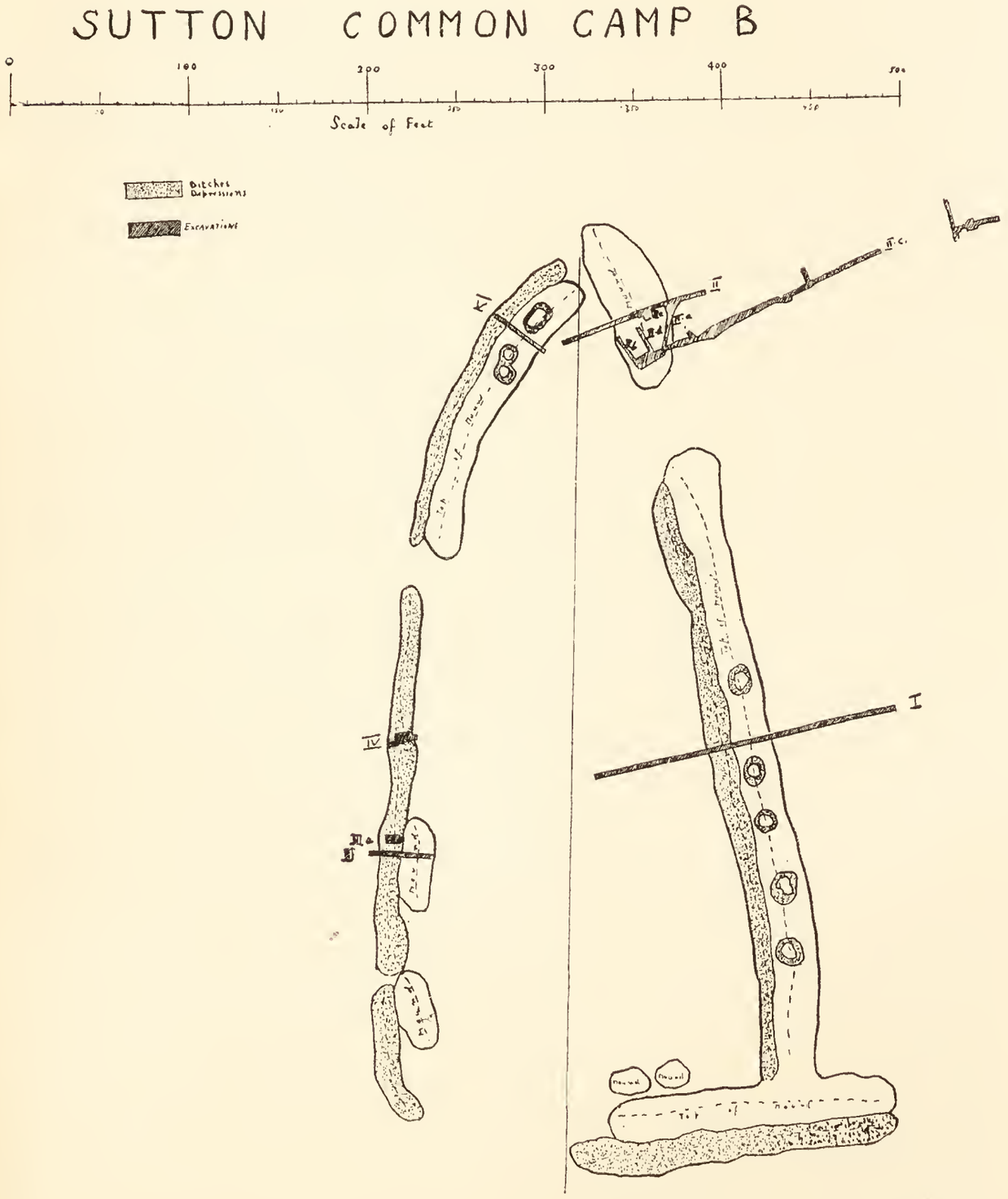
The huts appear to have been built of light poles and brushwood. The postholes found along the west rampart are too infrequent, and when found, too far apart, to have any connexion with the stockade on the northern side, and seem to be connected with these huts. Amongst the carbonized wood were occasionally seen what appeared to be sections of squared sticks. In Camp A at IX was found in 1934 a roughly-pointed stick $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, square in section. It snapped in two and showed the blackness of the carbonization, though an iron-oxide deposit had given the outside a yellowish-red appearance. These two factors—carbonization of wood and the presence of iron-oxide—have given a superficial appearance of burning to the ruins of some of these huts, and one or two of the previous investigators were misled into thinking that they had been destroyed by fire.

The chief characteristic of these hut circles is a circular or oval trench, about a foot in width, and in each case dug down into clean subsoil. Turfy material was found sometimes in the inner ring formed by the trench, sometimes outside—sometimes both. Outside it *may* represent upcast from the trench, but a backing of turfy material as a support for the construction seemed to be indicated in one or two instances. Inside it *may* represent the collapse of such support. If the trench was a drain it would not be a very satisfactory one as it had no outlet and, since postholes have been found both within and without the same circle, part at least of the drain would be inside the hut. No posthole was found in any of these circular trenches and there was no evidence of a central pole. No hearth has been discovered. The huts are almost all on the ramparts; two only were discovered in the inner area of Camp A and one of these was doubtful. In one case the floor seemed to have been covered with stone, and two other doubtful stone floors have been observed—doubtful because no certain evidence of hut construction was noticed in connexion with these. When the inhabitants forsook the spot we could see what was the fate of different huts: some collapsed downwards, some sagged over in one direction, and some in another.

Camp B.

A trench (I) cut through the east rampart showed that a ditch, twenty feet wide at this point, had been made along the edge of the sandbank, and the material heaped up on each side. Under the up-cast yellow sandy material was the dark line of the original humus, sloping on each side towards the ditch. A cut log was lying lengthwise in the ditch at this point. The trench showed

clearly that there was no outer ditch. The inner ditch had a butt end against the south rampart. This ditch was of the same character as the inner ditch in Camp A. It was broad, and the bottom was slightly rounded, and at least one crossing was noted, though there was not time to examine it.



The southern end of this camp was puzzling. There was an outer ditch here, and the southern rampart and the outer ditch overlapped at the east end of the eastern rampart and ditch. Both rampart and ditch on the south side ended half way across the camp, though the western ditch appeared to be curving round to meet the southern. Thus a great gap was left on the south side,

suggesting that this earthwork was never finished. Yet on the other hand, at least eight dwelling places have been observed; so it would appear to have been inhabited and contemporary with Camp A.

The western rampart had an outer ditch. Only traces of this rampart are now clearly visible, though according to Mr. Scott Surtees' plan it was practically all visible in 1868. This rampart was little more than a strengthening of the edge of the sandbank as on the west side of Camp A. A trench (III) through the ramparts and ditch showed the ditch itself to be shallow. Animal bones, including a skull of a sheep, were found here. At IIIa there was a deeper depression, showing features similar to VIII in Camp A. Here were branches of willow and other sticks, and a number of bones.

Another trench (IV) through the ditch showed yellow sandy loam on the inner side, and grey clay streaked with yellow on the outer. This seems to show that the ditch was dug on the edge of the sandbank, and the yellow up-cast thrown inwards, especially as the dark line of the old humus slanted down towards the ditch under the up-cast. Here, amongst other bones, were found three skulls of sheep.

To the north of IV will be observed a break in the line of the rampart. This may have been intended as a gateway. Trench V at the extreme north-west showed an interesting feature. Above the dark line of the original humus was a streak of yellow up-cast, then turfy material, then the rest of the up-cast.

As the east and west ramparts approach one another at a sharp angle at the northern end they almost meet. A small amount of yellow sandy material lying between them at this point, though it might have been mere wash from the two, seems to show that the two ends were originally united. There is a break through the eastern rampart at a distance of 75 feet from the northern end, and this may have been a gateway, as the similar opening in the western rampart may have been. The northern end of the eastern rampart consequently takes the form of an oval-shaped mound, 75 feet long and 28 feet broad. A trench (II) was made transversely through the middle. Under the yellow up-cast, in the centre, at IIe, we found a bed of sticks and pieces of wood laid on the peat which appeared here. We might suppose a kind of raft laid on the soft ground to bear the up-cast: but this explanation would be more satisfactory had this agglomeration covered a larger area. In IIa, at the point where it leaves II, and under the edge of the rampart,



(7) The ditch cleared out down to the original clay, showing a crossing.



(8) The "wheel" as first found with the stones lying upon it.

was found a portion of an oaken wheel, which will be described later. This was lying on the clay under the heel of the mound and helps to strengthen the idea of a "raft," but this does not seem a satisfying suggestion, for the reason already given; and still less so if the stones lying on this object had any significance. Miss M. Kitson Clark, however, leans strongly to the "raft" theory, because of the abundance of peaty material under the clay.

Trench IIc was cut parallel to II, and carried more than half way across the space between the two camps. IIb and IId were cut back into the rampart nearly to II, but showed no trace of wood "rafting," and no other feature of interest. But in IIe, from the point where it meets IId, we discovered a line of posts and postholes, beginning under the rampart and crossing the space between the two camps. One of the largest of the stumps was seventeen inches in length, twelve inches in circumference, and had a point six inches long. Another was nine inches in length and had a circumference of thirteen inches (Fig. 12). The small trench shown on the plan at right angles to IIc shows the point at which we failed to find any more of these stumps.

Comparing this line of posts with that to the north of Camp A, we may say that over 150 posts and postholes were found on the north side of Camp A, and about 25 running from Camp B towards Camp A; that the stumps in A were smaller, and that their points tended to be more angular in section, whereas those between the camps were rounded and much better preserved—which last, however, may be due to the peaty soil in which they were found. They also seem to have had their tops hacked away. Mr. Allcroft said that "there were traceable in a straight line leading from the western entrance (of Camp A) the stumps of old logs, which it is suggested represent the remains of a causeway." [1] If by "a causeway" anything like a corduroy road is suggested, we can only say that we found no evidence whatever for this. Mr. W. T. Bennett recollected the finding of one post on the line between the two camps. In the hope of discovering a causeway, with perhaps traces of a stockade to the right and left of it, we searched but could find no signs of this.

This line of stakes is certainly not connected with the ramparts. It crosses the level ground between the two camps, and only the first few stakes of the series are under the rampart. They are not in strict alignment, though they follow the same general line from east to west as those found to the north of Camp A; but no other

[1] A. Hadrian Allcroft: *Earthwork of England*, p. 246*n*.

connexion between them has been discovered. We have no evidence as to whether they were contemporary.

The principal objects found were the following:

1. Camp B, trench IIIa, at a depth of three feet, in dark silt—Six grains of wheat, carbonized (1934).
2. Camp A, on the area of hut (1)—A baked clay ball for slinging, one side rather battered. Diameter $1\frac{1}{16}$ ins. (1933).
3. Camp A, on the area of hut (1)—A circular stone object with a central hole. The stone is sandstone from the coal measures, heavily stained with peat or manganese. It is $\frac{11}{16}$ in. thick. Perhaps too heavy for a spindle whorl; more probably a net sinker.
4. Camp A, in extension of trench IV—Fragments of a Romano-British pot in dark grey ware. The bulk of the fragments were in the soil overlying a broken down portion of the wall, but some fragments had slipped down amongst the stones. Miss Kitson Clark reported upon it:—"It would seem to be about 5 ins. in diameter at the mouth and from 8 ins. to 10 ins. high. Lattice work is scratched on the shoulder. The obtuse angle of the lattice is at the top. The rim is not very wide-spreading. It looks rather like some of the later pots in the early Ilkley groups."[1] Mr. Eric Birley, F.S.A., dated it as early third or, at earliest, late second century.
5. In camp B, under the eastern edge of the eastern rampart, just south of the junction of trenches II and IIa, there was found in 1934 a large flat slab of oak, cut longitudinally instead of in horizontal section. A number of stones were piled on it (Fig. 8), and these were photographed and carefully covered up over the weekend; but some hooligans discovered them and threw them away. There was a round hole in the middle of the slab, and a post standing upright in that, like a large axle protruding from a wheel (Fig. 10). The upper part of the post decreased in size towards the top, but apparently more from decay than from sharpening. The stones had been laid in some sort of order (as seen in the photograph) on layers of sticks and clay.

   This object was found resting on the natural clay. The post, which had been cut off flat at the bottom, rested on the same surface. The diameter of the hole in which it stood was from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ins. The slab measured 3 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at its greatest length and 2 ft. 3 ins. at its greatest breadth; the two sides,

[1] *Cf. Y.A.J.*, xxviii, pl. xxxiv—esp. no. 34.



(**9**) Oaken plank *in situ* as found at west end of inner ditch.



(**10**) The "wheel" after removal of the stones.

measuring 2 ft. 1 in., were roughly straight; the two ends were curved.

Various suggestions have been considered. Could the upright post be the important thing? The Plaitford barrow of the late Bronze Age had a post in the centre.[1] There was the case of the burial of a Scandinavian chief in A.D. 921, where they built a mound and set up in the middle of it a large piece of Khalang wood.[2] But all this supplies no reason for the wooden object in which the post stands. There is an association of white stones with burials,[3] and it is curious that although we found an abundance of white stones (magnesian limestone) in the construction of the earthworks, these were the only examples of such stones found at this particular part of the encampment. But this is not a barrow, and there is no sign of a burial as far as we have been able to discover.

Mr. Christopher Hawkes, to whom photographs were sent, felt with the writer that the limestone blocks had the appearance of having been placed intentionally. He made the suggestion at the time, and it is certainly worth considering, that as it is so odd to find such a thing *under* an earthwork it *might* be a sort of " foundation deposit " of a votive character, though such a deposit might be expected to be under the centre of the mound rather than at the edge.

The oaken slab appears then to have been a wheel with a segment cut away on each side. Similar examples have been found elsewhere:

(1) In the Dystrup Bog, Jutland. This was made originally of three pieces of plank, a centre piece with segments to right and left, and a perforation in the middle.

(2) At Tindbaek, Jutland. Cut from a single block of wood with a perforation in the middle.

(3) A similar disc wheel in Germany, on the boundary between Hanover and Oldenburg.

(4) At Mercurago on Lake Maggiore. Guided by these latter, Sophus Müller dates them to a transition period of the Stone and Bronze Ages. One of these was a solid wheel, the other a kind of spoke-wheel.[4]

(5) At Schönsee, Braunsberg, East Prussia. A disc wheel in one piece, now in the Prussia Museum, Königsberg.

[1] *Antiquaries' Journal*, xiii, 425–6; *Antiquity*, viii, 101.
[2] *Antiquity*, viii, 62.
[3] *Antiquity*, ii, 90, 358.
[4] Gösta Berg: *Sledges and Wheeled Vehicles*, Stockholm, 1935, p. 102.

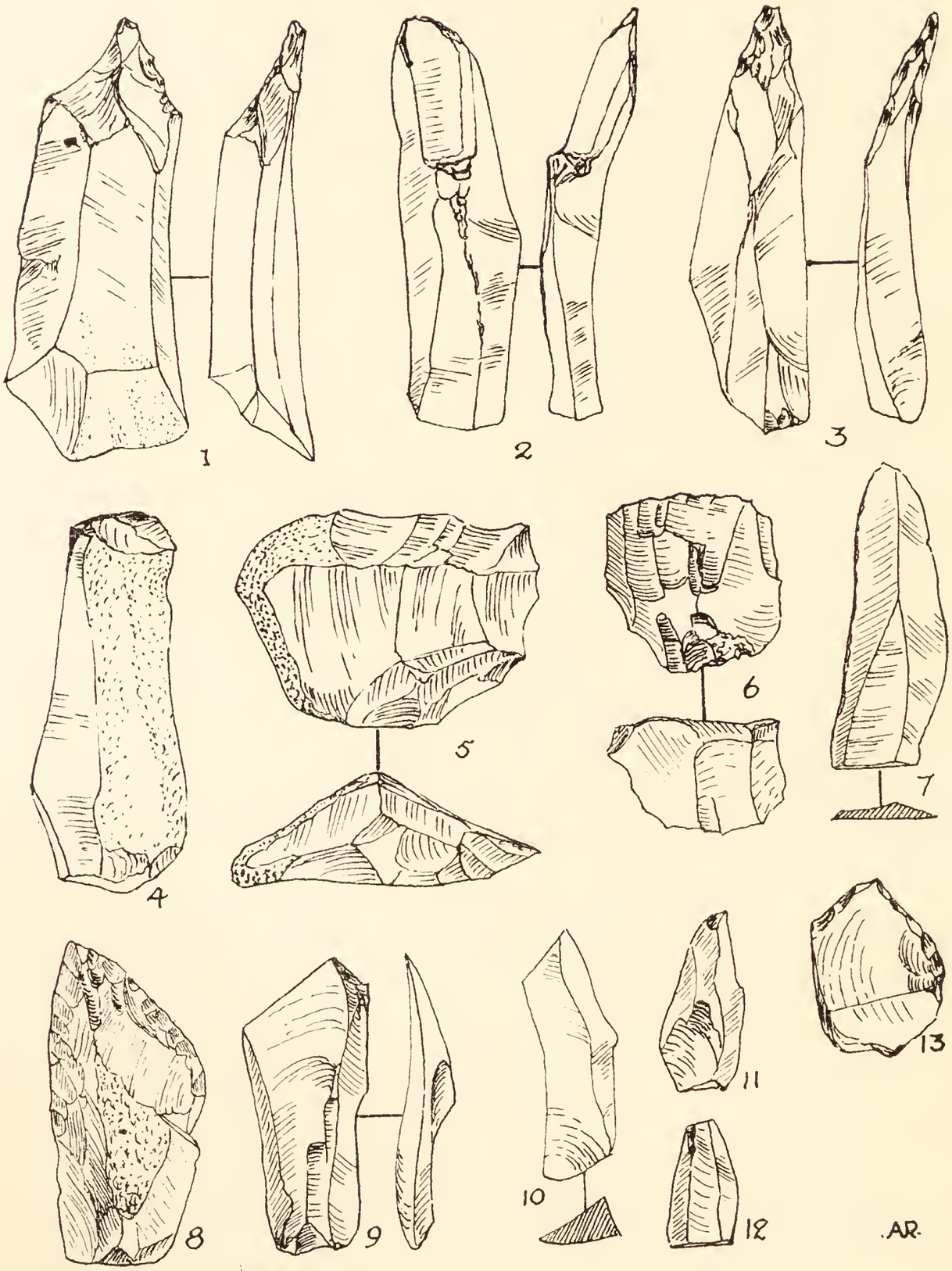


FIG. 13. STONE IMPLEMENTS.

(6) An uncertain find of a solid wheel from Waldsee-Aulendorff, in Würtemberg.

(7) A disc wheel of wood from Castione, in Parma, Italy.[1]

Disc wheels of more modern times are found in many places in Sweden, and are still used in modern days.[2]

Mr. Iorwerth C. Peate, of the National Museum of Wales, tells me that the solid wheels in the collection there are from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, and are from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 ins. in thickness, and are nineteenth-century examples. The wheel (if it be a wheel) found at Sutton is, it will be observed, larger than this. No such thing seems to be known from any prehistoric site in this country, though the Glastonbury Lake village produced portions of spoked wheels.

Professor Gordon Childe, to whom the photographs were shown by Mr. Christopher Hawkes, thought it might just possibly be a potter's wheel.

Everyone who has seen it so far agrees that it is part of a wheel. It must be admitted, however, that if it is, it is an extremely heavy one.

The following is a list of the stone implements:

1. Camp A, trench IX ("the dugout")—Point. (Fig. 13, 8.)
2. Camp A, northern line of stakes, on the grey clay, 1 ft. 2 ins. below surface—Chip made into a hollow scraper.
3. Camp A, trench XIII, in the yellow sandy loam—A pointed blade.[3] No. 11, 167, no. 4, etc. (Fig. 13, 3.)
4. From the same—A fine blade.[3] (Fig. 13, 2.)
5. Camp A, trench XII; found in filling in—Burin. (Fig. 13, 10.)
6. From the same; found in filling in—Typical mesolithic core. (Fig. 13, 6.)
7. Camp A, northern line of stakes, on the grey clay, 1 ft. 2 ins. below surface—Tip end of blade. (Fig. 13, 12.)
8. Camp A, trench IV; found while filling in—(Fig. 13, 7).
9. Camp A, edge of south section of hut circle 9, 7 ins. below the dark line of the original humus—A borer. (Fig. 13, 1.)
10. Camp A, hut circle 1—A scraper of the type sometimes called a "plane." (Fig. 13, 5.)
11. Camp A, northern line of stakes, on grey clay, 1 ft. 2 ins.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 117. Other examples of ancient solid wheels are mentioned in *Antiquity*, ii, 18, *Prehistoric Cart-tracks in Malta*; iii, 340; *Primitive Carts*. *Cf.* also *Antiquity*, v, 193—the truckle car, for a modern example.

[3] *Cf.* Clark: *Mesolithic Age*, p. 155.

down (as 2 and 7)—Long blade flake from outside of pebble. Not used. (Fig. 13, 4.)

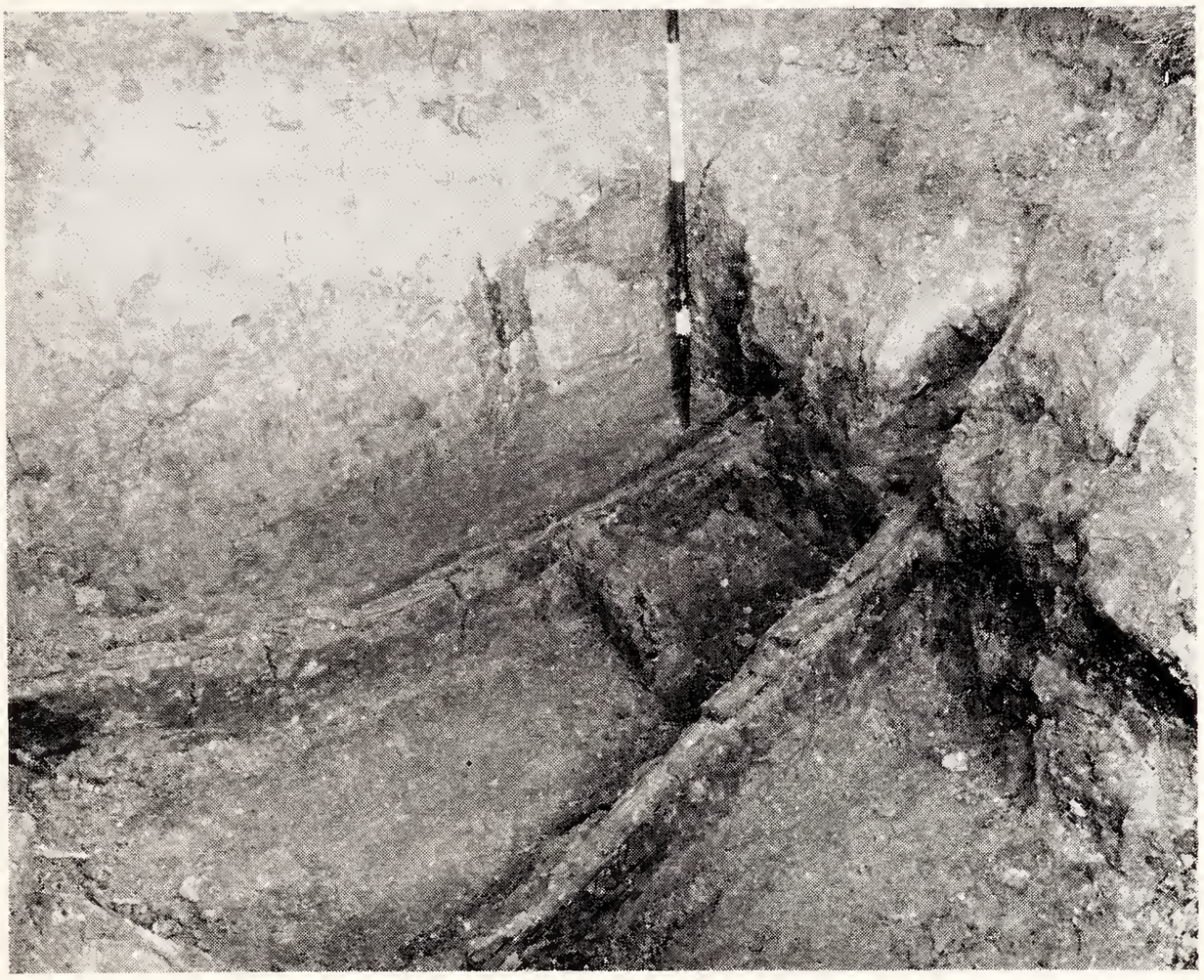
12. Camp A, trench IV; found while filling in—A hollow knife (or arrow smoother ?). Edge shows usage chipping.
13. Camp A, trench VIII; about 3 ft. below surface, amongst a quantity of bones—Bulbar end of a " blade," with secondary blunting on edges. (Fig. 13, 13.)
14. Camp A, northern line of stakes, on grey clay, 1 ft. 2 ins. down (as 2, 7, 11)—Point made from long blade. (Fig. 13, 9.)
15. Camp B, south end of west rampart, 9 ins. below surface—Used as a point ? (Fig. 13, 11.)
16. Camp A, northern line of stakes, on grey clay, 1 ft. 2 ins. down (as 2, 7, 11, 14)—Scraper or plane.
17. Camp B, trench IIb, 2 ft. 1 in. down—Core trimming.
18. Camp A, trench VIII, amongst the bones (*cf.* 13)—Outside flake of a large pebble. Not used.
19. Camp A, hut circle 9, 2 ft. below surface, in yellow sandy loam—Waste piece of outer crust of core.
20. Camp A, northern line of stakes (as 2, 7, 11, 14, 16)—Fragment of some implement.
21. Camp A (as 2, 7, 11, 14, 16, 20)—Not flint, but very fine greywacke, with two ground faces. Probably a splinter from a broken ground axe or celt.
22. Reject chip.
23. Broken chip.
24. Chip.
25. Chip.

These last four all from Camp A (as 2, 7, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21).

26. Camp A, hut circle 9, in yellow sandy loam—Piece of core.
27, 28 and 29. Camp A, in front of wall at F; found in filling in—Chips.
30. Camp A, trench XIII, in yellow sandy loam—Chip.
31. Camp B, trench IIa—Chip.

A portion of a human skull was found 14 ins. below the surface in trench IIc, east of Camp B, *i.e.* the trench between two camps, along the south line of stakes. It was found in the peat under the later humus. Lying beside it was the shin bone of a sheep.

Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, of Jesus College, Cambridge, and the Cambridge Anatomy School, examined the fragment and reported as follows: " 7th December, 1934. The human fragment from Sutton Common, near Askern, is part of a frontal bone; in fact almost the whole is present. The specimen is stained a dark brown colour



(**11**) The bottom of the pit or dugout.



(**12**) Three of the stakes from the southern line.

as though it had lain in peaty soil, and the marks of rootlets imprinted on its surface point to the same conclusion. Vegetable matter and soil were actually adherent before the bone was washed. The bone is of an unmistakable modern type. In my opinion it can be reasonably assigned to the female sex, and regarded as fully adult, despite the persistence of a mid-frontal (metopic) structure. I am led to assign maturity to the individual by consideration of the maximum thickness and of the weight of the specimen. The female sex seems to be more in accord with the rather small dimensions and the relatively small projection of the brow-ridges. An estimate of the actual age, *i.e.* lapse of time since the death of the individual, depends so much on the surroundings of the skeleton that a *confident* verdict is impossible. The specimen consequently throws very little light upon the general problem confronting the local excavators."

In a later letter, of 11th December, Dr. Duckworth added: " The specimen might be of any age since the commencement of the Neolithic period (perhaps earlier) as judged by its form. But its condition and texture make me hesitate to assign it any considerable antiquity. So much depends on local conditions. A few specimens are (I think) on record from Roman sarcophagi at York; but the conditions might be much less favourable to a specimen exposed to variation in the amount of moisture in the matrix in which it lay, to variation in the rapidity of percolation, to variation in temperature. Under such conditions it seems more reasonable to adopt a lower rather than a higher estimate in terms of years."

Among the numerous cattle bones found in 1933 in the depression in the ditch close to the north gate was one bone identified by Mr. J. E. S. Frazer, Professor of Anatomy at St. Mary's Hospital, London, as the sixth rib of a man.

The animal bones found in 1933 were with one exception those of *Bos longifrons*. Mr. T. Russell Goddard, M.Sc., Curator of the Hancock Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, identified them, and said: " Represented in the collection are the remains of two animals, one quite a young one—a calf in fact." Bones of *Bos longifrons* were found fairly frequently, together with several horns and one skull. A number were heaped together in the depression at the end of the ditch at the east side of the north gate.

The bones found in 1934 were examined by Mr. Arthur Steel, M.Sc., of Armstrong College. Many of them were fragmentary and in bad condition, and were nearly all from the trenches in Camp B. Mr. Steel's identifications were as follows:

Ox. Scapula, humerus, tibia, tarsus. Owing to their fragmentary condition it was not possible to give the species.

Sheep. Three skulls, three cervical vertebræ, one thoracic and one lumbar vertebra; ribs; R. and L. scapula; R. innominate; femur (2), tibia (2), humerus, radius (2), ulna.

Goat. Metacarpal.

Several horns of *Bos longifrons* were also found.

In 1935 the bones found were few in number, and these consisted only of scraps in bad condition. Two teeth of *Bos longifrons* were the only ones identifiable, and besides these one horn of the same species. It was a natural expectation that in such a region we should find some shells of molluscs, but not one was found in the three seasons.

The only certain conclusion at which we have been able to arrive is that these earthworks were not Roman. The site is not one which the Romans would choose: the ditches are not Roman, and the objects found, with the exception of a single pot, are not Roman. Our chief difficulty has been the lack of dateable objects. The small but interesting series of stone implements range through Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age types. Of course, in backward districts these cultures overlapped, and poor, uncultivated people kept up the use of the implements of earlier days: but Dr. Raistrick thinks that it would be difficult to assign a much later date than 1500 B.C. for the earliest types of flint implements here found. They would seem generally to have nothing to do with the ramparts. They were mostly found at a lower level, below the old line of humus. Whether they had any connexion with the stockade is another question. It will be seen that some of them were found along the northern line of stakes, and one or two along the southern line, and at the same level. The posts of the stockade look as if they had been shaped by a metal tool: if so, the flints may have belonged to still earlier occupants of the sandbank.

There would seem to have been at least two separate occupations of the site. First there came the people who erected the stockade. If they had metal tools wherewith to cut and sharpen the stakes not a single specimen of such a tool was left behind. A much corroded piece of iron was sent hopefully to Dr. J. A. Smythe, of Armstrong College, but he pronounced it modern. The stockade, however, is only clearly apparent at the north end; that on the south is not certainly connected with it, for the few odd stakes found on the east and west ramparts seem mostly to be connected with the huts.

At a later date, probably a much later date, the two sandbanks were occupied by the people who erected the ramparts. Either they destroyed the stockade or it had already been destroyed. The newcomers seem also to have been of a fairly backward type. The stonework of the walling under the west rampart of Camp A, showing in places the use of timber among the stones, is somewhat reminiscent of the Romano-British work at Rudston, where even large bones were used in the walling. The ditches resemble those found on Neolithic sites; the net sinker and clay ball may represent late Bronze Age or early Iron Age; but all the evidence we have shows that these people were little, if at all, affected by Roman culture. The question arises whether the stonework on the west side of Camp A was contemporaneous with the rampart, but there seems no evidence to the contrary. Since at one point the walling is so superior to the rest it *may* represent a time at which a wash of water had carried away some of the rampart, and repairs had been effected by people who built better than their predecessors. Since the fragments of the Romano-British pot were found above and amongst the stones of the wall at a point where the wall was showing signs of collapse it would seem that we should put the construction of the ramparts before the end of the second century A.D.

One wonders why people ever made use of such a site when only about a mile away was the high and dry ground where Askern Colliery now stands. The level ground must have been little better than an expanse of marsh, and between Sutton and Askern were meres of which Shirley Pool remains as a shrunken relic. In spite of drainage due to mining and also to dykes which date back to the latter part of the seventeenth century, the two camps, after a period of wet weather, still resemble islands. We can only conclude that amidst the woods and marshes this place may have served more than once as a place of refuge.

The suggestion has been made that we have here a lake village, like those at Holderness; but the village was not *on* the water: there are no piles as far as we could discover, and there is no suggestion of a platform. Even the net sinker has been pressed into service for this theory, but it is only its weight which made us think it a net sinker rather than a spindle whorl. A contour camp, or rather two contour camps, following the contour of the sandbanks seems the best description, though it must be admitted that it is a contour camp of an unusual kind. It is not a fortress (the ramparts can never have been very high), but a weak and

perhaps timid people found refuge here amongst the waters. Mr. Ian Richmond, F.S.A., suggested Sutton Courtenay as a parallel, where there were similar banks constructed to keep out the water on the damp side: but all sides here seem to have been damp, and the fact that the inhabitants left so little behind them suggests that neither occupation lasted very long. Romano-British camps in the Doncaster neighbourhood have produced quantities of coin and other objects. Though no certain conclusion can be attained, the evidence, such as it is, seems to suggest that there was an occupation at some time during the Bronze Age, and that at a later date the earthworks were constructed by a poor and primitive people, certainly before the end of the second century A.D., possibly even in pre-Roman times. Apart from this it is impossible to do more than state the facts observed.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON (E. YORKS.).

Third Interim Report: The Excavations of 1935.

By A. M. Woodward, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A.,
and K. A. Steer, B.A.

The excavations at Rudston were resumed on July 11th and terminated on August 10th, 1935.[1] For a few days we had four men working for us, but for most of the time only three. Thanks to exceptionally dry weather practically no time was lost through rain.

The results of the campaign of 1934, as described in the *Second Interim Report*,[2] had indicated that the outbuildings of the Villa lay a short distance west of the tessellated pavements, and it was to this area that our activities were confined in 1935. We had three main objects before us: (1) to excavate, as fully as time and the funds at our disposal would allow, one of the buildings west of the main block; (2) to carry out a preliminary exploration of other buildings in the immediate vicinity; and (3) to continue the task of tracing the pre-Roman ditches which honeycomb the site.

It was not difficult to decide on our first point of attack, for the most striking feature of the previous season's work had been the discovery of heaps of tesserae, presumably 'spares' for the repair of the pavements, on the inside of the west wall of a building, some 35 yards west of the pavements themselves. This building (I on the plan) had been nick-named the 'workshop' or 'store-house,' and further excavation confirmed the appropriateness of the former name. With the labours of two men, the systematic

[1] Mr. Woodward, who was only able to be present from July 11th to 20th, and July 29th to Aug. 3rd, fortunately was able to secure the assistance of Mr. Steer, who shared the supervision of the work with him from his arrival on July 16th, and took full charge during his absence. Both writers of the present Report, which is mostly the work of Mr. Steer, wish to offer grateful acknowledgments to their many helpers, and in particular to the following members of the Rudston Excavation Committee: The Rev. H. Lawrance, Major J. B. Purvis, T.D., Mr. W. S. Cook (Secretary), who also kindly surveyed the newly uncovered walls, Mr. H. Robson, whose unfailing help and enthusiasm contributed greatly to the successful progress of the work, and Miss M. Kitson Clark, who, though unable to be present, did invaluable 'staff-work.' Moreover they wish to thank Professor J. S. Hume, of the University of Leeds, who most kindly examined and reported on samples of certain chemical deposits of stratigraphical importance.

[2] *Y.A.J.*, xxxii, 214–220.

uncovering of this building was begun, and, although further investigation is necessary before our results will be complete, we can claim to have added to our knowledge, not only something of the date and purpose of the 'workshop,' but valuable evidence bearing on the occupation of the Villa as a whole.
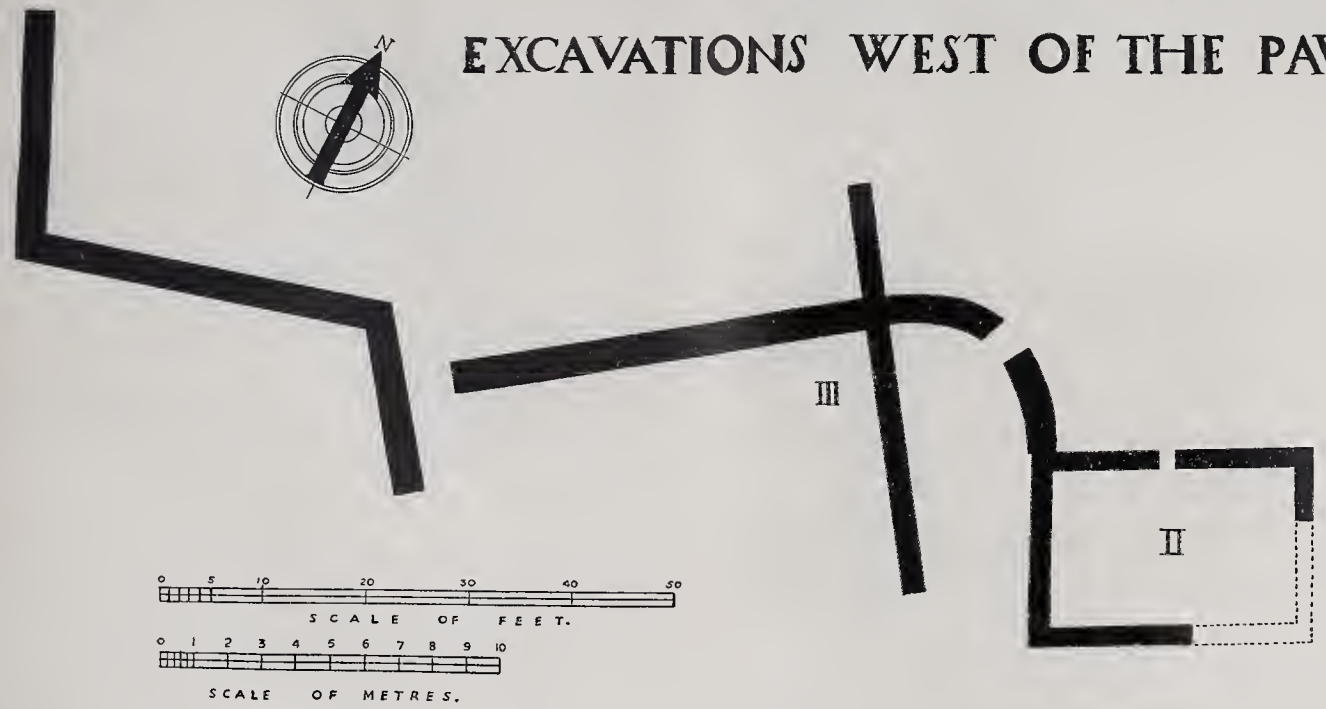
The original walls of the 'workshop' were uniformly built 2 ft. 6 ins. in width, with an internal and external footing of 3 ins. to 4 ins. The north wall, traced in 1934 for only a few feet from the north-west corner of the building, was found to have been not less than 45 ft. in length, and further digging may add to this figure. The west wall, which we followed southwards for 26 ft., had been robbed or destroyed at its southern end, but the discovery of a section of the south wall indicates that the width of the building internally must have been 30 ft. 6 ins. Apparently there was a small room in the south-west corner of the building, for traces of two internal walls were discovered, similar in construction to the main walls, although slightly narrower and without footings. A gap 2 ft. in width in the east wall of the room gave access from the main building. The internal dimensions of this room would seem to have been 14 ft. by 6 ft. 6 ins. No further traces of the secondary wall (shaded on the plan) which had been built to buttress or replace the original north wall were discovered this season, and its date for the time being will have to remain uncertain.

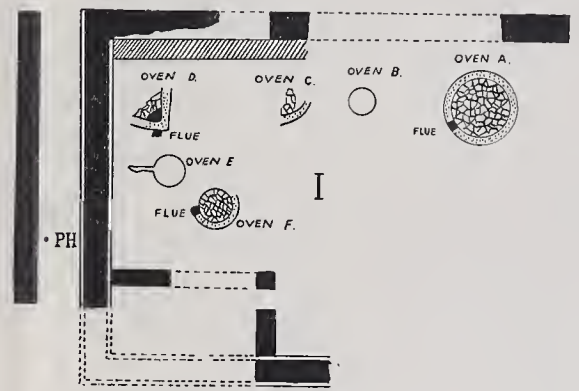
The plan (Fig. 1) shows the building as it was when first constructed (but with the addition of the later north wall), and the ovens which it served to protect. At a later period, however, drastic reconstruction was carried out. Two feet west of oven A the site had been levelled by the destruction of the other five ovens and the uniform spreading of a 6-inch layer of gravel, upon which foundation a rough pavement of chalk cobbles had been laid. This pavement extended to the north and west walls and to the north wall of the small room, over whose lower course it lay. The south wall had been destroyed and its masonry used to level the south room so as to carry a road to the site, the metalling of which was plainly visible; similar road metal had been found outside the west wall of the main building in the previous campaign.

Oven A had plainly been in use during this last occupation, although its level, and fragments of pottery found near it, suggested that its construction was the work of an earlier period. When examined it was seen to consist of a circle of tiles 6 ft. in diameter,

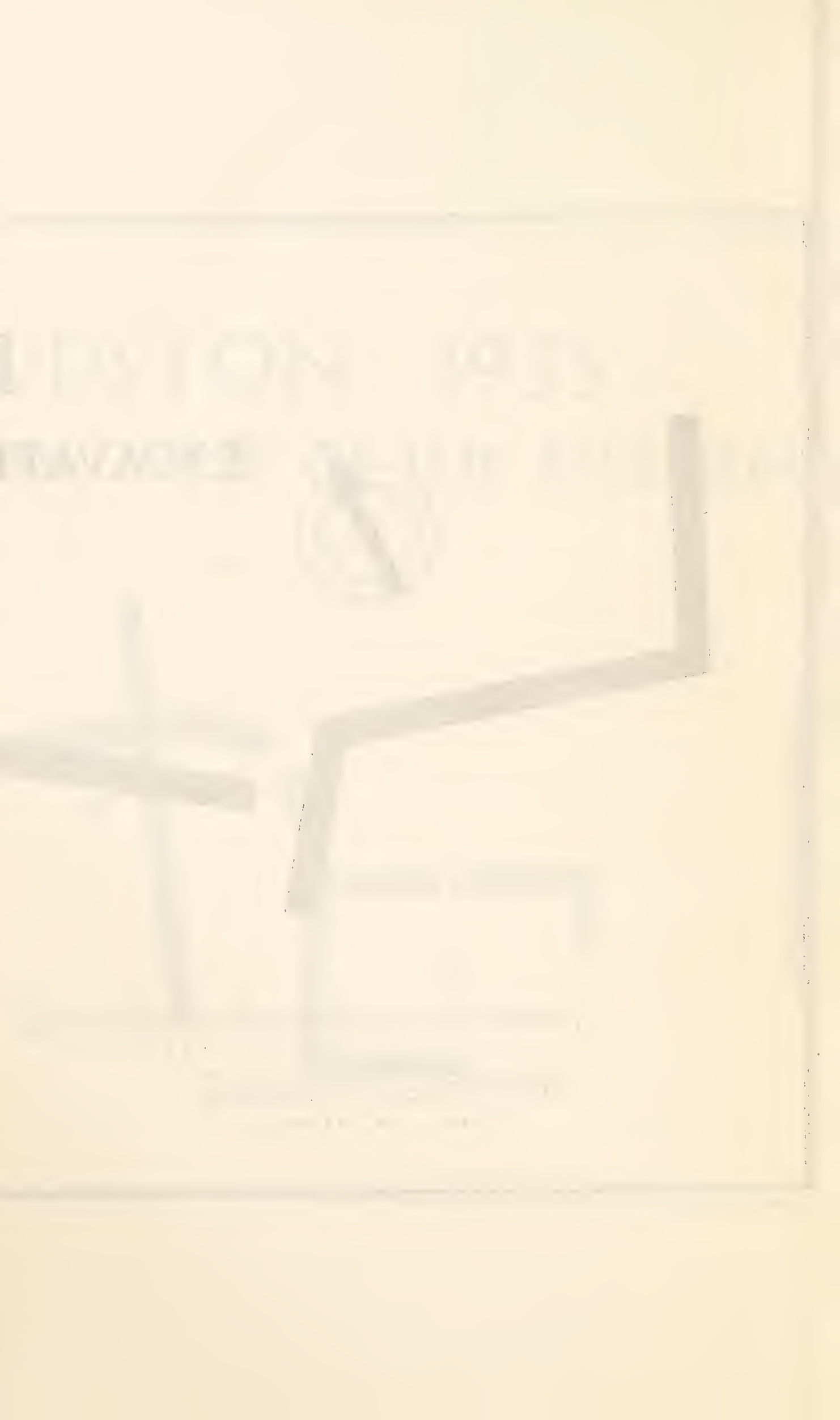
RVDSTON 1935.

EXCAVATIONS WEST OF THE PAVEMENTS.





KAS.



set in a cement surround, over a clay basin cut into the original floor surface. A flue on the west side, which led into the clay basin, indicated the method of heating, but while there must have been a roof, probably of clay, all trace of this had now disappeared. From the amount of bones and pottery which came from the pavement level, it is apparent that the oven served the ordinary purpose of cooking during the last occupation of the building, and was perhaps the central ' cookhouse ' for the Villa.

In these Interim Reports it is only possible to publish notes on the mass of pottery-evidence collected during the season's work. When excavations on the site are completed it will be necessary to produce a general typology of pottery finds, but until then reference can only be made to one or two of the more significant pieces. The late-level pottery from the ' workshop ' can be dated unquestionably to the last quarter of the fourth century. The bulk of it consisted of calcite-gritted cook-pots with the wheel-made rim, marked shoulder, and internal groove so familiar from Signal Station types. At least one unusual form was discovered. With this ware were associated two late mortaria, a number of straight-sided and hemispherical flanged bowls, and at least one example of the late jar with countersunk handles—all typical of late fourth-century sites. We may conclude that the Villa was being occupied in the last quarter of the fourth century, and the evidence from Langton of settled civil life under the shelter of the Signal Station system is thus confirmed.

When the late pavement, and the gravel filling upon which it rested, had been removed, five ovens (B, C, D, E and F on the plan) came to light. They are similar in construction to Oven A, but are not all equally well-preserved. Ovens B and E were merely basins cut in the brown clay which overlies the chalk in the district. C and D retained some traces of a tiled base, but of Oven F alone was the preservation as complete as that of A (the late period oven). Here the tiled base was smaller—3 feet in diameter—but the cement surround and the flue have survived. A total of six ovens would seem to be too many for domestic purposes, and moreover, while the pottery yield was considerable, there were no traces of the calcined bones which characterised the late occupation. Instead we had evidence that the building had been a general workshop and builder's yard. It is to this level that the tesserae must be attributed, and numerous chips and fragments discovered between ovens E and F showed that here the tesserae

had been cut to shape. The sandstone tesserae, which had eluded us in 1934, were discovered inside the south wall, and six buckets-ful were gathered in a short time. Quantities of burnt lime distributed over the area suggest that here the cement and mortar were prepared for building purposes. It is impossible to suppose that the ovens were anything in the nature of kilns, either for burning lime or for the manufacture of pottery. For the moment the best suggestion one can make is that they were used for drying or roasting grain, a practice attested frequently by classical authors, and paralleled by discoveries at Langton. Assuming, as we may, that the Villa at Rudston was primarily important for growing wheat, five or six ovens would not be an unduly large number. It is hoped, however, to check this hypothesis next summer by the discovery of wheat grains in the vicinity of the ovens.

More important, however, is the pottery-evidence from this level. The tesseræ were presumably deposited in the 'workshop' when the pavements were constructed, and since the pottery and the heaps of tesseræ were sealed by the late cobble flooring, we should have a clue to the date of the pavements, which on stylistic grounds have been attributed to the 'end of the third century or even later.' With a few exceptions, such as a fragment of rustic ware, the pottery is early fourth century. Characteristic pieces are several rims of Knapton ware, the side of a barrel-shaped storage jar (Throlam 72), a few fragments of Castor ware (Bird-oswald 30c) and an unusual grey bowl (hitherto unpublished) parallels to which have been found at Housesteads and Corstopitum. All these types are dateable to the first half of the fourth century, and we therefore have definite grounds for assigning the pavements (at any rate in their final form) to the same period.

Our second object was achieved by the preliminary examination of two buildings west of the 'workshop' (II and III on the plan). In 1934 the west enclosure wall had been discovered, together with a few yards of a wall running east to west. This wall, the footing of which alone survived, was 2 ft. 9 ins. thick and constructed of larger and rougher blocks than are used as footings in most of the other walls at the Villa. 40 ft. 7 ins. from its western end, at a point where a later north to south wall had been built over it, this wall turned southwards in a curve, which suggested that the original building had had an apse at the east end. The southern half of the apse, however, had been destroyed by the subsequent erection of a rectangular building (II), measuring 19 ft. by 27 ft., whose

west wall, 2 ft. thick, was standing seven courses high. The only clue to the date of building III was the discovery of two pieces of a figured Samian (form 37), of the Antonine period, outside a gap in the surviving sector of the apse; a fragment of a Samian cup (form 27) near the west end of the wall, and possibly the coin of Marcus Aurelius found a short distance north of the wall, may confirm this evidence.

Several sections were made of the early ditches at points where their presence was revealed by surface indications, such as the subsidence of wall foundations. It is certain that there are at least three parallel rows of ditches, running roughly east to west, under the Roman structures; and equally so that these ditches do not run in straight lines, but follow the natural contours of the hill slope. One ditch, a section of which was taken inside building II, went down only 4 ft. 10 ins. below the modern *humus*, while another examined on the west side of the enclosure wall proved to be 7 ft. deep, and V-shaped in section. In spite of a solid foundation of chalk boulders laid over the ditch filling, the wall had partly collapsed. The complete investigation of the early ditch-system, which is bound to take a considerable amount of time, is really only a very subsidiary part of the excavation, but certainly should not be neglected.

Only two coins were found this season—an *Antoninianus* of Claudius Gothicus from the lower level of the 'workshop' (presumably a survival), and a *Sestertius* of M. Aurelius from a trench a little way north of building III.

From the south room of the 'workshop' came a bronze penannular brooch, and in the clay below the internal footings of the north wall the skeleton of a third infant was recovered. (Two skeletons which were found in the ditch outside the west wall of the 'workshop' in 1934 were mentioned in the previous Interim Report.)

Finally, one of the most interesting discoveries was a post-hole (P.H. on the plan), which came to light between the west wall of the 'workshop' and the isolated wall which adjoins it. It still retained the stone packing which had kept the post firm, and fragments of early calcite-gritted ware were found nearby, reminding us that the work of tracing the successive occupations of the site is only just begun. It was perhaps not merely a coincidence that the coin of Domitian, the earliest which the site has yielded, came from very close to this spot in 1934.

It will be evident from the above brief account, not only that our task is still a long way from completion, but also that further results of considerable archæological importance, and not lacking in popular appeal, may be expected from the continuance of the excavations. It is hoped to undertake a campaign on a more ambitious scale in 1936, and to issue before long an appeal for financial support. Meanwhile, it would greatly assist the Excavation Committee in its plans if any intending donors would send their contributions to the Treasurer (Mr. J. Hinchliffe, "Aunevis," Forty Foot, Bridlington) without waiting for the publication of the formal Appeal.

NEWBIGGIN IN EGTON AND THE SALVIN FAMILY.

By Hugh P. Kendall.

Newbiggin Hall is one of those ancient sites whose importance has declined with the passing of the centuries—one might almost say with the passing of a notable family—yet there are few places in the district around Whitby that can emulate its historical associations. So, too, this passing of the centuries has caused its history to be forgotten so that at the present day its familiar gables excite no curiosity as to the past. It is merely a farm-house situated on an ancient trackway, and that is all. But to the antiquary the building, more or less modern though it be, has its own tale to tell, for it has just that touch of difference to all others in the neighbourhood to indicate a past that is not of yesterday.

As part of the old manor of Egton the site of Newbiggin had successively passed through the hands of three great families, those of Fossard, Turnham and Mauley, covering a period of just over three centuries, only changing hands by marriage at the close of that space of time to the family of Salvin, who claimed an ancestry every bit as good as any of the others named. Although we could take them back to the Norman Conquest we may commence our story with Gerard Salvin of North Duffield and Herswell, whose father was Robert Salvin of North Duffield. The name was originally "le Silvan," but became corrupted in course of time until Salvin or Salvayne became the accepted pronunciation.

Gerard Salvin was Ambassador to the Court of France in 1303-4, and again in 1311-12, and served the office of Escheator North of Trent in 1307-8—in other words he was the official responsible for all lands and estates reverting to the crown by reason of the failure of heirs or on forfeiture. In August, 1312, as High Sheriff, he was ordered to hold York against Henry de Percy and was removed from office as Sheriff before 31 Oct., 1314, owing to complaint in Parliament concerning his oppressions as Escheator and Sheriff, a commission being appointed for his trial. He was imprisoned in York Castle but released on bail in June, 1315, and in Oct., 1316, pardoned on ceding his manor of Sandhall to the king. In 1318 he had pardon as an adherent of Thomas of Lancaster.

As Knight of the Shire he was summoned to Parliament in 1305 and again in 1307. He died before 3 May, 1320.[1]

Gerard Salvin had a son, John Salvin, who married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Robert, Lord Ros of Wark, one of the barons who, in the year 1295, was found guilty of treason by reason of his intrigue with Wallace in the Scottish wars, thereby suffering forfeiture of his estates. In 1313 Sir John Salvin and his wife were parties to an unsuccessful action for the return of the lands in question, the king refusing the petition.

Sir John Salvin pre-deceased his father and was succeeded by his son Gerard, who thus became his grandfather's heir. He was born *circa* 1307 and became Sir Gerard Salvin of North Duffield and Herswell. He served the crown in various capacities, and like his grandparent was High Sheriff of Yorkshire and some time Escheator for the king south of Trent. He obtained from the crown the manor of Bellester in Tyndale, and was also successful in obtaining an exemplification of the pardon and restitution in blood granted to his mother for her father's treason, by patent dated 26 June, 1367.[2] He was knighted, and went with Sir Henry de Percy of Alnwick, the victor of the battle of Neville's Cross, in his Wardenship of the Scottish March. Whilst High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1349-50 it fell to his lot to enquire into the introduction of spurious coin and the prevalence of smuggling in the county, and during the period of the plague known as the Black Death he appears to have suffered some damage on account of his heavy duties, being the recipient of a special allowance in money. He was returned as a Knight of the Shire to the Parliament of February, 1351.

In the following year Sir Gerard Salvin figured in a disturbance which necessitated royal protection to the mayor and officials of Kingston-upon-Hull, he and others threatening to seize one of the under-bailiffs there whom they wanted to kill because he had arrested some of the servants of his son, John Salvin.

Sir Gerard Salvin died in 1369, and was twice married—firstly to Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Mauleverer, by whom he had issue three sons, John, Richard, and Robert, and by a second marriage with Alice (whose surname is unknown) he had Gerard. From this second marriage descended the family of Salvin of Newbiggin, and from the first Salvin of Croxdale, Co. Durham.

Of this Gerard Salvin little can be said except that he was

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* [2] 41 Edw. III.

the direct ancestor of the Newbiggin line, and had a son, George Salvin of Kilham and Napperton,[1] of whom next.

At the death of Peter, eighth and last Lord Mauley of Mulgrave Castle, in the month of September, 1415, without issue male, that estate was divided between his two sisters, who became co-heirs at law. One of these sisters, Elizabeth, had become the wife of George Salvin and carried with her in marriage her share of the Fossard, Turnham and de Mauley heritage, of which the lordship of Egton was a part ; thus Newbiggin became vested in a new ownership and in a name that was destined to endure for over three and a half centuries.

As the word "Newbiggin" is but another form of "New Building," and does not appear to be of any greater antiquity than the period under review, it seems probable that either George Salvin or the son who followed him selected this spot upon the Egton land on which to rear a family homestead. He had good taste in the choosing of the site overlooking the valley of the Esk, surrounded by a pastoral and well-wooded countryside.

The marriage of George Salvin and Elizabeth Mauley had taken place *circa* 1390, when the latter was about seventeen years of age. She died 4 October, 1416, leaving one son, then eight years of age. Her husband soon followed her to the grave, both being buried in the chancel of the church of Lowthorp near Great Driffield, where there formerly existed a monumental brass recording their burial—George Salvin on 16 January, 1417, and his wife as above. This brass has now disappeared, but it was recorded by the antiquary Dodsworth in 1622, describing it as "On a marble the portraitures in brasse of a man and woman," and giving the inscription. The chancel in which the tomb reposed is now a ruin.

It seems probable that George Salvin had another residence in the East Riding, for his Inquisition Post Mortem was taken at Pocklington, and is dated 19 March, 1418. The lands enumerated were entirely his own property and situated in Atwick, Kilnwick, Hornsea, Bransholme, Stoneferry, Hornsea Burton, Sutton-in-Holderness and North Frodingham. The jurors found that John Salvin was son and heir of the above George and Elizabeth, and was then aged ten years.

John Salvin thus became head of his family at an early age, and in conformity with the custom of the age he and his estates would be in the custody of the crown until he reached full age. He was born about the year 1408, and married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Gray of Heaton, Northumberland, by his wife Alice,

[1] ? Nafferton.

daughter of Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby, and had issue three sons and four daughters, by name Thomas, William, Robert, Margaret, Anne (who married Sir William Hussey, Knt.), Elizabeth and Alice.

In the year 1430 John Salvin proved his age and an order to the Escheator to take fealty was issued to give him seisin of the lands which his father held by the "courtesy of England" after the decease of his mother. His homage was respited until Michaelmas on payment of thirteen and fourpence into the royal exchequer.

To digress for a short space, there was another member of the Salvin family in Whitby about this period, one William Salvin, who occupied a responsible position as "Armiger" or "Esquire" of the Abbey of Whitby. His will shows that he was a cousin of Sir John Salvin of Newbiggin and is as follows.

Will of William Salvayne, dated on the Feast of St. Benedict, A.D. 1436. Directs that his body shall be buried in the monastery of Whitby, in the ambulatory of St. Bega, and bequeaths to the fabric of the Abbey church the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence.

For his mortuary his best gown is to be given, and to the lord Abbot thirteen shillings and fourpence. To the Convent the sum of forty shillings.

To his brother, John Salvin, a large pair of jet rosary beads.

To the Guest House of the Abbey, a mattress, a pair of sheets, a pair of blankets, and a coverlet.

To the fabric of the cathedral of York, four shillings.

To John Foster of Killome, his best gown after his mortuary, and to his wife one pair of rosary beads.

To Dame Joan, wife of his cousin Sir John Salvin, twelve silver spoons, and to Alice, her daughter, a ring of gold with a "balys" stone.[1]

To Peter Salvin a belt of silk and silver.

To Hugh Ellerton, monk, six shillings and eightpence.

To Dom. Stephen, parish priest, three shillings and fourpence.

To his sister Sybil, a rosary of coral and jet gauds.

The will was proved 9 September, 1440.[2]

The above is quoted not only on account of the relationships involved, but also for the interesting series of bequests which it contains. The word "pair" as applied to the rosary beads is the old equivalent of "set," and both of these bequests indicate the popular use of jet in the middle of the fifteenth century. The will was made whilst John de Skelton was Abbot of Whitby, but

[1] A kind of ruby. [2] *Test. Ebor.*

he died in the year 1437, being succeeded by the monk mentioned in the will, Hugh Ellerton, who was probably the prior. The mention of the ambulatory of St. Bega in the Abbey church is the only existing evidence, and its site is unknown, whilst the name of Dom. Stephen adds still another to the curates of the parish church already known.

The name of William Salvin appears in the Chartulary of the Abbey in a document of the year 1395, " Willelmi Salwan tunc Armigeri dicti Abbatis," which may be rendered as " now Esquire to the said Abbot," and again in the Monastery Accounts for the year 1394-5, where he is the first in order of the salaried officials, " Imp. Will Salvan pro stipendio XIIIs. IIII*d*.," a salary equal to that of the miller but not enough for the Abbot's cook.

To return to Sir John Salvin again. He died in the year 1469 and was buried in Whitby Abbey ; but, before his will is quoted, a suggestion may be put forward in connection with his burial. In the chancel of St. Mary's church there lies a large slab of black carboniferous limestone which bears the matrix and rivetholes of a most elaborate series of brasses of a fifteenth-century date, included amongst which are no less than eight shields of arms. As there is no record of any local family using the Abbey as a burial place at this period and of sufficient importance to be entitled to such a display of heraldry, except the Salvins, it is very probable that this slab is the tomb cover of Sir John Salvin, which has been brought from the Abbey ruins at some distant date to be re-used either as a cover for another grave or simply as a paving stone. It is the class of monument only to be found in the presbytery of an Abbey church.

Sir John Salvin made his will 26 April, 1469, desiring that his body should be buried in the choir of the monastery of St. Peter & St. Hilda at Whitby, before the high altar there, in a place to be marked out by the Abbot.

He gives his best horse, with his saddle, bridle, and arms, as a mortuary.

To Thomas Salvin, his son and heir, a basin and ewer of silver, and his best covered cup.

To William Salvin, his son, and his heirs, all his lands and tenements within the lordship of Egton and in the town of Whitby. To Margaret, his daughter, two hundred marks for her marriage portion, if she stand and abide by the advice of his executors in getting her a husband.

Testator appoints as executors Sir Thomas Pickering, then

abbot of Whitby, and Sir John Smallwood, rector of Bainton. Henry Thwaites, gentleman, to be supervisor of the will and to receive five pounds for his pains. Amongst the witnesses is William Salvin of Newbiggin.

The will was proved 11 Jan., 1470.[1]

The widow of Sir John Salvin died 22 Oct., 1488, and neither she nor any of their children are mentioned in the will, so it may be presumed that, as was customary, those not referred to had been otherwise provided for in the father's lifetime.

The Inquisition Post Mortem of Joan Salvin is dated 6 May, 1493,[2] recording that she died in 1488 seised of one third part of the manor of Newbiggin, worth five pounds, for the term of her natural life, and of thirds in dower of the manor of Nesswick (six pounds), lands in Killom held of the prior of Watton (six shillings), and messuages and lands in Righton and Awburn (eight pounds).

Newbiggin is stated to be held of the king by service of a knight's fee.

It is to this period that the two stone fonts, now lying on the terrace at "Woodlands," Sleights, may be attributed. They were found at Newbiggin, sunk in a field for use as water troughs. Their workmanship and style of decoration indicate a period in the late fifteenth century, and the shields of arms carved on the smaller of the two cover the whole history of Newbiggin ownership, for they are those of Fossard, de Mauley, and Salvin. If a guess may be hazarded as to their origin, they have probably been made at the behest of a member of the Salvin family—one for the priory at Grosmont, to which they stood in the relation of patrons, which had been removed from the priory at the dissolution of the monastery, the other from the chapel at Newbiggin.

The arms are :

(1) (*Argent*) *on a chief* (*sable*) *two mullets of five points* (*or*)—for Salvin.

(2) *Vair* (*argent and azure*) *a maunche* (*gules*), *the hand holding a fleur-de-lis* (*or*)—for Mauley of Poictou.

(3) (*Or*) *a bend* (*sable*)—for Fossard, assumed by Mauley.

(4) Quarterly : 1 and 4, Fossard ; 2 and 3, Salvin.

The fonts are octagonal in shape, the larger one measuring 32 ins. in diameter by 25 ins. in height ; the smaller one is $26\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter with a height of 24 ins. In each case one side has been left in the rough, indicating that their original position has been against a wall.[3]

[1] *Test. Ebor.* [2] *Inq. P.M. Henry VII.* [3] See *Y.A.J.*, xxix, 109.

Thomas Salvin, eldest son of Sir John Salvin, succeeded to Newbiggin, and married Mary, daughter of Ralph, Baron Greystock.

She outlived her husband, dying in September 1496, her *I.P.M.* being dated 27 October. She was seized of a messuage and lands in Lockington worth ten pounds annually, held of the prior of Watton, by gift of Sir John Salvin, knight, to her and Thomas Salvin, her husband, and their heirs ; in Nesswick lands, etc., worth six pounds, held of the prior of Watton, four messuages, one hundred acres of land and twenty acres of meadow in Shirthwayt, parcel of the manor of Newbiggin of the value of six pounds, and held of the king by one twentieth of a knight's fee. Ralph Salvin, aged twenty-three years and more, is son and heir of the said Thomas and Mary.

Although the *I.P.M.* give her as Mary Salvin, widow, she had married Edmund Hastings, as is shown by a dispensation granted 15 July, 1479, by Pope Sixtus IV, they being related in the third and fourth degrees. Richard III made Hastings guardian of the Salvin lands during the minority of the son and heir. He also made him steward of the manor and lordship of Pickering, and master forester of the chase there, with an annuity of one hundred marks. The Hastings family had held these offices from the thirteenth century, but owing to maladministration were superseded by Henry VII in 1486, a procedure which culminated in the feud between the families of Hastings and Cholmley and ended with the ruin of the former.

Sir Ralph Salvin succeeded to Newbiggin, where he was born 14 May, 1474, and baptized the same day in the parish church of Egton, his sponsors being Ralph, Lord Greystock, William, then prior of Kirkham, and Joan Salvin, widow. He proved his age 16 May, 9 Henry VII, his lands of inheritance being in the custody of Edmund Hastings and Robert Bartilmewe, as executors of the will of Edmund Hastings, knight.

Sir Ralph Salvin married twice, his first venture being Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Hastings of Fenwick, knight, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorp. In the will of Sir Hugh, proved in January 1489, he bequeaths to each of his two daughters a marriage portion of three hundred marks, or two hundred pounds.[1]

Of Sir Ralph's second wife nothing is known of her parentage, and even the known pedigrees are blank in that respect. Her

[1] *Test. Ebor.*

Christian name was Anne, however, and she played the leading role in some highly diverting proceedings at Newbiggin and elsewhere, of which more later.

Sir Ralph Salvin died 31 March, 1534, leaving his widow, the second wife, at Newbiggin.

The connection between the Salvin family and the Priory of Grosmont has already been referred to. This was hereditary, for it was inseparable from the manor of Egton, having been founded by Johanna Fossard *circa* A.D. 1200. She was the wife of Robert de Turnham, and their daughter married the first Peter de Mauley of Mulgrave Castle. Thus we find that, at the dissolution of the monastery in 1536, the Suppression Papers give George Salvin, the son of Sir Ralph, as patron. In 1539-40, amongst the *Monastic Rentals and Surveys*,[1] we find the following amongst the debts owing to the house. Relieved of its antique spelling the entry reads :—

> " Memorandum. That Sir Ralph Salwyn and Dame Anne his wife, about eighteen years past, borrowed of Sir John Bank, late Prior of this monastery, a standing cup of silver parcel gilt, with a cover, which cost sixty shillings. Itm. a flat piece of silver which was worth forty shillings. Itm. a silver salt without a cover which was worth by estimation twenty shillings. Itm. six silver spoons worth by estimation thirteen shillings, and Itm. a fother of lead which was worth four pounds. Sum is £10-13-0."

We wonder if ever these articles were reclaimed for the treasury of King Henry VIII.

The Salvin manor of Egton adjoined the Royal Forest and Honour of Pickering, and the hunting and killing of deer, otherwise poaching, was a favourite diversion of the local gentry, and had been especially so to certain members of the Mauley family in the early fourteenth century. Nearly two hundred years later we find Sir Ralph Salvin indulging in the same old game, for in the year 1495, the Duchy of Lancaster Records inform us, he was indicted for taking a buck at Locktondykes without warrant.

The issue of the marriage between Elizabeth Gascoigne and Sir Ralph Salvin was two sons and two daughters—George the son and heir, John, Anne (who married William Daniell of Bestwick) and Margery.

It will have been noticed that some of the Salvins were knights whilst others did not claim that honour, and perhaps a few words

[1] Y.A.S. Record Series.

of explanation are necessary. By ancient usage all men of substance whose lands were worth yearly forty pounds, and had been held by them for a space of three clear years, were required to undertake the rank of knighthood. They could refuse, but in that case a somewhat heavy fine was imposed which enriched the Royal Exchequer. Thus in the year 1500 Ralph Salvin refused knighthood at the hands of King Henry VII, but apparently accepted it in later years. This system came into such disrepute that it was finally abolished in the reign of King Charles I.

We left Dame Anne Salvin, widow of Sir Ralph, at Newbiggin, and now have to chronicle a petition which she addressed to the court of Star Chamber. The date of these proceedings is not given on the records, but internal evidence enables it to be fixed in the year 1537 or thereabouts.

The lady complains of shameful and cruel treatment at the hands of Sir Ralph Eure, who at this time was the Constable of the castle of Scarborough and in the year mentioned defended it against the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace with only his household servants. He was afterwards commander-in-chief of the forces guarding the Scottish Marches.

Besides Sir Ralph many others were indicted, but the chief was one Stephen Milner, who, the Dame relates, came to Newbiggin with a troop of over thirty men at his back and in forcible and riotous manner came into the mansion or dwelling-house of the said Dame Anne, with bows bent ready to shoot, their swords drawn, and with visors upon their faces, and entered into a chapel within the said place where she was hearing mass, and seized her against her will. And because she did strive against their felonious intent, they took her by the legs and so dragged and trailed her out of the said chapel and down a stair, with her head and divers parts of her body knocking against the said stair. And from thence in like manner they carried her for the space of a thousand feet, whereby she became bruised, wounded, and hurt, being in great peril of her life. And after this was done they did, in a shameful manner, cast the said Dame Anne overthwart upon a horse-back like a sack, and with ropes did bind her fast unto the horse in such manner that she could not move or help herself, and so carried her to Stainton[dale], which is in distance nine miles, all which time she was bareheaded, and at Stainton they kept her in strait and hard prison for five days, allowing no woman to be in her company.

Item, when the said riotous persons had so imprisoned the said Dame Anne, they took her, about twelve of the clock at night,

being very dark and raining, and carried her to Scarborough where the said Ralph Eure is Captain of the castle and ruleth the town at his pleasure, threatening to convey her beyond seas unless she would take to husband the said Stephen Milner. On bringing her into Scarborough, they shut her up in the Friars [probably the Franciscan] for the space of seven days, not certain of her fate until she had promised to pay one hundred marks to Sir Ralph Eure and twenty nobles to one of his officers, over and above a sum of forty pounds Sir Ralph had procured by extortion.

Then follows a series of charges against the troopers and others who formed the party at Newbiggin, alleging assault and robbery on the person of Dame Anne's maid and the shooting of arrows at the household servants at Newbiggin, together with the destruction of their weapons. Further, they were charged with the breaking open of chests, coffers, and caskets, and taking away the sum of four hundred marks belonging to Dame Anne ; with breaking open the doors of the stables and taking ten horses, stealing one of the best and turning the rest loose in the fields.

Apparently the lady's persecutors made her sign a bond for one thousand pounds as surety that she would not report the matter to the King, therefore in bringing her charges before the Star Chamber she prays that the bond be declared void.

The documentary evidence usually tendered to the Star Chamber is verbose and extremely contradictory—how extremely so will be evident from the reply to Dame Anne's accusations made by those indicted. Perjury plays a prominent part on these occasions.

Sir Ralph Eure and others put forth their version of the affair by first giving the information, which Dame Anne has carefully refrained from mentioning, that Stephen Milner had been household servant to the late Sir Ralph Salvin, both long before and at the time of his decease, dwelling at Newbiggin, and, by common report, on more familiar terms with the Dame than he should have been. A short time after the decease of her husband Dame Anne promised to marry Stephen Milner, but there was strong opposition to such a course from her relatives and dependants, who had no love for the said Stephen. This resulted in his obtaining a citation out of the Archbishop's court at York to compel her to ratify her pledge of marriage, " accordynge unto the lawe of God." The lady did not take kindly to the ecclesiastical law, but wrote to Stephen that she was prepared to keep her pact but that her friends and servants " comberyd her dayly for his sake "—in other words, kept her under watch. Stephen Milner therefore consulted

his friends, with the result that an abduction was carried out with a show of force, the lady being a consenting party. All this was planned, so they say, with the permission of Sir Ralph Eure, who stipulated that Dame Anne should be willing, otherwise he would have nothing to do with it. They further assert that they went to Newbiggin in a quiet and peaceable manner and found Dame Anne in her chapel at mass, and that Stephen went unto her and kissed her, so that she went with him peaceably, arm in arm, to a stairfoot there in the chapel yard, and she sent for her own horse to ride upon and for one of her own servants to ride before her.

As to the alleged assault on the maid, she offered resistance and so, at her mistress's command, was taken out of the way until Dame Anne was out of sight.

At Stainton she and Stephen Milner kept company together for the five days, apparently until news was received of a rescue party marching from Newbiggin, when a rapid flight in the dead of night to Scarborough was necessary. They deny all violence or any imprisonment, or any threat of conveying the lady overseas ; and as to the forty pounds said to have been taken as a bribe by Sir Ralph Eure, that worthy knight avers that the money had been given to him by Dame Anne in the lifetime of her husband in recompense of a farmhold he should have had of the said Sir Ralph Salvin.

They therefore pray that they may be dismissed out of the court with reasonable costs and damages for wrongful vexation and trouble.[1]

Reading between the lines, and noting the different complexions placed upon the various incidents, it seems evident that Dame Anne Salvin had repented of her promise to marry her husband's retainer and that the death of Sir Ralph Salvin had made her little intrigue both dangerous and undesirable.

The situation of the chapel at Newbiggin was apparently some distance away from the main building, and had a separate yard.

George Salvin, the eldest son of Sir Ralph, succeeded to the family estates, having married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Bulmer of Wilton, under a dispensation dated 9 July, 1505, from Hadrian, the Cardinal of London, they being related in the fourth degree. This was the second alliance of the Bulmers with the Salvins, for Sir John Bulmer, the third of his name, who died in A.D. 1265, had married a Catherine Salvin.

In the will of Sir William Bulmer, dated in October, 1531,

[1] Printed at length in Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., xlv, 2.

he bequeaths to his son-in-law, George Salvin, his best tawny velvet gown, and to his wife, Margaret, the sum of twenty pounds, desiring him "to suffer her to do with it what she will."

The issue of the marriage was five sons—Francis, Mathew, William, John, and Edward.

George Salvin died 16 April, 1538, making no will, as his effects were administered on 3 August of that year.

Francis Salvin, the eldest son and heir of George, became Sir Francis Salvin. Apparently he had a military career, for he is stated to have been Warden of the Scottish Marches, that debateable land of turmoil in the north. He is described as of Thorpe Salvin and Newbiggin, and was twice married—firstly to Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph Eure, and sister of William, Lord Eure, and secondly to Ursula, daughter of .... Ellerker.

By the first marriage there was issue three sons and five daughters—Sir Ralph (eldest son), William, John, Anne, Frances (who married George, third son of Nicholas Fairfax of Walton), Mary (who married Francis Coppendale of Howsham), Elizabeth, and Joan.

By the second marriage a son named Robert (Graves). This marriage is not entered in some of the pedigrees consulted.

Sir Ralph Salvin of Newbiggin appeared at the Herald's Visitation of 1585. He was the eldest son of Sir Francis Salvin and married twice—firstly Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Cholmley, Knight, of Roxby, the purchaser of the estates of the dissolved monastery of Whitby, and the builder of the first residence there, by his wife Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Conyers. They had issue Ralph, Mary (married Richard Poulton), Ann (married Thomas Cooke), Elizabeth (married James Dawson), and Margaret (married Christopher Thackray).

By the second marriage, with Dorothy, daughter of Roger Tocketts of Tocketts, he had Francis and Jane, who married Dennis Bainbridge.

Sir Ralph Salvin in the year 1577 conveyed lands in Bainton and Nesswick, with the advowson of the church of Bainton, to his father-in-law, Sir Richard Cholmley—probably a mortgage transaction which was later redeemed, as Bainton remained in the family until a much later date.

Sir Ralph Salvin was succeeded by his eldest son of the same name, the eighth generation of the family at Newbiggin. He married, firstly, 24 Nov. 1586, Elinor, daughter of Thomas Dutton of Sherborne, Co. Gloucester, and had issue William, Ralph, Thomas

(admitted Lincoln's Inn, 9 June 1619), and Ann (married Gervase Hammond of Scarthingwell). By a second marriage with Isabella, daughter of Robert Ross of Cawton, he had John, George, Dorothy, Frances, Mary, Jane, Eleanor and Barbara.

In the will of Francis Ross of Cawton, brother of the above Isabella, are bequests in money to the two last-named daughters of his sister Salvin, and mention is made of a cow called " Spotty " then in her possession. Isabella Salvin was appointed sole executrix, and proved the will in 1659.

Ralph Salvin was of the old religion, and one of those who refused to conform to the royal authority in matters of belief ; therefore he was dubbed a recusant. At the same time he was entrusted with local affairs, for, in the Sessions Rolls for 1619, he is mentioned as the surveyor for the building of Egton bridge, a sum of ten pounds being levied on the Riding for the finishing of it, this sum to be paid to him.

In January, 1620, he presented Robert Facon, M.A., to the rectory of Bainton, the advowson of which, like the manor of Egton, had a very long tenure of heritage. This presentation was annulled, although Mr. Facon was eventually admitted on another presentation, probably because Ralph Salvin was a Roman Catholic.

In the year 1626 Ralph Salvin, his wife Isabella, and his son William, were presented at the Sessions as recusants.

It would seem that with the advent of the seventeenth century, or perhaps a quarter of a century earlier, the Salvins of Newbiggin were being shorn of some of their ancient prestige. Like many other old families they belonged to the proscribed church of Rome, and this fact exposed them to many petty persecutions and social distinctions, besides having a tendency to militate against them in a pecuniary degree. However that may be, we find Ralph Salvin and Eleanor, his wife, in the year 1616, conveying to William Radcliffe, Esq., of Ugthorpe Hall, Richard Sneton and Ralph Marshall of Egton (the latter one of those who refused knighthood at the coronation of Charles I), the manor of Egton, which, the deed informs us, consisted of 80 messuages and 100 cottages, with all the lands, etc., belonging—this being a mortgage.

William Radcliffe, mentioned above, belonged to another old Catholic family long seated at Mulgrave and Ugthorpe, and who were at this period in much the same position as the Salvins.

In a Duchy of Lancaster Survey made in the years 1619 to 1621 appears a reference to the bounds of the manor of Egton, its

interest lying to us largely in the place-names. From this we learn that Ralph Salvin had endeavoured to claim about one hundred acres in Wheeldale, although it is described as "meane heathie and boggy grounde"; yet, worthless as it was, it was considered "not fit to be loste." The pretended bounds mentioned are from a stone with a hole in the middle, to a stone called Turnhill or Turning Stone, thence by a stone called the "Boresheade," thence to another stone called the "Man in the Moss," and thence to a howe or hill called East Shenerhowe alias Flathow, and from thence to a long stone lying upon the ground [not likely to be a bound stone], and thence to Wheeldale beck. These bounds they, the jurors, say, seem to have been all forged, for the true bounds between Wheeldale the Prince's land, and the manor of Egton, is a little beck or river running under Wheeldale, over which river Mr. Salvin has pretended a right to come under new bounds which His Highness's tenants never before understood.

All this is but history repeating itself from the time of the Mauleys, and practically amounted to a charge of fraud. Perhaps the biblical admonition to "Remove not the ancient landmark" was in abeyance for the time being.

An Indenture is enrolled under date of 22 Nov., 1620, showing that in the previous June Ralph Salvin, in consideration of a certain sum of money paid to him by John Cholmley of Barton, gent., had conveyed to Sir Richard Cholmley of Whitby, Charles Radcliffe of Wistow, Henry Hall of East Lilling, Francis Towey of the same, George Cockerell of Stakesby, and James Cholmley of York, twenty-one messuages and lands in Glaisdale and Egton, included amongst which are Limber Hill Farm, Lease Rigg, Holme House, Spring Head, and the house at the "Walke Milne" [Fulling-mill] at Egton, to have and receive the rents and to re-assure all the same to the said Ralph Salvin and his heirs, with a proviso in case of interference on the part of William Salvin, heir to the said Ralph.

In the same year, on October 3rd, Isabel, wife of Ralph Salvin, was presented at Sessions as a recusant. This fact enables us to fix the date of her marriage within a short period, as the first wife, Eleanor, was, as already noted, alive in 1616, and party to the conveyance of that year.

The next in succession is William Salvin, of Newbiggin, son and heir of Ralph Salvin. He married firstly Dorothy, daughter of John Girlington of Thurland Castle, by whom he had no issue. By a second marriage, with Anne, daughter of Launcelot Carnaby of

Halton, Northumberland, he had a son and heir, William Salvin, and one daughter named Eleanor.

Both William Salvin and Dorothy, his wife, were presented to Sessions as recusants in 1614, their ages being given as each twenty-two years.

In 1616 Dorothy Salvin was again presented, and later in the year she is reported as having taken the oath of allegiance. Many Catholics did this, without actually swerving from their old belief, in order to save persecution, for every local constable was obliged to send periodical lists of all Catholics within his district, and he was fined for neglect.

In 1619, at a Sessions held September 30th, William Salvin was presented [indicted] as a popish recusant, it being reported that he had conformed and went to the chapel of Egton, but did not, from September 8 to September 20, receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; therefore he was fined twenty pounds.

William Salvin died in the year 1649, his will being dated on the 27th of July. He is described as William Salvin of the parish of Egton, in the county of York, esquire. First he wills that the charges of his funeral are not to exceed the sum of twenty pounds. He bequeaths to the poor of the parish of Egton the sum of ten pounds, to be distributed at the discretion of his wife, his son, William Salvin, and the minister and churchwardens of Egton, the money to be paid to them by the executors twelve months after his decease.

"To my dear and only son and heir, William Salvin, my manor of Newbiggin, and all other my lands within the county of York or elsewhere.

To my dear wife, Anne Salvin, all the monies due to me from my brother Carnaby.

To my daughter, Eleanor Salvin, the yearly sum or rent charge of ten pounds, during the term of her natural life, to be payable every half year at Martinmas and Whitsuntide by equal portions. But in case she shall behave herself dutiful to my wife, my wife to give her out of her estate ten pounds per annum or more if she shall behave herself so as to deserve it, but if she disturbs my son or my wife, both annuities to be void and to cease, and she to have nothing out of my estate.

All the rest and residue of my goods, estate, etc., I give and bequeath to my loving cousin, Mr. Gilbert Crouch, towards the discharging of his engagements for me, and his extraordinary pains, care and expenses already taken in my

business, and which he shall hereafter take in the settlement of all mine, my son's, and my wife's business, he to be sole executor."

Proved in London, Aug. 25th, 1649.[1]

William Salvin married, in 1661, Anne, daughter of Marmaduke Cholmley of Bransby, the second intermarriage between the two families. He succeeded to Newbiggin under the will of his father, as already shown, but little is known of his activities during life. The children of his marriage were Francis, who died without issue ; Thomas, heir to his father, died without issue ; William, who succeeded to the Newbiggin estates ; John, died Feb., 1700 ; Marmaduke, buried at Egton 20 Aug., 1728 ; Mary, Anne, Ursula (buried at Egton 19 Aug., 1682), and Dorothy (buried at Egton 30 March, 1745).

The will of William Salvin is dated 5 Feb., 1671, and he describes himself as of Newbiggin. After a lengthy preamble he bequeaths to Anne, his wife, all manors, tenements, lands, etc., in Newbiggin for the term of her natural life, with power to sell, cut down, and dispose of all woods growing in the said manor during her life, or by will. After her decease the said manors are bequeathed to Thomas Salvin, testator's son and heir, he to pay to his brother, Francis Salvin, thirty pounds per annum for the term of his life, and also to pay to another brother, William Salvin, one hundred pounds on his reaching the age of twenty-one years. Also the said Thomas Salvin to pay one hundred pounds each to his brothers Marmaduke and John at the age of twenty-one years, and to his sisters Mary, Anne, Ursula, and Dorothy, a like sum on attaining the age of twenty-one or marriage. The personal estate is bequeathed to testator's younger children, equally divided ; the remainder in default to son John Salvin and his heirs. Residue, after paying debts and funeral expenses, to wife Anne, who is appointed sole executrix. Probate 3 Dec., 1673.[2]

As both Francis and Thomas Salvin died without issue, Newbiggin descended to the third son, William Salvin, who had scarcely obtained possession before the whole estate was sequestered by the Parliamentary Committee for the North Riding on the grounds of his father being a recusant, although he, the son, had been a soldier of the Parliament and served in the regiment of Colonel Welton.

William Salvin petitioned the Committee on 19 July, 1650, saying that his father had died in London six months previously, and prays for a discharge. On 12 November, 1651, the certificate

[1] Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., vol. ix [2] *York Reg.*

of the Yorkshire Committee was read stating that there was a charge against William Salvin for being in the King's army at the battle of Naseby, and reported his being carried to London as a prisoner. Apparently witnesses were examined who knew nothing against him as he was beyond sea at the beginning of the troubles, and that the estate was sequestered for the recusancy of his father. It was ordered that enquiries be made of prisoners taken at Naseby fight whether he was so taken, and, if not, the sequestration was to be taken off and he be discharged if he be not a recusant and if he take the oath of abjuration of popery.

He was found not to have been at Naseby and, after taking the oath, was discharged 3 Feb., 1652.[1]

William Salvin had stated in his petition that he was neither papist nor delinquent.

In 1670 he granted the advowson of Hinderwell to one Robert Crompton, this being one of the ancestral advowsons descended from the Mauley family, and presumably this transaction was a sale.

William Salvin married, in 1702, Anna, daughter of John Raynes of Easingwold, by which union he bettered the family fortunes by becoming possessed of the manorial residence there with all its appendages.

In the *Registration of Papists' Estates* he is given as William Salvin of Easingwold, and as holding the manor of Newbiggin with its courts, rights, etc., a capital messuage with barns and stables in his own possession, eight other messuages and various closes of land, all of which are subject to an annuity of twelve pounds to his brother, Marmaduke Salvin, and a similar amount to his sister Dorothy ; also there is a mortgage for one hundred pounds and several debts and incumbrances amounting to three hundred and fifteen pounds ; also a *modus* of five shillings and sixpence payable to the rector of Lythe.

He died in the year 1726, being buried at St. Olave's, York, and was probably the last of his line to use Newbiggin as a residence, for he appears to have resided at Easingwold, where he died.

There is no evidence available so far to show that the transfer of 1620 was ever redeemed, for, it will have been noticed, the manor of Egton is not mentioned—only the manor of Newbiggin.

Thomas Salvin, on whom the two estates of Easingwold and Newbiggin devolved, was born in 1703 and married, in 1740, Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Talbot of Hampstead in Middlesex,

[1] Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., xx, 115.

by whom he had Thomas Salvin of Easingwold, who died without issue, the last of his line ; and with him the long connection of Newbiggin came to an end, for by an indenture dated 12 August, 1736, he conveyed to George Duck of Marske, gent., in consideration of the sum of £4,800, the manor of Newbiggin, the capital messuage there, and all his other messuages, farms, etc., in Newbiggin, or in the lordship of Egton and parish of Lythe, together with all houses, quarries, dams, locks, fishing becks, and streams of water, fishing, hunting, hawking, fowling, parks, warrens, etc.

The history of an old homestead is often the history of the decay of an ancient family, and that has been the case with Newbiggin. The Salvins held it for 346 years in direct succession, generation after generation—truly a family record of no mean order. It only remains to be said that in the year 1812 this old house and site of many memories passed by purchase to the Yeoman family of " Woodlands," Sleights, in whose hands it remained until 1934.

Obituary.

GEORGE BENSON, A.R.I.B.A.

By the death of George Benson on 23rd Oct. 1935, Yorkshire archæology has suffered an appreciable loss. He was a member of the Society's Ancient Monuments' and Roman Antiquities' Committees. As Hon. Curator of Archæology and Numismatics in the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Museum, he did commendable work during a period of many years; and when he resigned these positions a short while ago he was deservedly elected an Hon. Member of that Society.

Mr. Benson was a man of a retiring and unassuming disposition, but he was greatly interested in antiquarian study and devoted much of his time to investigating the history and antiquities of York. Whenever deep drainage or building excavations were made in the older parts of the city he was early on the site, and, as opportunity offered, published the results of his observations.

With the late Dr. Evelyn, Canon Solloway, E. R. Tate and T. P. Cooper he helped to revive the activities of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archæological Society. He was one of the chief promotors and honorary secretaries of a remarkable and successful Exhibition of Old York Views and Portraits of its Worthies held in 1905.

During his long connection with York Mr. Benson accumulated a vast amount of historical material relating to the city and the Minster, much of which he fortunately was able to publish. His principal work was issued in three volumes: (1) *York from its Origin to the End of the Eleventh Century*, (2) *Later Medieval York: the City and County of the City of York from* 1100 *to* 1603, (3) *An Account of the City and County of the City of York, from the Reformation to the year* 1925.[1] But he was a prolific writer and a careful investigator. His numerous publications contain much that is not incorporated in his principal work. He reproduced many of his own plans and drawings in his books and pamphlets.

[1] The first two were issued under the auspices of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society; the third was a private venture.

The following is a list of his publications and papers:

A. List of Works.

York from its Origin to the End of the Eleventh Century (1911).

Later Medieval York: The City and County of the City of York, from 1100 to 1603 (1919).

An Account of the City and County of the City of York from the Reformation to the year 1925 (1925).

Handbook to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, York (1895).[1]

The Bells of the Ancient Churches of York (1885).

A Brief Historical Sketch of the Drama in York (1885).

Notes on the Church and Parish of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, in Micklegate, within the City of York, Parts 1 and 2 (1901 and 1906).

The Inscribed Memorials in the Church and Churchyard of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, in Micklegate, York (1910).

Picturesque York (illustrated by J. England Jefferson) (1886).

Quaint and Historic York (drawings by E. Ridsdale Tate) (1906).

York (pictured by E. W. Haslehurst) (1911).

B. List of Papers.

(*a*) *Yorkshire Archæological Journal.*

Discovery of a Roman Tower in York (xxv).

Roman Stone Coffin (xxv).

(*b*) *Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Reports and Transactions.*

1898 York Bellfounders.

1902 The Hospital of St. Peter, York.

,, Notes on Clifford's Tower (with H. M. Platnauer).

,, An Excavation in High Ousegate, York.

1904 The Church and Parish of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, York.

,, Notes on an Intrenchment on Holgate Hill, York.

1907 An Excavation at the Corner of Castlegate and Coppergate, York.

1909 Excavations on Site of NW. Gateway of Eboracum.

1911 York from its Origin to the End of the Eleventh Century.

1913 Coins: Especially those relating to York.

1915 The Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of York.

,, Notes on a Cobble Road, York.

1918 John Browne, 1793–1877, Artist, and the Historian of York Minster.

[1] This went through several editions.

1919 Later Medieval York: The City and County of the City of York, from 1100 to 1603.

1925 Notes on Local Heraldry.

(c) *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports.*

1904 York Bellfounders (*illustrated*).

1908 Parish of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York—the Constable's Book, 1636–1736.

1910 Parish of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York—Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts, 1557–1819.

1911 The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, York, Vol. 1, 1560–1670.

1912 The Churchwardens' Book, 1670–1754, which has been recently restored to the Church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory.

1923 Notes on the Church and Parish of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.

1926 Notes on Acomb, near York (*illustrated*).

1927 The Plans of York (*illustrations of old plans*).

Papers in Miscellaneous Publications.

1890 Old Customs at York, in W. Andrews' "Yorkshire in Olden Times."

1892 St. Mary's Abbey, York, and, The History, Traditions and Curious Customs of York Minster, in W. Andrews' "Bygone Yorkshire."

1906 The Minster and Churches of York, in "Historical and Scientific Survey of York and District" (Seventy-fifth Meeting of British Association at York).

1929 The Cathedral Church of St. Peter, and, The Churches of York, in "Handbook of the Conference of the R.I.B.A."

1887 A Fortnight's Summer Sketching Tour in Yorkshire (*Building News*).

1896 Old York (*Builders' Journal*).

1897 An Eighteenth-century House in York (*Architectural Review*).

1913 The Old Painted Glass in the Parish Churches of York (*Journal of R.I.B.A.*).

1919 York's Musical Festival (*Yorkshire Gazette—Centenary Number*).

,, The Ancient Painted Glass of York Minster (*Journal of R.I.B.A.*).

1923 The Evolution of York (*Journal of the Town Planning Institute*).

Pamphlets published by James L. Burdekin, York.

The Theatre Royal and the Drama in York.
The Freemen of York and their Connection with the Strays.
The Taverns, Hostels and Inns of York, and their Signboards.
York Race Meetings.
The Arts of York.
The Customs of York.
History of Bishophill, York.
The York and Scarborough Railway.
York and its Railways.
York and its Regiments.
York Assizes.
The Churches of York.
The Buildings of York (Old and New).
York: The Rivers—Ouse and Foss—with Ousegate and Fossgate.
The Walls of York.
York: its Markets and Fairs.

T.P.C.

JAMES R. WIGFULL, Hon.M.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.

The death of Mr. J. R. Wigfull on 16th Feb., 1936, has deprived the Society of a useful and loyal member, who kept us in close touch with the Sheffield district. He joined the Council in 1921 and served until his resignation, due to ill health, at the end of 1934. He was also a member of our Ancient Monuments Committee, upon which he rendered good service. Mr. Wigfull spent all his life in Sheffield, where he practised as an architect, taking a deep interest in local archæology. He was one of the founders of the Hunter Archæological Society, and a frequent contributor to, and for a number of years hon. editor of, that Society's Transactions. He was an active promoter in the movement for the foundation of the Chair of Architecture in Sheffield University. For this service and for his work for local archæology he was awarded the degree of Hon. M.A. Although a Non-conformist, so highly was Mr. Wigfull's opinion in architectural and archæological matters valued that he was appointed a member of the Sheffield Diocesan Advisory Committee.

A list of his publications follows:

THE HUNTER SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS.

Lady's Bridge, Sheffield (i, 57 and 237).
The Sheffield Architectural and Archæological Society (i, 329).
The Early Books of the Parish Register of Sheffield (ii, 82).
Extracts from the Note Book of William Dickenson (ii, 189).
The Underground Passage in Manor Lane (Sheffield) (ii, 375).
House Building in Queen Elizabeth's Days (iii, 66).
The Court Leet of the Manor of Sheffield (iii, 143).
The Bay as a Unit of Measurement (iii, 154).
Steetley Chapel (iii, 241).
An Early Sheffield School (iii, 336).
"Her Majesties Manor of Ecclesall" (iv, 28).
Broom Hall, Sheffield (iv, 161).
The Shrewsbury Chapel (iv, 270).
Sheffield Grammar School (iv, 283).

He also wrote the accounts of many of the Hunter Society's excursions.

Jointly with Rev. Henry Cecil:

Sheffield Cathedral: a Short Descriptive History, with Illustrations and a Plan. E.W.C.

YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS.

The most recent list, down to 31 Dec. 1935, includes the following Yorkshire additions, all in section B. The additions included in the previous list were printed in *Y.A.J.*, xxxii (p. 331).

B

CROSSES

Masham Market cross

Ulfkill cross base, Stainforth

DOMESTIC BUILDING

Pontefract Old Hall

EARTHWORKS

Camps :

Castle Steads Camp, Gayles

Yarlsber Camp, Ingleton

Castles :

Aughton Castle

"Maiden Bower," Topcliffe

Moated Site :

Manor Garth, Rest Park, Sherburn-in-Elmet

MONASTIC

Salley Abbey gateway

MONOLITH

Rudston monolith

PREHISTORIC

Baildon Common, cup and ring marked rocks, 150 yards N. of Dobrudden

Baildon Common, tumulus and earthwork at north of

Baildon, stone circle on Bracken Hall Green

Beacon Howes (tumuli), Staintondale Moor

Burnt Howe (tumulus) and four tumuli W. and SW. of it, Raven Hill, Staintondale

Double Dike, The, Edlington

Green Dike, Staintondale Moor

North Deighton, Howe Hill (tumulus)

Penny Howe (tumulus), Harwood Dale Moor

Pye Rigg Howe (tumulus) and six tumuli SSE. of it, Harwood Dale Moor

Staintondale, tumulus 400 yards W. of Springfield Farm

ROMAN

Bainbridge Roman Camp (*Bracchium*)

Castle Shaw Roman Forts, Saddleworth

E. W. CROSSLEY.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. Crossley, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

REVIEWS.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Charters and Instruments relating to lands near Sheffield in the Counties of York, Derby, Nottingham and Lincoln, with Genealogies and Notes, compiled by T. Walter Hall, Hon. M.A., F.S.A., etc.; Sheffield: J. W. Northend, Ltd., 1935. 10s.

Mr. Hall has issued yet another of his excellent descriptive catalogues, on this occasion dealing with documents, not only referring to Yorkshire, but also to parts of three other counties in close proximity to Sheffield. They include some 13th and 14th century Yorkshire deeds dealing with land in Bradfield, recently added to the Wheat Collection in the Sheffield City Library by Mr. John B. Wheat; and some 16th century and later deeds relating to lands in the Penistone district, from the Smith collection, also in the City Library. One of the Lincolnshire deeds included in the last collection is of Yorkshire interest, being a copy of the Inq. Post Mortem of John Lacy of Brearley in the par. of Halifax, died 1585. He died seised of the Manor of Spridlington, co. Lincs., and of the advowson of the church there. Amongst the illustrations are two charters, prior to 1290, one of them relating to land at Midhope. E.W.C.

History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry. By W. B. Crump, M.A., and Gertrude Ghorbal, M.A. Tolson Memorial Museum Publication, Handbook No. IX. 132 pp. 1935.

This is one of the valuable series of Handbooks published by the Tolson Memorial Museum and is quite up to the standard we expect from the editorship of Dr. T. W. Woodhead. The collaboration of Mrs. Ghorbal with Mr. W. B. Crump has provided a valuable contribution to not only Huddersfield but Yorkshire industrial history. A mass of material has been dealt with in a highly competent manner, so that the reader is able to follow the development of the woollen trade from its early beginnings as an occupation for the spinsters in the home to the modern factory. Chapters III to X comprise valuable contributions which are a happy combination of local history and technical detail, and go far to preserve obsolete processes and many colloquial terms, long since gone out of use, which might otherwise be lost to future generations. Apart from its purpose as a handbook to the museum, the book contains much of human interest in the rise of local families to wealth and the homely surroundings of the Yeoman Clothier. A series of thirty illustrations from old prints and photographs show careful selection in

relation to the subject matter and add to the value for reference purposes. Dr. Woodhead contributes a preface in which the pioneer work of Mrs. Ghorbal receives due acknowledgment.

H.P.K.

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Halifax Antiquarian Society's Papers for 1935 (*continued*) contain—The Damask Trade in Ovenden, by W. B. Trigg; Some Rastrick Houses, by H. Travis Clay.

Hull Museum Publications include: No. 185—Excavations at the Roman Fort at Brough, E. Yorkshire, 1934, by P. Corder; No. 186—Wilberforce House, Hull, by T. Sheppard; No. 187—Record of Additions.

The Hunter Archæological Society's Transactions, vol. iv., part 3, contains—The late Sidney Oldall Addy, M.A.; Roche Abbey Charters, by S. O. Addy, ed. by T. W. Hall; The Discoveries at Beauchief, by S. O. Addy; The Stock of the Town of Sheffield, by M. Walton; Cockshutt, by W. H. Elgar; Notes on the Architectural History of Padley Hall, Derbyshire, by C. M. Hadfield; William West, Seneschal of Hallamshire, by T. W. Hall and F. Bradbury; The Shrewsbury Chapel, by J. R. Wigfull; Recent Publications; Obituary Notices—Rev. W. Odom, J. Stokes, T. R. Ellin; Notes and Queries (Wigtwizle Hall, Attercliffe Hall, the Hall in the Ponds); Sheffield Grammar School, by J. R. Wigfull; Synopsis of Lectures; Excursions.

The Teesdale Record Society, No. 1 (1935) contains—Bowes Museum; Local MSS.; Letter from Rev. John Rogers to Lord Wharton; Croft Bridge; Assessment; 17th Century Attorneys; Mr. Chapman's Observations of Barnard Castle Chapelry; Barnard Castle Wills; Property in Barnard Castle, 17th century; Burglary in Barnard Castle, 1710; Tobacco Monopoly in Barnard Castle, 1638; East Shaw; John Bowbank *v.* William Clopton.

The Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society, vol. iii, part 1, contains—Yorkshire Silver Tokens, by T. Sheppard; The Fauna illustrated on Roman Coins, by F. Heeley; Northern Numismatic Notes, by the Editor; Medals designed by P. Metcalfe; Countermarked Tokens, by T.S. Vol. iii, part 2, contains—Archery Medals and Memoranda, by T. Sheppard; Sheffield and Birmingham, by W. J. Davis. Vol. iii, part 3, contains—Copper, Tin, Bronze, etc., as material for the Production of Subsidiary Coinage, by H. Rogers; Seventeenth-Century Tokens; Numismatic Notes.

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Annual Report for 1935 includes—On some Spoon-shaped Fibulae in the Yorkshire Museum and elsewhere, by W. E. Collinge; On a Roman Memorial Stone in the Yorkshire Museum, by W. E. Collinge.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

The Bodleian Quarterly, vol. viii, No. 87, includes—Yorkshire Monastic Archives, by N. Denholm Young.

The Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society, vol. ix, pt. 4, includes—Excavations at Sewell's Cave, Settle, W. Yorkshire, by A. Raistrick (p. 191).

The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. xiii, includes—Select Documents, xxix, The Case of the Mare lost in the Humber; A Note on the Early History of the Law of Contract (p. 35).

The English Historical Review, vol. li, includes—Monastic Granges in Yorkshire, by T. A. M. Bishop (p. 193).

The Monumental Brass Society's Transactions, vol. vii, pt. 2, includes—A Note on Topcliffe (an appeal), (p. 82), and an Obituary Notice of W. J. Kaye, M.A., F.S.A. (p. 87).

The Journal of Roman Studies, vol. xxv, pt. 2, includes—Roman Britain in 1934 (notes on Adel, Aldborough, Cawood, York, Brough, Rudston, Airedale).

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*Note.*—Books and Pamphlets are included in this list which have been issued from 1 Jan., 1925. The compiler will be glad to hear of any which may have escaped his notice.]

Catalogue of the Printed Books and Pamphlets in the Library of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, 30 Nov. 1932; Part ii, M–Z; compiled by G. E. Kirk; 9 × 6; pp. 268; Yorkshire Archæological Society, 1936.

A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire, with an introductory essay and map; collected and arranged by M. Kitson Clark; 10 × 5¼; pp. 142; Yorkshire Archæological Society, Roman Antiquities Committee, 1935.

Index of Place Names to Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson's edition of Richmond Archdeaconry Registers, 1442–1474, made from MS. Latin 333 in the John Rylands Library at Manchester (*Y.A.J.*, xxx and xxxii); by G. W. Waine; 9 × 6; pp. 12; Richmond, Yorks.: T. Spencer & Sons, 1936.

The Parish Register of Bubwith; Part 1, Baptisms and Burials, 1600–1767, Marriages, 1600–1753; ed. by John Charlesworth; 9 × 5¾; pp. 217; The Yorkshire Parish Register Society, vol. xcix, 1935.

The Parish Register of All Saints' Church, Pavement, in the City of York, vol. i, 1554–1690; ed. by T. M. Fisher; 9 × 5¾; pp. xi + 162; The Yorkshire Parish Register Society, vol. c, 1935.

Gisbrough, Yorkshire: Official Guide; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 6; London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1935.

A Short History of the Diocese of Ripon, 1836–1936; by R. H. Malden; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; pp. v + 37; Leeds: Jowett & Sowry, Ltd., 1935.

York Minster and Neighbouring Abbeys and Churches (*Cathedrals, Abbeys and Famous Churches Series*); by Gordon Home; $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$; pp. 192; London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1936.

Beeston, Leeds: Its Ancient Parochial Chapelry, Chapel, and Present Church of St. Mary the Virgin; by G. E. Kirk; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 32; Leeds: John Whitehead & Son, Ltd., 1936.

A Short History of the Parish Church of St. Peter, Thorner, with some Notice of the Chapel and New Parish Church of St. Paul, Shadwell; by G. E. Kirk; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 31; Leeds: John Whitehead & Son, Ltd., 1935.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Charters and Instruments relating to lands near Sheffield in the Counties of York, Derby, Nottingham and Lincoln, with Genealogies and Notes; compiled by T. Walter Hall; 10 × 7; pp. vi + 96; Sheffield: J. W. Northend, Ltd., 1935.

Farrer (and some variants) Wills and Administrations so far discovered in England and Wales and the Isle of Man, down to A.D. 1800–. . . .; ed. by Lord Farrer of Abinger; $8\frac{3}{4} + 5\frac{3}{4}$; pp. 425; Dorking: Tanner & Son, 1936.

The Ossett Grammar School: A History; by H. G. Chapman; $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$; pp. 30; Ossett: S. Cockburn & Son [1935].

History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry; by W. B. Crump and G. Ghorbal; $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$; pp. 132; Huddersfield: Alfred Jubb & Son, Ltd., 1935.

Lights o' York: the Story and Romance of Seven Hundred Years' Street Lighting; by T. P. Cooper; $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; pp. 31; York: Burdekin [1935].

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MCMXXXVII.

CONTENTS OF PART 130.

(Being the Second part of Volume XXXIII.)

PAGE

EDITORIAL NOTES—A Bronze Age Whetstone 115
A Polished Flint Axe from Harrogate . 116
Birstall Church Books 118
Heraldic Exhibition at Birmingham . 118
Architectural Graphic Records Committee 118
A Bronze Age Beaker from Whitwell Hill 119
Cup and Ring Stone 120
Formation of Group Movement at Harrogate 121

THE FOUNDATION OF CHANTRIES IN THE COUNTIES OF NOTTINGHAM AND YORK 122
MARJORIE A. RILEY, B.A.

PREHISTORIC CULTIVATIONS AT GRASSINGTON, WEST YORKSHIRE 166
ARTHUR RAISTRICK, PH.D., M.SC.

THE CASTLE AND THE TOLBOOTH—A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DISPUTE IN KNARESBOROUGH 175
W. A. ATKINSON.

TWO SPEARHEADS OF THE MIDDLE SAXON PERIOD FROM FERRYBRIDGE 196
J. D. COWEN.

A CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHURCHES IN THE UNDIVIDED DIOCESE OF RIPON 199
G. E. KIRK.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1936 215
EDITED BY MARY KITSON CLARK.

REVIEWS 229

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES . . . 232

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC. 232

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY 233

Illustrations.

EDITORIAL NOTES—Bronze Age Whetstone 115
Polished Flint Axe from Harrogate . . . 117
Beaker from Whitwell 119
Cup and Ring Stone . . . . *facing* 120

PREHISTORIC CULTIVATIONS AT GRASSINGTON—
Plan . . . . . *facing* 166
Air photo . . . . . ,, 168
Metal and Bone Objects from Lea Green 170
Neolithic Stone and Flint Implements from Lea Green . . 172
Flint Arrow Points from Lea Green 173

THE CASTLE AND THE TOLBOOTH—
Map . . . . . *facing* 176
The Old Courthouse, Knaresborough . . . ,, 178
The Town Hall, ,, ... ,, 178
"A Mapp of Roper Hill" (*ca.* 1685) . . . ,, 183

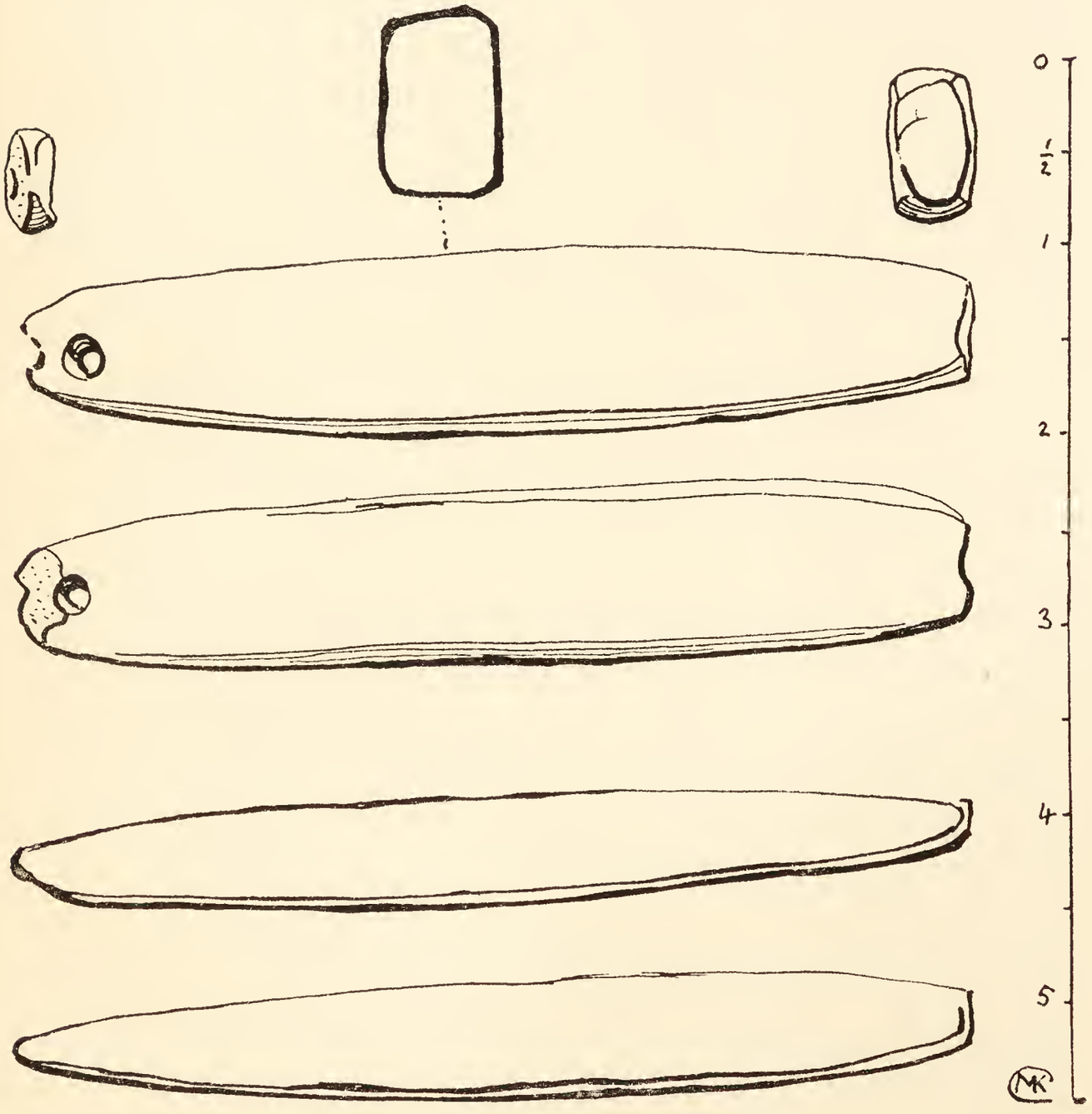
TWO SPEARHEADS OF THE MIDDLE SAXON PERIOD FROM FERRYBRIDGE—
Anglo-Saxon Spearheads . . . . . *facing* 196

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1936—
Cinerary Urn 217
A Roman Altar from Bowes 225

Editorial Notes.

A BRONZE AGE WHETSTONE FROM CARPLEY GREEN, WENSLEYDALE.

While visiting the Iron Age settlements near Addleborough in September, 1934, I noticed, projecting from a patch of clay and gravel near the farm of Carpley Green, a smooth stone, which,



after dislodgment with some difficulty by the aid of a camera tripod, proved to be a perforated whetstone. The material is a smooth grey stone slightly specked with mica; it is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in width, and $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in thickness, of rectangular

section and tapering towards the ends, and the angles are nicely rounded. The implement is well finished, shows no signs of use, and the perforation, which is $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch from one end, is $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in diameter and very clearly cut. The surface (apart from a small portion exposed to the weather) has a distinct patina.

A number of perforated whetstones of this type have been found both in England and Scotland, associated with objects of the Bronze Age.

Evans figures one found in a tumulus at Hove with a stone axe-hammer, an amber cup, and a bronze dagger, and mentions others from tumuli. One from a cairn at Mieklerigg, Stenton, East Lothian, has been figured by J. Graham Callander; in the cairn were two cists, one containing a cinerary urn with heavy overhanging rim and incinerated bones, and the other the remains of a skeleton, a well-flaked flint knife, and the whetstone; another similar one was found with the remains of a bronze dagger and incinerated bones in a cinerary urn, on Glenluce Sands. Whetstones of this type do not appear to occur on early Iron Age sites.

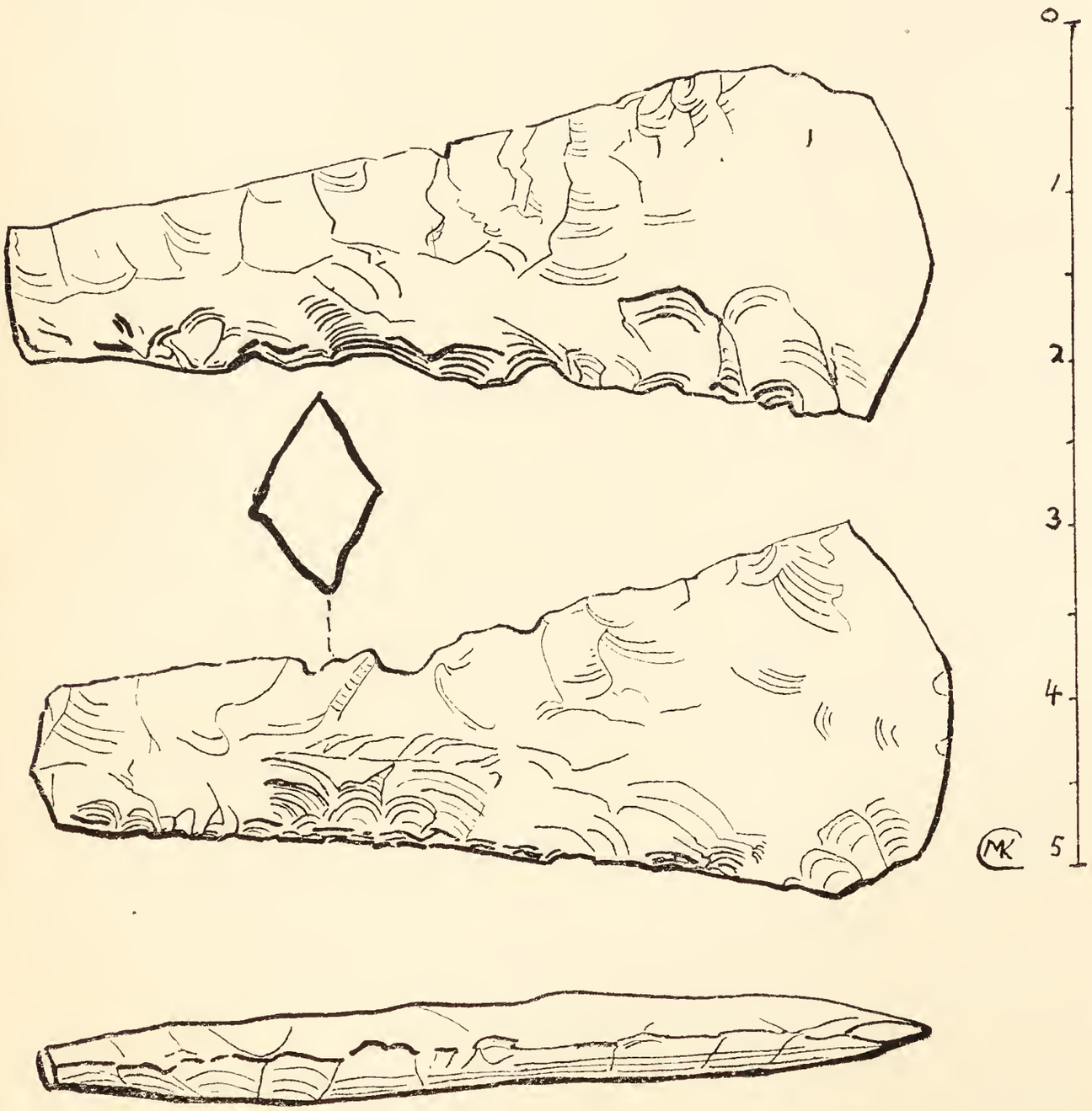
B. W. J. Kent.

A POLISHED FLINT AXE FROM HARROGATE.

The flint axe figured (from a drawing by Miss M. Kitson Clark) in this note was, until recently, in the possession of the late Mr. W. J. Kaye, and was discovered in 1905, embedded in clay at some depth, during alterations at the Ladies' College, Harrogate, at the junction of Duchy Road and Clarence Drive. The material is a mottled grey flint, now patinated a light reddish brown, flecked with patches of darker brown, black and white. The implement is almost, but not quite, symmetrically shaped; it is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with slightly incurved sides tapering towards the truncated butt, and expanding towards the cutting edge. The width across the cutting edge is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches (a small portion having been broken off) and 1 inch wide at the butt. The greatest thickness near the narrow end is $\frac{7}{16}$ inch. A clearly marked ridge runs about half way down the centre of both faces, and the lower extremity has been ground and polished from the cutting edge upwards. Small portions of either end of the cutting edge were snapped off by the workmen, who used it for two days to clean their tools before it was rescued by the foreman and taken to Mr. Kaye. The axe was said to have been found at a depth of eight feet, but this is doubtful. Some flakes of similar flint were found near by, but these are now lost.

Flint axes of this type, expanding towards the cutting edge,

are very rare in this country, and are more common in Denmark; but even there are rare when the expansion is well defined. It is probably of the same date as the axe from Duggleby Howe in the Mortimer Collection at Hull (Mortimer: *Forty Years*, p. 28, fig. 56), but the Duggleby Howe example is sharp at both ends and expands slightly towards the butt, though only the broader end is polished. A closer parallel is no. 2, fig 4, p. 122, *Archæologia*, vol. lxxi, from the Seamer hoard of axes and lozenge-shaped arrows, which supports the early dating.



From the circumstances of its discovery the Duggleby Howe axe appears to belong to the close of the Neolithic Period, about 2500 to 2000 B.C., and its provenance on the western side of Yorkshire is particularly interesting.

By the kindness of Mrs. Kaye the implement has been placed in the museum at Tatefield Hall, and will not be allowed to leave the district.

B. W. J. Kent.

BIRSTALL CHURCH BOOKS.

The vicar of Birstall (Canon H. T. Robinson) is to be congratulated upon having recently recovered for his church two books, bound in rough calf, which have been missing for a good many years.

The older book contains the Churchwardens' Accounts for the years 1718–1798, both inclusive. The Minutes of the Vestry meetings are recorded irregularly in this book and precede or follow the Accounts according to date. The second book contains the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1798 to 1863, with a hiatus from 1838 to 1850. The Minutes of the Vestry meetings are written at the end of the book. E.W.C.

HERALDIC EXHIBITION AT BIRMINGHAM.

At this very important exhibition, lasting from 5 Nov. to 12 Dec., 1936, the Society shewed a Volume of Arms blazoned, *c.* 1650, and a volume of arms and crests entered in the Salop Visitation, 1663, and also other Visitations, about 900 coats freely drawn in trick—both from the Horsley collection. Also a confirmation of a grant of arms by William Flower, *Norroy*, to John Thorneholme of Haysthorpe, 1563, and the marshalling of the arms of Edmonde Eltofte by R. Glover, Marshal to *Norroy*, 1585. One of our Patrons, the Earl of Harewood, and our President, Col. John Parker, were also exhibitors. E.W.C.

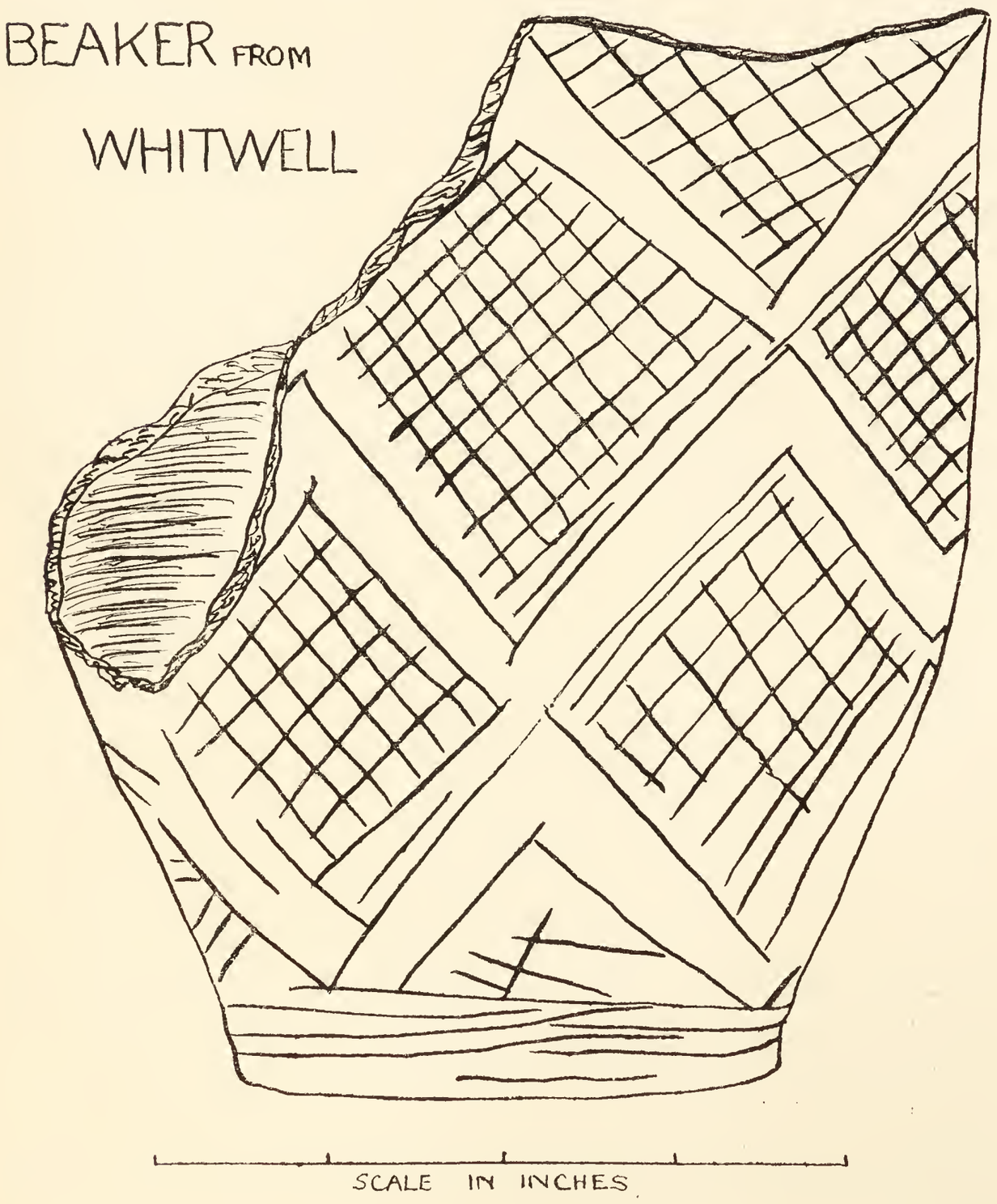
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An Architectural Graphic Index of drawings, engravings, etc., now numbering over 11,000, of buildings erected in England before 1830 is in progress and can be consulted in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The index cards refer to drawings and rare prints (not book-illustrations or photographs) to be found in twenty-four London libraries and collections, such as the Record Office, Crown Lands, H.M. Office of Works, Royal Academy, London County Council, etc.

Voluntary assistance is desired in the extension of the work, especially outside London. Blank forms, with marginal references indicating the information required in the entries, may be obtained. Information regarding drawings, etc., supplied by their owners, and catalogues of architectural and topographical drawings, etc., will be welcomed by the Librarian, R.I.B.A., 66, Portland Place, W.1, on behalf of the Committee. The Hon. Sec. is F. Herbert Mansford, F.R.I.B.A., 15, Kingsend, Ruislip, Middlesex, to whom offers of assistance or other communications should be addressed.

A BRONZE AGE BEAKER FROM WHITWELL HILL, N.R. YORKS.

Towards the end of July, workmen engaged on the construction of the new stretch of the York-Malton Road, between Whitwell and Crambeck, found an almost complete beaker, which they



handed over to Mr. H. G. Thornley, of Northallerton, to whose courtesy I am indebted for permission to publish it.

Unfortunately little detail is available about the circumstances of the find: it came from the field behind the old Vicarage at Whitwell (Ordnance No. 80), "on a bed of sand," and apparently

without cist or burial or other associated remains. These, of course, may well have been destroyed or overlooked, and indeed the pot itself is a good deal damaged by pick marks.

It appears to be of the "A" class, though the upper part is destroyed, and is of rough coarse ware with a backing of large flint grits. The decoration consists of three zones of reserved chevron, set point to point so as to enclose areas roughly square which are filled with cross-hatching. Five units of the pattern encircle the pot, and the three zones entirely cover what remains of its vertical height, except for three or four roughly scratched lines round the base. The whole pattern is in plain incision without cord or roulette.

Whitwell lies at about 250 O.D., half a mile or so west of the Derwent, and on a little hill just opposite the western flank of the Wolds (where, of course, beaker settlement is dense). But beakers west of the Derwent are rare (see Elgee, *Archæology of Yorkshire* p. 62), and especially on the low-lying land by the river. The Whitwell beaker is, however, slightly raised out of the swampy riverside land, and is, moreover, near the north-east end of the York Moraine (see Raistrick, *Y.A.J.*, xxix, 365, fig. 11). It must be put at the beginning (geographically, if not chronologically) of the meagre series of early Bronze Age remains which straggles across the moraines into West Yorkshire.

Map References: 1″ popular edition, sheet 27, square B.11.
6″ sheet CXLI, N.E.

N. Newbigin.

CUP AND RING STONE.

A cup and ring marked stone which has hitherto escaped notice was found in April, 1936, by the writer. The stone on which the design appears is a piece of natural out-crop measuring about five feet in length by three feet in width, of fairly regular shape, the site being a plateau on Stoup Brow Moor, near Ravenscar. Fig. 1 shows the position of the slab, which presents a flat surface on the moor.

Fig. 2 shows the cup and ring markings in detail, the actual dimensions being as follows:

Cup —$1\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter.

Ring—$4\frac{3}{4}$″ outside diameter, and $3\frac{3}{8}$″ inside diameter,



Photo. by *H. P. Kendall*

Fig. 1.



Photo. by *Capt. H. L. Boyle, R.N.*

Fig. 2.

The horizontal bar, which extends across the stone, is $7\frac{1}{2}''$ from the centre of the cup.

The channels are all $\frac{3}{4}''$ in width, and the whole is deeply incised, although the stone is much weathered owing to its exposed position at a height of some 800 feet.

These markings differ considerably from those shown and recorded as from Robin Hood's Bay in the Presidential Address to the Pre-historic Society of East Anglia by the Abbé Henri Breuil, where four are shown (*Proc.*, Vol. vii, Part iii).

There are a number of barrows in the vicinity, and a little distance away is the pre-historic earthwork known as Green Dike, one of the boundaries of Whitby Strand, and of the lands of Whitby Abbey.

Photographs of the markings have been submitted to the Abbé Breuil by Miss Mary Boyle, authoress of *In Search of Our Ancestors*, and that eminent authority suggests that they are a variant of "P," derived from the two-sided "Φ" which exists in all Spanish open-air art and on the Irish stone of Cloon Finloch.

H.P.K.

FORMATION OF A GROUP MOVEMENT AT HARROGATE.

A move, with great possibilities, has recently been made by members of the Y.A.S. residing in Harrogate and district. They have formed themselves into a group, for the purpose of collecting, recording, and preserving objects of archæological interest, and of meeting quarterly for discussion and the pooling of knowledge touching matters archæological. The project was mooted at a well-attended meeting in Harrogate in November last, presided over by Dr. Fulton, supported by Mr. H. Chapman (Hon. Treas. Y.A.S.) and Mr. Jas. R. Ogden. Later news informs us that the movement is being well received and has been given much support. The formation of the group will, it is hoped, bring our Harrogate members into closer touch with us as well as with each other. Its progress will be watched with interest and its example, which has in it much promise for keeping alive and extending interest in archæology, may well inspire others elsewhere, where no kindred societies already exist, to similar activity.

THE FOUNDATION OF CHANTRIES IN THE COUNTIES OF NOTTINGHAM AND YORK, 1350-1400.

By Marjorie A. Riley, B.A.

Part I.

PREFACE.

The object of this paper is to give some account of the chantries which were founded both in perpetuity and for a number of years in non-monastic churches, in the two counties of Yorkshire and Nottingham, during the second half of the fourteenth century. The chantry, the process necessary for its foundation, and the life of the priest who served it, will be dealt with first. Secondly the foundation of the majority of the perpetual chantries will be described (the remainder of these, for which there is little or no information beyond the licence for alienation in mortmain, will be inserted in an appendix). Next will come a description of the provision which was made for the welfare of souls when a chantry in perpetuity had not been founded during life, consisting of bequests for Masses for a certain number of years, or for obits and trentals after death. In chapter four the hospitals and religious guilds or fraternities founded during the period will be dealt with. The latter were not, strictly speaking, chantries, yet such provision was made for the celebration of Masses for the dead by the founders that both guilds and hospitals came within the terms of the chantry acts.

The greatest difficulty which has had to be contended with in the writing of this essay has been the incompleteness of the evidence for the foundation of the chantries. The three chief sources are the Calendars of Patent Rolls, which contain the licences for alienation in mortmain; the Archiepiscopal Registers, which contain the ordination of the chantries and copies of the founders' deeds; and the Chantry Certificates, which give all the information which was available in the sixteenth century as to the foundation of the chantries. Of these the Calendars of Patent Rolls provide an admirable starting point; but very often no other information has been available to the writer to prove whether the licence was ever

actually carried into effect. The Archiepiscopal Registers for the period are not the best or most complete of their kind; furthermore, they have not yet been made easily available in printed form, and if it had not been for the kindness of Professor Hamilton Thompson, who lent me his transcripts of the York Registers from Zouche to Scrope, my material would necessarily have been still more incomplete.

The returns made by the chantry commissioners in virtue of two acts, of 1545 (37 Hen. VIII, cap. 4) and of 1547 (1 Ed. VI, c. 14), which finally brought about the abolition of the whole system, provide a valuable source of information, which corroborates the fourteenth-century material; but here again, unfortunately, the Yorkshire Certificates are by no means complete. Nevertheless, despite these gaps in the evidence, there is still a goodly amount to draw upon, sufficient to show to what an extent the system of founding chantries had developed and how customary it had become for men and women of all ranks of society to make some provision for their souls' welfare, by the latter half of the fourteenth century.

I.

The Chantry and the Chantry Priest.

The mediæval mind was unable to conceive of the "faithful departed" as being absolutely cut off from the benefits which they had enjoyed from Holy Church while still on the earth. Belief in the doctrine of Purgatory, which, from the seventh century onwards, gained almost universal acceptance, entailed the duty of the offering of prayers and Masses on behalf of "the souls in the fires of Purgatory awaiting the compassion of Jesus Christ" by the living. Not only was the efficacy of prayer for the alleviation of the sufferings of Purgatory recognised, but also its use in providing for the good estate of the living. Hence the idea of vicarious intercession not only appealed to pious minds who desired to help the souls in Purgatory, but also to those who took thought for their present estate and the future welfare of their own souls, and who, therefore, gave of their worldly goods to those who were the recognised sources of mediation between God and man for this purpose.

Strictly speaking, every cathedral, parish church and monastery was a place of perpetual intercession for the living and the dead, but in the early Middle Ages, when the reformed monasticism was rightly looked upon as one of the greatest forces for good in the world, the usual practice of those who wished to provide for their

souls' welfare seems to have been the foundation of a monastery or the granting of lands to a religious house, in return for which the donor would be remembered at the conventual services while living and his soul prayed for after death. The monk appears to have been regarded as a more trustworthy person for the carrying out of this duty than the secular priest, judging by the difference between the number of benefactions to monasteries before the Norman Conquest and during the next two centuries,[1] and the number of chantries which are recorded in the sixteenth-century Chantry Certificates as having been founded during that same period in cathedral or parish churches, although the less wealthy probably left legacies to their parish priest to pray for them, as they continued to do during the later Middle Ages.[2]

This general remembrance before God was before long felt by the more zealous to be insufficient for their needs, and hence arose the practice of founding what were known as " chantries," so that what before had been the general duty of a community should now be entrusted to one particular priest whose special function it was to plead day by day for the person or persons who had made provision for his maintenance.

A " chantry " (properly, the word used for singing or chanting of the Mass) was an endowment for the celebration of Masses in a particular place appointed by the founder, for his good estate while living, his soul when dead, perhaps for the souls of certain of his friends or relations, and for all the faithful departed. Generally, the actual altar at which the service was to be celebrated was named; sometimes a new altar was erected, as at Holmpton and Beverley,[3] or perhaps an addition made to the fabric of the church by the founder of a chantry, as at Tickhill in south Yorkshire, where a chantry was founded in the chapel of Holy Trinity, which had been built by the founder in the parish church.[4]

By the beginning of the thirteenth century it was becoming apparent to the world that monasticism was falling away from its former lofty ideals. The monk, seeking to make the best of both worlds, was losing, to some extent, his influence over the hearts

[1] See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, *passim*.

[2] See Chapter III below.

[3] *C.P.R.* 1350–54, p. 491. Holmpton—the priest shall celebrate daily at the altar of S. John, *when erected*, and in the meantime at the altar of S. Mary; Beverley—" at an altar to be constructed in honour of Corpus Christi on the north side of S. James' altar, or at the head of S. John's tomb, or elsewhere according to the will of the said John." *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, xv, 110.

[4] *C.P.R.* 1354–58, p. 80. June 20, 1354, founded for soul of Roger Leverton after his death. *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* gives date of foundation as March 20, 1369, (i, 183).

and minds of the laity as a consequence, and it is certain that the passion for founding monasteries had somewhat abated by the end of the twelfth century. Nearly the whole of the monasteries in Yorkshire were founded before 1200, and, excluding Haltemprice and the Carthusian houses and friaries, all were founded before 1250.[1]

But the desire for the benefits of vicarious intercession did not grow less with the decline in monastery building, and so it is that the period from 1300 to the Reformation is one in which an immense number of chantries, both in perpetuity and for a term of years, were founded in cathedral and parish churches and chapels. This is not to say that there were no chantries in those places before the fourteenth century. At Chichester the earliest chantry was for the soul of William the Dean, who died in 1180; at Lincoln the earliest seems to have been that of Hugh de Welles, who died in 1235; at Ripon the earliest was in 1234, and at Southwell in 1241,[2] while there is even a chantry certificate from Ashton Keynes in Wiltshire[3] which states that a chantry was founded there by Adam de Purton, knight, " by his deed, made before the conqueste." The information of the Yorkshire chantry surveys (which are incomplete) shows the great increase in chantry founding from 1300 onwards. From 1300–1350 nearly a quarter of the chantries,[4] the dates of whose foundation are given in the certificates, were founded, while according to the same authority there had been less than a dozen foundations in Yorkshire before 1300; and for nearly two and a half centuries the number of chantries continued to increase.

In order to found a chantry in perpetuity and endow it with lands and rents, it was necessary, after the year 1279, for the intending founder to go through a special process. In that year the passing of the Statute of Mortmain[5] made it obligatory on all who wished to alienate land henceforth to the " dead hand " of religious persons or corporations to obtain a licence by payment of a fine in the hanaper in chancery. The Statute did not aim at putting an end to the alienation of land in mortmain, but rather to regulate a practice which was obviously open to abuse, as land granted to religious persons was held only by spiritual service, which meant that the holders were merely bound to pray for their benefactors.[6] Hence land might apparently be alienated into

[1] William Page. Introduction to *Y.C.S.*, i, p. vii.

[2] A. F. Leach: *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, Introduction, p. lxii.

[3] Printed in *English Schools at the Reformation* (A. F. Leach), p. 262.

[4] 58 out of 253. *Op. cit.*, Intro., p. vii.

[5] *Statutes of Realm*, i, 51 (7 Ed. I).

[6] Maitland: *Constitutional History*, p. 25.

mortmain while the original holder still secretly enjoyed the use of it by some private arrangement " whereby the services that are due of such fees and which at the beginning were provided for the defence of the realm, are wrongfully withdrawn, and the chief lords do lose their escheats of the same."[1] Anyone, therefore, desiring to found a chantry in the future and endow it had to obtain a licence, both from the lord from whom he held the land, if it were not held in chief, and from the king, to alienate such lands as he intended for the endowment of his chantry priest to him or to those whom he made trustees of the chantry.[2]

The whole process necessary for the founding of a chantry is best illustrated by concrete examples. On November 15th, 1368,[3] David de Wollore, prebendary of Studley Magna in Ripon, keeper of the Rolls in Chancery, and at one time a canon of York,[4] desiring to found a chantry at the altar of S. Andrew[5] in the collegiate church of Ripon, received royal licence after inquisition had been made by John de Scotherskelf, the king's escheator in the county of York (in order to see if the Crown would lose by the alienation), to alienate ten messuages, two gardens, eight and a half acres of land, one and a half acres of meadow, all of the annual value of £2 7*s.* 8*d.*, and 35*s.* 8*d.* of rent in Ripon to a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of S. Andrew in the church of Ripon. On April 10th, 1369, David de Wollore obtained the licence of Archbishop Thoresby as his overlord for the grant of the lands and tenements, some of which were held of him " in capite " for his chantry on condition that a rent of 2*s.* was paid to the archbishop.[6] It was still necessary to obtain the sanction of the archbishop, as head of the diocese, for the chantry, and his confirmation of the founder's ordinance was made on January 10th, 1369–70, subject to an indemnity of 2*s.* to the Church of York. Ten days later the Chapter of York approved and confirmed the deed, and on February 6th the process was finally ended by the confirmation of the Chapter of Ripon.[7] The

[1] *Stat. Realm*, i, 51 (de Religiosis).

[2] There are instances, either as the result of carelessness or from wilful evasion of the Statute, of land alienated in mortmain before licence was obtained even in the fourteenth century, *e.g.*, Caunton, co. Notts.—Pardon to Robert Caunton's executors for granting endowment without licence. *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 188.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1367–70, p. 170.

[4] Prebendary of Fridaythorpe in York, 1352 (Le Neve: *Fasti*, iii, 186).

[5] There was apparently a chantry founded at this altar in the thirteenth century by Geoffrey de Larder, canon of Ripon (*Mem. Ripon*, ii, 254), and Wollore and Larder are mentioned in the Chantry Certificates as joint founders (*Y.C.S.*, ii, 357); but if Wollore were only augmenting the chantry, the process is the same as if the chantry was an entirely new one.

[6] *Mem. Ripon*, ii, 127.

[7] *Ibid.*, iv, 130–136.

approval and ratification by so many different bodies shows what care was taken to ensure that everyone who had any interest whatsoever in the founding of the chantry should formally approve of it so that there might be no trouble in the future, brought about by any party claiming that the chantry was prejudicial to his interests.

The various documents relating to the foundation of a chantry in a chapel at Scotton, near Knaresborough,[1] illustrate a slightly different process owing to the fact that the chantry was founded in a chapel built especially for the purpose and separate from its parish church, and that a religious house was made its trustee.

On January 28th, 1348, William de Nessfield,[2] wishing to build a chapel and found a chantry in it at Scotton, near Knaresborough, obtained a licence from William de Lestowe, the rector of Farnham, in whose parish the chapel would be, to construct the chapel and maintain within it a chaplain celebrating perpetually.[3] This was the first necessary step in this case, as the presence in the parish of another place where divine service was celebrated might mean a loss of income to the parish priest if his parishioners made their oblations at another altar than the one which he served, and so permission was required to construct the chapel. On January 29th, 1349, royal letters patent were obtained by the payment of one marc in the Hanaper[4] for the alienation in mortmain of a messuage and half an acre of land in Scotton by William de Nessfield to a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of S. Mary, Scotton, newly built by the said William, for the good estate of Queen Philippa and the grantor, for their souls when they were dead, and for the souls of his father and mother and his ancestors. On March 6th of the same year, Brother William de Donyngton, minister of the Trinitarian House of S. Robert at Knaresborough, and the brethren of that house, drew up a charter[5] in which were set forth the obligations of the House towards the chantry of William de Nessfield, namely, to find every year bread, wine and lights for the celebration of Mass, and other duties, such as finding a priest to celebrate during the absence of the permanent chaplain. In order to bind themselves more securely they appointed Brother

[1] Reg. Zouche, folios 75d–77 and 83–86d.

[2] Attorney to Queen Philippa during her stay in Ireland, 1349; Constable of Knaresborough Castle, 1352; Justice of oyer and terminer, 1357; and Escheator in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, 1361 (*C.P.R.*, 1348–50, p. 395; 1350–54, p. 152; 1354–58, p. 548; 1361–64, p. 97).

[3] Reg. Zouche, f. 86d.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1348–50, p. 256.

[5] Ff. 76d–77.

John Brown of their House to act as their special proctor. William de Nessfield's charter founding the chantry, assigning the duties of the chaplain, naming the trustees and declaring that he has royal licence and the licences of others interested, is dated May 13th, 1349[1]; it was accepted and confirmed by the Archbishop on the 28th July following. Before this last date, however, Brother John Brown had appeared before the Archbishop at Ripon, on July 10th, and acknowledged that for the "immense benefits conferred on their house by William de Nessfield" his master and the brethren were bound to pay and do all that was promised in the charter of the Minister of the House to the chantry chaplain and his successors, and he asked further that the House should be put under sentence of greater excommunication, suspension and interdict if they failed in their bond. The Archbishop gave his assent to this, and the proctor swore that he would undertake for the minister and brethren of the House of S. Robert that they would bear the penalties aforesaid for failure to carry out their agreement. Two days later his acts were ratified by the minister and brethren at Knaresborough.[2] In the later version of the deeds there is added, for the still further security of the chantry chaplain in the future, an indenture dated February 20th, 1352, between the House of S. Robert on the one hand and the Chaplain at that time, Patrick Barton, on the other, giving him power to distrain upon all their lands and tenements if they were behind in carrying out their duties towards him and the chantry.[3] There is also in the Patent Rolls for 1353 a confirmation[4] after inquisition had been made by Miles de Stapleton of Hathelsay, escheator in the county of York, of the revised charter of the minister and brethren of the House of S. Robert, dated February 20th, 1352,[5] granting in mortmain to Patrick Barton a rent of £6 yearly and promising to find tapers, wine and bread for the celebration of Mass in the chapel at Scotton. The necessary formalities for the foundation of the chantry and for securing its continuance in the future seem to have been completed at this point, and it only remains to add that eight years later, on October 26th, 1361, the founder obtained a further royal licence[6] to augment

[1] In Archbishop Zouche's register there are two sets of documents relating to this chantry—the first in ff. 75d–77, bearing different dates in 1348 and 1349, and the second in ff. 83–86d with some alterations and additions with dates in 1352. The first set has been used here as the documents are being cited merely as an example of the process it was necessary to go through in order to found a perpetual chantry. Nessfield's charter—ff. 75d–76.

[2] F. 77.

[3] F. 86.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 441. May 4, 1353.

[5] Former Charter dated March 6, 1349; see before.

[6] *C.P.R.* 1361–64, p. 94.

the endowment of his chantry by the grant of three messuages, fifteen tofts, three hundred and sixty acres of land, fifty acres of meadow and twenty acres of wood in Scotton and Thorpe-by-Scotton. The elaborate nature of these proceedings was, perhaps, not entirely typical of the majority of such foundations, but wherever there were special circumstances in the case, as when trusteeship was vested in a religious house, or when the foundation might be prejudicial to the interests of any person, whether of king, archbishop, or parish priest, that circumstance had to be duly provided for in the process of foundation, and the precautions which were taken in this case to ensure that all should be carried out as the founder had willed are thoroughly typical of such foundations.

The preamble to a charter founding a chantry may be quoted here to show what might be called the "ideal" objects of chantry founding. Although every founder may not have expressed his thoughts in language of such devotion, nor indeed have considered at all definitely the reason which prompted him to expend his possessions in this manner, nevertheless what is here expressed may be regarded as a model of what each chantry should be. "We, mindful of Divine munificence which bestows on all the living great sufficiency . . . . are inclined to offer a portion of our goods, increased by God, to the Holy Church Militant, so that it may prepare peace and prosperity for the living, yield rest to the departed, and may be able to lead posterity to devotion. Considering, therefore, that among other sacraments instituted by the Church, there is found none more profitable or suitable for the aforesaid matters than the consecration of the Lord's Body and Blood; for it is offered for the living and the dead, that that may be of advantage to all, which was instituted of Our Lord's most excellent charity, for the salvation of all, to show forth daily a perpetual memorial of His Passion and our redemption, to the praise of God from Whom all good things do come perpetually, to the glory of Mary the Mother of God, ever Virgin, and of all Saints, and to the honour and reverence of Holy Church Militant; for the increase of divine worship, the salvation of the living and the refreshment of the departed, we have endowed a certain chantry in the chapel of S. Nicholas in the parish church of Tadcaster."[1]

The men who served these chantries, "singing for souls," were drawn from the great mass of unbeneficed clergy, who, serving in various capacities, formed the lower ranks of the mediæval clergy,

[1] Reg. Scrope, f. 22, preamble to charter founding chantry at Tadcaster, 1400.

and it is probable that the majority of chantry priests did not advance far towards high office in the Church. Some of them acquired a living in time and became rectors or vicars, as, for example, Patrick Barton, one time chantry priest at Scotton, who died Rector of Catwick in Yorkshire and seems, judging from the extent of his bequests, to have been a fairly wealthy person at the time of his death.[1] But many would not be so fortunate as this: at Southwell the vicars-choral were generally filled up by promotion from the ranks of the chantry-priests,[2] and the length of time during which the same priest served one chantry, which may be seen in some of the records of institutions to chantries in the archiepiscopal registers, together with the fact that a priest is often instituted to a chantry vacant "per mortem," indicate that some chantry priests were either quite content to live and die in that capacity, or that they were unable to get promotion to anything better. The chantry of S. Katharine in Newark Church was served by only two priests from 1362 until 1395—Henry de Houton, 1362[3] until 1382, when he resigned, and John Attecrosse from 1382[4] until 1395, when he died.[5]

The chantry priest formed an addition to the number of the parochial clergy or to the singing staff of a cathedral or collegiate church, but he was in nowise dependent on the rector or the chapter for his sustenance, unless it happened that they had been appointed trustees for the chantry by the founder and so were responsible for the payment of the priest. The relations which subsisted between the chantry priest and his clerical colleagues will be dealt with later, but it is necessary to point out here that the chantry priest held his endowment as an independent benefice. He was appointed by the patron, instituted by the bishop and inducted by the archdeacon in the same manner as the incumbent of the living. "His altar and his stipend and the chantry house usually provided for him were as fully his freehold as the rectory house and the income arising from the great tithes were the freehold of the rector."[6] His life, when finally in possession of his chantry, may be divided into two parts—one of which shows his activities merely as chantry priest, whose duty it was to plead for the souls entrusted to his care, and the other, which includes his obligations towards his fellow clergy serving in the same place, and his duties in the church and parish.

[1] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 154.
[2] *Vis. and Mem.* Introduction, p. lxiv.
[3] Reg. Thoresby, f. 251[d].
[4] Reg. Alex. Neville, f. 83.
[5] Reg. Arundel, f. 47[d].
[6] A. Hamilton Thompson: Intro., *Notts. Chantry Certifs.*, p. 94.

Every chantry priest was bound to say, at the least, Mass and the office of the dead daily, making special mention in those offices of the souls for whose welfare the chantry had been founded. The usual formula in the licences for alienation in mortmain is "to celebrate divine service daily for the souls of . . . . " various persons enumerated, but this minimum could be, and was, often enlarged upon at the wish of the founder, so that while each chaplain was doing, at least once at some time during each day, the same thing in general, yet the details of his daily routine varied considerably from one chantry to another. At Harewood[1] the chantry priests had to say Mass every day, with placebo, dirige, and commendation, and "other offices which pertain especially to the dead, for the souls of Sir Robert de Lisle (the founder's father), and for the souls of Margaret his mother, John Peverel and the brothers and sisters of the founder, and in addition each of them was to say a special collect every day in his Mass for the salvation of Sir John (the founder), and of his wife and children, and after their deaths to chant for their souls and for the souls of Thomas and Isabel, the father and mother of Robert de Horton, prior of Bolton, and for James de Grancete and for all Christian souls." This ordinance is typical of many in its list of persons living and dead to be prayed for, as it is also in the arrangements for the services.

The chantry priest in the chapel of Holmpton was to celebrate Mass daily, with the prayer "Inclina Domine auram tuam," and also, according to the use of York, the office of the dead, at due season.[2] At Southwell the priest of Our Lady's chantry had to celebrate the Mass of Our Lady daily, and "exequies" for the dead, and to find wax to burn daily at Our Lady's Mass[3]; and there are other instances where a Lady Mass was to be celebrated. At S. Katharine's chantry at Newark[4] the Mass of the Blessed Virgin was to be sung once a week, and also at Robert Caldwell's chantries of Corpus Christi[5] and the Trinity[6] in the same church; and at Sheriff Hutton the two priests of Ralph Neville's chantry[7] were to celebrate daily, one of them the Mass of Our Lady, and the other of

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1349–54, p. 5.

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 481. Sept. 12, 1353. Founded for the soul of Thomas de Holayn, late rector of Holmpton chapel, by his executors.

[3] *Notts. Chantry Certifs.*, p. 101.

[4] Reg. Zouche, f. 150.

[5] Reg. Zouche, f. 151.

[6] Ref. Alex. Neville (i), f. 83.

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 510. Inspeximus of Archbishop Zouche's confirmation of Ralph Neville's charter founding the chantry by Archbishop Thoresby, February 9, 1357. The chantry was founded in 1350. The first chaplain was instituted on August 1, 1350. Reg. Zouche, f. 166d.

The chantry was augmented by John de Neville, son of the founder, on February 12, 1370. *C.P.R.*, 1367–70, p. 366.

S. Peter, by turns, with special mention in every Mass of the soul of the grantor and various of his relations, while in those arrangements which included a different Mass for nearly every day of the week one of these Masses was sure to be that of Our Lady. For other chaplains a still more elaborate routine was prescribed of the different Masses to be celebrated during the week, and in what order, of which the arrangements made by William de Nessfield for his chantry at Scotton are a good example.[1] On Sundays the Mass was to be that of the day, and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, of the dead, and especially for Queen Philippa and her children, William la Zouche, archbishop of York, the founder, his wife, their fathers, mothers and children, Master John de Aldefield, clerk, and all benefactors of the chantry, with special collects and a memorial. If any of these days happened to be a double feast, then the services for that feast, with the memorial and special collects, were to be celebrated, thus ensuring the observance of the due order of the Church and at the same time the remembrance of the founder and his friends and relations. On Tuesday the office of the day was to be used; on Thursday that of the Holy Ghost, and on Saturday the Mass of Our Lady, with the introit "salve sancta parens," or another introit of Our Lady suitable for the season. In addition to the daily Masses the priest was to say the canonical hours—on Sundays and festivals in the chapel with placebo, dirige and commendation and suitable collects, and on the other days of the week where it was most expedient. As Scotton was only a chapel the chaplain would have no difficulty in getting through his allotted duties at his own convenience, as there would be no other clergy to consider. But in large churches, where the number of chantry chaplains was considerable, in addition to the usual staff of the church, the difficulty of fitting in the time-tables of the various chantry Masses and offices must sometimes have been a real one.

At Beeston, in Nottinghamshire, the priest of S. Katharine's chantry was directed to say Mass every day, with the collects "Deus cui proprium" and "Inclina," and also the daily office of the dead, except at Eastertide and on double feasts. On Sundays and feasts of nine lessons his Mass was to be of the day; on Wednesday of S. Katharine; and on Saturday of Our Lady.[2] There appears to have been no strict rule as to the particular day of the week for any special Mass, although the favourite day for the

[1] Reg. Zouche, f. 75[d], and again f. 83.

[2] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 235[d]–236.

Lady Mass seems to have been Saturday, but one of the chaplains of Richard Ravenser's chantry of two chaplains at Beverley had to celebrate the Mass of the Virgin on every day of the week except on Sunday and Tuesday, when the Masses were to be respectively those of the Trinity and of S. Thomas[1]; and in other places the direction is merely "once a week."[2]

The devotion of the founder to any particular saint can be discerned both in the dedication of the altar to which the chantry was attached, and in the Masses of that saint which he specified in his deed. The name which stands out above all others in the dedications of chantries is that of the Blessed Virgin, who appeared to the popular mind as the gracious Mother pleading constantly with her Son for the forgiveness of poor sinners who prayed to her for relief.[3]

An example of this devotion to the Virgin is to be found in the ordinances for the priests of the Knolles' Almshouses at Pontefract. The founder, Sir Robert Knolles, decreed[4] that on Saturday a solemn Mass of S. Mary was to be celebrated "by note" at the altar of Blessed Mary. On other weekdays, after Mass, the master and chaplains were to say among them one private Mass of Our Lady, and another of requiem for the departed. In addition they were to say, every day after compline, "solemnly before the image of the Glorious Virgin Mary in the aforesaid chapel, the 'Salve Regina' or another anthem of the same, according to the season and as the order of the Church required." These chantry priests were also required to say on each festival and feast of nine lessons, Mass, matins, vespers and compline by note; the "de Profundis" daily after the "Salve" when the founders were dead, or, while they lived the collect "Deus qui caritatis" or "Omnipotens sempiterne"; and the seven penitential psalms without note in choir, and fifteen psalms with the litany, either in choir or not. These ordinances provide a variation in the ordinary directions for the daily office of the dead, but the founders and the departed are remembered in the daily requiem Mass and in the collects after compline.

As a further variation of the routine to be observed by a chantry priest may be mentioned the rules for the priest of the chantry of

[1] Poulson: *Beverlac*, p. 606.

[2] *E.g.*, Newark. S. Katharine's chantry (Reg. Zouche, f. 150); Corpus Christi (Reg. Zouche, f. 151).

[3] *Cf.* Erasmus. ". . . . the Virgin Mother, to whom the common people do in a manner attribute more than to the Son" (*Praise of Folly*, p. 83).

[4] From Neville's Register, f. 97, printed in *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, iii, 318, 319.

Corpus Christi "in the Charnel" at Beverley,[1] in which is the only reference in the ordinances which have been quoted to any definite time for the saying of the services. The priest was to celebrate, on Sunday, the Mass of the Sunday or of the Trinity; on Monday that of S. John the Evangelist; on Tuesday of S. John of Beverley; on Wednesday the Mass for the dead; on Thursday of Corpus Christi; on Friday of the Holy Cross; and on Saturday of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and, except on Saturdays and special feasts, remembrance was always to be made of the Virgin and of the Holy Ghost. The Mass on weekdays was to be at sunrise, or as soon after as possible, according to the chaplain's conscience.

It is not surprising that few or no directions were left as to the exact hours at which the chantry priests were to say their Masses, when it is remembered that there were generally other people ministering in the same place who had a prior right to determine the hours of their own services, except where the chantry was in a chapel built apart from the parish church, or when it was in a private chapel within a hospital or a house. In cathedral and great collegiate churches like Beverley or Southwell the round of services was nearly the same as that in monastic churches. The morning was occupied by the saying of the hours of matins and prime, terce, sext and none (the latter usually combined with sext and said about twelve noon),[2] and the celebration of at least three Masses, the Morrow Mass, the Lady Mass and High Mass, while the evening offices of vespers and compline were said during the afternoon, before six p.m., which was the usual hour for supper for the canons and vicars.[3] Into this continual round of services the Masses and offices of the chantry priests had to be fitted. At Salisbury[4] the chantry priests were to say their Masses in succession at their various altars, one beginning when another had finished, according to a time-table arranged in chapter, from the Morrow Mass with which the day began, until the Lady Mass, which was celebrated about nine o'clock—a plan which was probably more or less adhered to in most great churches, although it was impossible to prevent Masses from overlapping, and also impossible to have all the chantry Masses celebrated before nine a.m. In between these hours, also, the chantry priests, when not celebrating, would find time to say the matins of the dead,[5] if they did not combine "Dirige," the matin office, with "Placebo," the vesper office, as was the usual mediæval custom, and say the office at the priest's

[1] *Proceedings Soc. Ant.*, xv, 112.
[2] A. Hamilton Thompson: *Cathedral Churches of England*, p. 205
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 209.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

convenience, probably some time during the afternoon.[1] In parish churches where the number of clergy and services was less there was less difficulty in arranging the times of the chantry priest's services.

On some foundations he was bound also to celebrate various obits for the founders and distribute sums of money to those appointed to receive them by the donors. In S. Saviour's church at York the priest of William Frost's chantry was bound to keep two yearly obits and distribute in alms at them 17/4.[2] In S. Helen's, Stonegate, in the same city, there was an obit at which 6/8 was distributed,[3] and one in the Church of Holy Trinity in the King's Court, at which the priest of the chantry of SS. Peter and Paul gave in alms 5/–.[4] These are but a few examples: a great many founders wished that on one day of each year they should be had in special remembrance, and often, in addition, that money should be given to the poor or to those specially mentioned, who were to be present at the celebration of the obit, in their name. In the archbishop's confirmation of Richard Ravenser's chantry of two chaplains at Beverley[5] no less than five obits were directed to be made during the year—for Edward III on June 21st, for Queen Philippa on August 16th, for the late Queen Isabella on August 22nd, for John de Bentley on his anniversary (no date given), and for Richard Ravenser on the anniversary of his death when it should occur, at which was to be distributed, to each canon present, 12*d.*; to each vicar, 6*d.*; to each clerk, 2*d.*; and 1*d.* to each chorister and thuribler.

But when everything has been taken into account—obits, Masses, offices of the dead, psalms and collects—the time spent by the priest on his duties as a "singer for souls" must have taken up only a small part of the day. There were, however, other duties which he had to perform as part of his daily routine, which will be dealt with later.[6] Even then the life must have been a fairly easy one, without the responsibility of a cure of souls, and with an assured income, which was fixed by statute[7] as not much less than that of the parish priest, and which in wealthy foundations was considerably more than the stipends received by a parson of a poor parish,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 209.
[2] *Y.C.S.*, i, 65.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77. At Tadcaster the priest of the chantry of S. Nicholas was to make an obit for the founders, William Baker and Agnes his wife, on S. Nicholas' Day. Reg. Scrope, ff. 22–24.
[5] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 8 and 9.
[6] See pp. 141–143.
[7] *Statutes of Realm*, i, 373: 36 Ed. III, i, cap. 8—Six marcs for a priest with cure of souls, five marcs for a priest without.

where tithes were not always easy to obtain.[1] The stipend of the priest varied according to the munificence of the founder, for the statute of 1362 remained as ineffective as the similar statute which attempted to keep down the wages of labourers after the Black Death. The average yearly stipend for twenty chantries in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century, is nearly seven marcs, but the stipends actually range from the four marcs each of the two minor chaplains of Maud Marmion's chantry at Tanfield,[2] to the eleven marcs which each of the chaplains of Richard Ravenser's chaplains at Beverley received.[3] Five marcs seems to have been a usual payment for the chaplains of a chantry in York Minster; three of the chaplains at Newark received six marcs each, and a fourth eight marcs; the six priests at Harewood received £4 each; and other payments recorded include those of ten marcs at the Corpus Christi chantry, Hull, eight marcs at Elland, £6 at Scotton, and £5 at Kirkby Overblow.

These stipends were secured for the priest out of the endowment of lands, tenements, and rents, which was devised to him at the time of the foundation of the chantry. Occasionally, but not often in chantries founded in perpetuity, the endowment consisted of money, as for the chantries of S. Lawrence, SS. Paulinus and Chad, and S. Gregory,[4] and others in York Minster; but more often the endowment consisted of lands, houses and shops, from which a yearly rent was drawn, and which varied in nature and extent according to the wealth and status of the founder. The endowment of the chaplains at Sheriff Hutton[5] consisted originally of a messuage, a carucate of land and two acres of meadow in Sheriff Hutton, and seven marcs of rent out of the manor of Sheriff Hutton, to which was added some thirteen years later a chamber with a garden containing half an acre of land within the same manor.[6] The endowment of the chantry in the chapel of Holmpton consisted of a messuage, a toft, one hundred and twenty-seven and a half acres of land and 6½*d.* of rent, all in Holmpton.[7] The chantry priests in the towns naturally drew their stipends from other sources than these. The chaplain of S. Michael's chantry in S. Helen, Stonegate, York, obtained his income, according to the 1546 chantry certificate,[8] from

[1] *Cf.* Chaucer: *The Prologue*, ed. Pollard, p. 18. The parson: "ful looth were hym to cursen for his tithes"—thus showing that tithes were sometimes obtained only by such methods. Lollard teaching against payment of tithes may also have had some effect at the end of the fourteenth century.

[2] *Y.C.S.*, i, 107.

[3] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 8 and 9.

[4] *York Fabric Rolls*, pp. 93, 284, 300.

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 510.

[6] *C.P.R.*, 1367–70, p. 366.

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 415.

[8] *Y.C.S.*, i, 71.

" one tenement lying in Stangate, one tenement in ' Awdwarke ' nigh unto Monkebarre, one tenement in Blake Street, one in Walmegate wythyn the parisshe of S. Margaret, six in Mykelgate in S. Gregory's parisshe, one gardyne and one lytell garden, two lytell houses and two tenements in Stonegate." The endowment of the chantry of S. Thomas in All Saints, Pavement, York, also a town chantry, consisted of 38/– rent from three messuages, and £4 15*s.* 4*d.* rent from ten messuages and nineteen shops in York,[1] and that of S. John in S. Peter the Little, York, of a plot of land twenty-four feet long and twenty-three feet wide, adjoining the manse of the chantry of S. Margaret in the same church, and 9/– rent out of a messuage in Gothrumgate and " Aldewerk," York.[2]

Although there was thus considerable variety in the actual endowments they were all used in the same way, the chantry priest enjoyed what money was derived from the various lands, messuages or shops freely and without fear of loss or interference. However many more clergy there might be serving in the same church, the stipend which belonged to his chantry, and, therefore, to him alone or to him and his colleagues if the chantry were of more than one priest, could not be used by those in authority in the church for any other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

This fact, that the chantry priest, although forming an additional minister in the church, was in no sense in the position of a curate, who is appointed by and dismissable at the will of his rector or vicar, brings us to a consideration of the relations of the chantry priest with the other clergy of the church in which he served, apart from those involved in the serving of his chantry. In cathedral and great collegiate churches his main duty, apart from his chantry services, was attendance at the daily services. The presence of the various chantry priests in choir helped to swell the number of vicars-choral, and thus prevented the choir from becoming an absolute desert through the perpetual shirking of services by the vicars.[3] At Southwell in the Statutes of 1248 it was decreed that " the Vicars and the chaplains who are obliged to follow the choir in the manner of the Vicars " were to attend the hours and especially Matins. A fine of 1*d.* was imposed for absence, which was to be deducted from the chaplain's stipend, and paid by the canons, to whom such offences were reported by the churchwardens, to the warden of the vicar's commons.[4] At York the chantry chaplains

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 318.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 240.
[3] A. F. Leach: Intro., *Vis. and Mem.*, p. lxiii.
[4] *Vis. & Mem.*, p. 208.

were to be present in choir " in their habit of a parson of the church " at Matins, Mass, Evensong and processions of all principal and double feast days, Sundays and nine lections when they had to read lessons, begin anthems and to minister at the High Altar as should be appointed to them by the officers of the choir.[1] The same rules prevailed at Ripon,[2] although in 1377 John Clynt, the priest of S. Andrew's chantry in that church, by way of reward for his augmentation of the chantry and for his good services as the Archbishop's receiver, was excused by Archbishop Neville from going to church except on greater feasts,[3] in spite of the ordinance of Archbishop Thoresby[4] seven years previous, which decreed that he must be present in choir in his habit at the hours, High Mass, vespers, and in all processions. This dispensation was not, however, to be regarded as a precedent, so probably there were still some chantry priests present in the choir of a great church when due allowance had been made for those who shirked through sheer laziness and paid their fines with a good grace, and for those who were fortunate enough, like John Clynt, to procure an official permission to be absent.

According to Archbishop Arundel's statutes for Beverley Minster in 1391, the chaplains were to occupy the vacant seats or stalls on both sides of the choir, equally divided, between the parsons and the vicars. In procession they were to walk after the clerks and before the vicars, and " read and say what may be read and sung." They were to be personally present in choir while the divine office was being performed, to read and sing according to the ordination and foundation of their chantries, and in other things obey the rules entered in the table of the Precentor or Succentor, or otherwise appointed by them.[5] Chaplains who absented themselves from the first and last hours or from Mass and processions were to be punished at the will of the chapter, and any who were not present at the exequies of King Athelstan or the benefactors of the church, which were celebrated annually, were to be fined 2*d.* each, as compared with the vicars, who had to pay 4*d.*, and the canons, who had to pay 12*d.* for non-attendance.[6] In the ordination of Richard Ravenser's chantry at Beverley[7] the chantry priests were ordered to bear the habit of the vicars of the church in all canonical hours and in the celebration of Our Lady's Mass, " accord-

[1] *Y.C.S.*, i, 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 357.
[3] *Memorials of Ripon*, ii, 136. Confirmation of licence of Thoresby, the date of which is not given.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, 133.
[5] Poulson, *op. cit.*, p. 569; *Beverley Chapter Acts*, ii, 268, 269.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 571, 572; *ibid.*, p. 272.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 606.

ing as their week requires," saving that they should not celebrate at the High Altar. The priest of Corpus Christi chantry "in the Charnel," in the same church, in addition to other attendances, was also directed to be at the Lady Mass, but at his option.[1]

It is clear from the foregoing ordinances and statutes that the chantry priest, although holding his chantry as an independent benefice, attached to the cathedral foundation but not actually a member of it, was under some degree of control by the chapter, where the services and general routine of the church were concerned. At Southwell the chantry priests were to be punished at the discretion of the canons in residence if they transgressed in the matter of taking such Annuals or Trentals or other prayers for the dead as were a perquisite of the vicars-choral; and the canons resident were also to govern and correct the vicars, chaplains and clerks, as well in church as without,[2] which shows that the chantry priests and the vicars were regarded as of more or less the same status, although the lesser fine with which the former were punished for non-attendance at services at Beverley suggests that the vicars-choral, as definitely appointed deputies of the non-resident canons, were regarded as being of higher rank. This is also indicated by the payments for attendance at obits at Beverley.[3] Each canon received 8*d.*, each parson and vicar 4*d.*, each chantry chaplain 3*d.*, each clerk "of the second form" 2*d.*, and each chorister boy 1*d.*

There were two other ways in which the chantry priest and the chapter and staff of a great church might be connected. First, the collation of the chantry might be in the hands of the chapter or the vicars, as it was, for instance, at York, where the priests of two chantries of S. Gregory and of the chantry of the Holy Innocents were presented by the dean and chapter[4]; and the chantries of S. Lawrence and SS. Paulinus and Chad were in the gift of the vicars.[5] Second, the vicars might be, and often were, chantry priests themselves. This is suggested by the clause in the Southwell Statutes relating to their Annuals and Trentals, and is borne out by definite endowments which were made to the vicars for that purpose. At Ripon, in 1367, William de Scotton gave to the vicars of the church a messuage to celebrate his obit on February 1st of each year,[6] and in 1381 two of the vicars of the same church

[1] *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, xv, 111.

[2] *Vis. & Mem.*, p. 207, Statutes of 1248.

[3] Poulson, *op. cit.*, p. 574; *Beverley Chapter Acts*, ii, 278.

[4] Will Newport's chantry at S. Gregory's altar. *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 284; Jordan's chantry, *Y.C.S.*, i, 41; Holy Innocents', *ibid.*, p. 37.

[5] *Ibid.*, i, 32. *Ibid.*, i, 33. Also S. Stephen and S. William, *York Fabric Rolls*, pp. 301 and 305.

[6] *Mem. Ripon*, i, 122.

received a burgage from John de Clynt to make his obit in the choir at Ripon on August 4th.[1] The vicars-choral at York received in 1394 the advowson of the church of S. Sampson, York, in aid of their maintenance, on condition that they celebrated an obit of the king and queen yearly,[2] and this is but one instance of what they did for many people. To take a typical year, in 1379, the vicars at York celebrated obits for forty-five persons and chantry Masses for eight more, from Pentecost to Martinmas.[3] In these cases the vicars naturally would be on the same footing as the chantry priests, so that, generally speaking, the chantry priest in a cathedral or collegiate church, while forming no part of the foundation of the church, was at the same time, through his inevitable relations with the chapter and the vicars, a member of the staff in its daily round of prayer and praise, and subject to the same discipline as the inferior clergy, to whose status he approximated, for the failure to perform these duties.[4]

The relations between the chantry priest and his superiors were much the same in a parish church as in a cathedral. There also he held his benefice independently of the rector or vicar, and there also he was expected to help in the services of the church, and, furthermore, be of some use in the parish, so that the range of the duties of a chaplain at Haddlesey or East Retford was naturally wider than that of his brother chaplain celebrating at York or Southwell. At Beeston, in Nottinghamshire, he had to help the vicar in reading and singing on double feasts, and to take his hour of Mass without prejudice to the vicar[5]; at Scarborough the priest of S. James' chantry[6] helped in divine service on holy and festival days, and at Stokesley, in the North Riding, the chaplain was directed to be present continually at all divine service in the church[7]—and likewise in nearly every church. In this respect the chantry priest was merely forming a useful addition to the number of parochial clergy for the performance of the services of the church; but in some parishes it appears that he was not only a desirable help for the parish priest but actually very necessary for the parish, a fact which was often taken into account by the founders of chantries in country districts and in some instances in the towns.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 139. At this obit various payments were to be made. Each deacon and subdeacon present received 3*d.*, each patiner, thurifer and chorister 2*d.*, and the sacristan, for ringing the bells, 4*d.*

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 386.

[3] F. Harrison; *York Minster*, p. 182.

[4] In some cathedral churches where their number was sufficiently great the chantry priests were incorporated and formed into a college, as at Wells in 1444, and at York in 1461.

[5] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 235[d], 236.

[6] *Y.C.S.*, i, 137.

[7] *Ibid.*, i, 120.

The clergy of wide country parishes were often assisted by the foundation of chantries in the chapels of ease which had been built in some outlying portion of the parish, or in some cases by the actual building of such chapels expressly for chantries whose priests were able to minister the sacraments to the parishioners who dwelt near. Such chapels were especially needed in Yorkshire, where the far-stretching parish might be divided by a river which in winter-time was impassable. This was the case at Haddlesey, in the parish of Birkin on the lower waters of the Aire, where a chapel was built two miles from the parish church "for the priest to minister the sacraments for the curate of the parysshe, when he could not execute hys offyce for waters."[1] In the parish of Farnham in the archdeaconry of Richmond there was the chapel at Scotton, already referred to, and there it was definitely decreed by the founder in his deed that the chantry priest was not to admit the parishioners of Farnham to the sacraments except in great necessity, to the prejudice of the church of Farnham, unless he had been specially asked by the rector or his parish chaplain to help them.[2] In like manner the immense parish of Halifax was partly served by a chapel at Elland, in which there was a chantry.[3] At Annesley, in Nottinghamshire, the chantry was said to be founded[4] "in consideracyon that there be diverse villages belonginge to the parisshe of Annysley, whereof iii of them be distaunte from the parisshe churche and all other churches and chappells a myle and more; for whiche cause the chaunterie preiste ther shulde saye everye holydaye masse before the parishe matyns shulde be begonne, and that done, to assist the parisshe preiste for the tyme being at matyns, masse and evensonge."[5] This parish was "very large and wide, and of grete distaunce between the standing of the houses," and, in the sixteenth century and probably also in the fourteenth there was no one to help the curate but the chantry priest,[6] a state of things which must have existed in many other parishes, both in the town and in the country.

[1] *I.e.*, because of floods. *Y.C.S.*, ii, 221. Founded by William Fitz-William, knight. Licence given November 10th, 1385. *C.P.R.*, 1385–89, p. 53, for two chaplains.

[2] Reg. Zouche, f. 76 and again f. 83[d].

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 9. Founded by John Herle, rector of Tankersley, John de Wath, vicar of Huddersfield, John de Disseford, chaplain, and William de Hoton, on behalf of Sir John Saville and his wife, July 20, 1396. Confirmation by Archbishop Scrope, Nov. 30, 1398 (Reg. Scrope, ff. 17, 18). Chaplain to have eight marcs yearly and messuage in Elland for dwelling place.

[4] By William Wakebridge and Robert Annesley, knights, for the souls of John Annesley and his wife, and endowed with eight messuages and ten bovates of land (*C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 161, Feb. 10, 1361–2).

[5] *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 93.

[6] *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 118.

In the towns also, where the actual area of the parish was perhaps less but where the population was denser than in the country, the number of the parochial clergy was sometimes inadequate and the help of the chantry priest was very welcome, and indeed, necessary. At Newark, which lay on the road from London to York, and had besides its resident population a constant stream of travellers who would rest there for the night and wish to hear Mass the next morning, it was expressly said that the vicar and his assistant priest were not sufficient to serve the cure, and therefore the chantry of All Saints and the Nativity of Our Lady was founded in the parish church of S. Mary Magdalene, in consideration that " Newarke is a greate town and a Thorowfayre " and so that the two chantry priests should celebrate Mass and sing divine service and so relieve the other clergy.[1] At East Retford, likewise, there was no one to help the vicar but the chantry priest of the chantry of Our Lady and the Trinity, which was founded by the corporation of the town because East Retford was a market town, and had many inhabitants, besides many who went there, presumably for the market.[2]

Other duties were assigned to the chantry priest in addition to his Masses and offices for the dead, and his general assistance to the parish priest, of which the most important were looking after the poor and the sick and acting as schoolmaster. The former of these was really the special duty of those chantry priests who were attached to hospital foundations, and will, therefore, be treated of at greater length in a later chapter. It is apparent that some charity was exercised when there was no actual hospital, but where a few people were relieved by the chantry priest, who was bound to do so by the terms of his appointment, either by the distribution of money to certain poor persons attending the yearly obits of the benefactors, or even by the maintenance of two or three people in a house, which was not large enough to be called a hospital, and which had no staff of master and chaplains, but which was wholly dependent on the payment made by the chantry priest out of his own endowment. Such actually was the case at Scarborough, where the chaplain of Our Lady's chantry had to keep three or four poor in the " second house towards the west by the ' Cimitorium carnerii,' " paying them 6/8 or the amount in fuel, clothes or repairs out of " the rent which Adam Clerk gave to the chaplain

[1] *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 112. Licence given to eight persons, October 10, 1384 (*C.P.R.*, 1381–5, p. 465), who were to grant the endowment to the Mayor and Corporation for them to found a chantry of two chaplains. At the time of the suppression of the chantries there were 500 communicants in the parish.

for the house sometime of John Wadman."[1] The celebration of the obits of the founders was generally the occasion for the distribution of money, of which the priest received a small portion, and of which the rest, in sums which might range from 16/4, as at Tuxford in Nottinghamshire, to 6*d*., as at Treswell in the same county, was given to the poor.[2]

At Wakefield the chantry priests in the chapel on the bridge, besides celebrating for the souls of the founder in the chapel and helping in the services of the parish church, were also especially expected to celebrate for the sick in the time of plague, so that the rest of the parishioners could attend the parish church without risk of infection.[3]

Another way in which the chantry priest could be very useful in the parish was by acting as schoolmaster, and it is from those schools kept by chantry priests that many of our grammar-schools have sprung. Although there are but a few instances where there is direct evidence that such a school was founded for this period and in these two counties, it is probable that there were a great many of which there is no record, as licences and charters rarely mention a school as part of their objects, a licence not being required for them, even if a school were really the object of the foundation.[4] At Bolton-on-Dearne, in South Yorkshire, there was a school kept by the priest of one of the three chantries in the church, who had for his stipend as schoolmaster £4 13*s*. 4*d*.[5] The chantry priest at Well was also "a scholemaster of a free grammar school for the better bringing up and instructyng of children"; he received £6 13*s*. 4*d*. yearly from the master of the hospital and the vicar of Well for his salary[6]; and at East Retford one of the two priests of the chantry of the Trinity and Our Lady was also to serve as a "scholle master there for the bryngyng up of youthe in godly learnynge."[7]

Thus it appears that the chantry priest might be, and often was, of considerable use in the parish, and that he frequently performed duties which lay outside the real nature of his work as a "singer for souls." It may be pointed out that many licences

[1] Reg. Waldby, f. 6[d]–7.

[2] A list of nine Nottinghamshire obits is given in *Victoria County History, Notts.*, ii, 64, taken from the chantry certificates, which shows that the priest received only about 1/5th of the total amount, the rest being given to the poor.

[3] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 312.

[4] A. F. Leach: *Schools of Mediæval England*, p. 212.

[5] Yorks. Archæological Society (Record Series), xxxiii, 33: Certificate of Commissioners for continuance of Grammar Schools in Duchy of Lancaster.

[6] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 496.

[7] *Notts. Chantry Certifs.*, p. 113.

and chantry certificates make no mention of anything beyond the celebration of services for the welfare of the founder, but on the other hand the directions contained in others do show that the chantry priest did not spend an entirely idle life save for the singing of a few services daily, and even where there is no express mention of any particular activity of the chantry priest in the parish or the parish church it may be assumed that in many places he assisted in some way, where help was needed.

As the chantry priest formed an additional member of the clerical staff of a church, but was more or less independent of the regular parochial clergy, by reason of his separate source of income, it is easy to imagine that the relations between vicar and chantry priest might at times become a little strained, if the one were very careful of his dignity and the other selfish or indifferent to the rights of others. At Newark the priest of Isabel Caldwell's chantry was bound to take an oath of personal obedience to the vicar,[1] in order, no doubt, to prevent any differences between them in the future, if possible—a necessary proceeding where there were a number of chantry priests as at Newark, and at S. Mary's, Nottingham, where the vicar was obliged to complain to the archbishop of ill-usage at their hands.

According to Archbishop Thoresby's mandate, which was issued for their correction on July 8th, 1363,[2] the vicar and other ministers who were bound on Sundays and nine lessons to sing the office were without their help and could not get on. Moreover, the chaplains contrived to say their Masses before the parish Mass, so that the parishioners, after they had heard their Masses said at an inconvenient time, went out irreverently in spite of mandates to the contrary. The chaplains, therefore, were ordered to be present at the hours daily, and were forbidden to begin their Masses until the preface of the parish Mass had been reached. Although a single instance may not be taken to prove a general state of bickering between the parish priest and the chantry priest, at the same time it may serve as an indication of what may very easily have happened at one time or another, especially where the number of chantry priests was considerable. Another complaint in the same archiepiscopal mandate about the general behaviour of the Nottingham priests—"they wander in private houses, in fields and other unsuitable places and say Matins and other canonical hours without due devotion, nay they even 'syncopate' and slur

[1] Reg. Zouche, ff. 149–149[d].

[2] Reg. Thoresby, f. 254[d].

over them, and, as it may in all truth be believed, since they are without sufficient witness in this respect, some of them entirely skip and omit their hours "[1]—must likewise not be taken to represent the typical conduct of the chantry priest, for if the evidence contained in bishops' registers alone were used for an estimate of the general conduct of any section of the mediæval clergy, the impression received would be necessarily false, as only the faults are there held up for censure, and never the virtues for praise. In the absence of other evidence it is best to assume that there were chantry priests who fulfilled their allotted duties well and conscientiously and that there were also others who occasionally absented themselves when they should have been in church, and who, in fact did the minimum work necessary to obtain their stipends without incurring suspension by their bishop.

A word may be said in conclusion about the habitation of the chantry priest. He apparently always lived in a house of his own, or one shared with his fellow chaplain if there were more than one priest for the chantry, usually provided for him by the founder, near the church. At Scotton[2] the chaplain was to live in the house which the founder had had built for him; at Tuxford[3] the founder obtained licence to assign a messuage to the three chaplains of his chantry for their habitation; at Ripon[4] the house of the chaplain of S. Andrew's chantry was on the south side of the church near the graveyard; the three priests of Maud Marmion's chantry lived in one house near the churchyard at Tanfield[5]; the six priests at Harewood lived in one house, which had a garden adjoining[6]; and in 1362 licence was granted to Simon de Beckingham, John de Coddington and John Bray to alienate a messuage and half an acre of land in Newark to the ten chantry priests of Newark church for their habitation,[7] where they might live together. All these houses would probably be of the common mediæval type such as that which was allotted to the chaplain of S. James' chantry at Newark in 1326, described as consisting of a hall or main apartment, probably on the first floor, with a solar or parlour above a cellar at the east end, and a western annexe which probably contained a kitchen.[8] In such a house the chantry priest would spend his time when not singing for the souls entrusted to his care or engaged in such other duties as fell to his lot.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Reg. Zouche, f. 75[d], and again f. 83.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 306.
[4] *Mem. Ripon*, iv, 134.
[5] *Y.C.S.*, i, 106.
[6] *Ibid.*, ii, 222.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1361–4, p. 222.
[8] A. Hamilton Thompson, *Notts. Chantry Certifs.*, Intro., p. 122.

II.

Chantries Founded in Perpetuity.

The object of the present chapter is to give some idea of the extent of chantry founding in two counties of England during the years 1350-1400, by a description of the actual foundations made in perpetuity. As these chantries are all of one class—that is to say they were all endowed chantries, founded in perpetuity, as distinct from those chantries which were founded for a number of years only, and maintained from a sum of money given for the purpose—the main features which will be noticed are the place and circumstances of foundation, and the founders.

The chantries were not all served by one priest only; the number of chaplains ranged from six downwards. A good many founders provided for two priests, but the majority were content with one. During this period and within this area there is no foundation of a large college of chantry priests, although there are a few chantries which might have claimed the title of college, as they were for a number of priests who were expected to live together, receive the same amount of stipend, and live after the same manner in the service of their chantry.[1]

Of these, the chantry of Harewood in the West Riding was founded for six priests by John de Lisle, lord of Rougemont.[2] The foundation was begun in 1351, when royal licence was obtained[3] for the founder to alienate to the warden and chaplains of a chantry, to be founded by him at Harewood, an acre of land and the advowson of Harewood church, which advowson was transferred on the same day to the prior and convent of the Augustinian house of Bolton in Craven, for them to found the chantry.[4] An indenture was made between John and the prior and convent, dated at Bolton on the Thursday before S. Leonard, 1352,[5] whereby it was arranged that as soon as the church was appropriated to the priory the convent would find six priests, of which two were to be canons of Bolton, to be vicars of the church of Harewood and to sing there for the founder and others. They promised, further, to begin the chantry at the Martinmas or Whitsuntide following the appropriation. As an earnest of his intention to make the gift

[1] The "College of the Trinities" at Pontefract was founded during this period, but as the college formed part of a hospital the whole foundation will be dealt with in Chapter IV.

[2] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 222—*Robert* instead of John.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 152—October 16th.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[5] *C.C.R.*, 1349–54, pp. 520–21—November 1st.

of the church to the priory, the founder agreed to give land worth £40 to the prior and convent until they were actually in possession of the advowson; in return for which they promised to find seven chaplains at Bolton when they were in seisin of the land. Licence for the alienation of this land to the prior and convent had already been granted on October 30th.[1] This was surrendered for a new licence on November 29th,[2] to grant 1,095 acres of land, two acres of meadow and £4 19*s.* 2½*d.* in rent to the priory. In 1354, by licence dated October 6th,[3] John de Lisle granted forty-five acres of land in Harewood to the prior and convent in aid of the sustenance of the chaplains of his chantry at Harewood, so presumably the appropriation had taken place and the chantry begun in 1353 or the early part of 1354, although the date of foundation is given in the chantry certificate as 1366.[4] Each of the chaplains received £4 yearly for his stipend, and there is no evidence that the founder ever intended to found anything but an ordinary chantry of a rather elaborate type.

At Tuxford, in Nottinghamshire, Sir John Longvillers intended to found a college of a warden and four chaplains as early as 1351, in which year he obtained a licence[5] to grant to his chaplains the glebe of the church (a rood of land) and the advowson, with licence to them to appropriate the church. They were to pray for himself and Sir Thomas, his father. This foundation of a college was not completed, and in 1357 Sir John procured the appropriation of the church to the Augustinian Priory of Newstead, in return for which he obliged the convent to maintain three chaplains at Tuxford and to find two additional canons in the monastery to celebrate for his soul.[6] The appropriation was confirmed by Archbishop Thoresby, 31st May, 1357, and a vicarage ordained 12th December of that year.[7] On May 25th, 1361, John Asheton, chaplain, was instituted to a chantry in Tuxford church, "one of three founded by John de Longvillers," vacant by the death of Walter Dey,[8] at the presentation of the prior and convent of Newstead, which shows that part, at any rate, of Sir John's second plan had been carried out, although his original intention to found a college was apparently completely abandoned, as there is no further mention of it.[9]

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 352.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 110.
[4] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 222.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1351–54, p. 173.
[6] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 506.
[7] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 239–239^{d}, and ff. 242 and 242^{d}.
[8] *Ibid.*, f. 249.
[9] Pardon was granted to Sir John, November 16, 1359 (*C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 306), for acquiring a messuage and lane from John Fanne, held

The chantry of three priests in Tanfield church in the North Riding, called "Maude Marmeon's chantries," was evidently founded in honour of the wife of John Marmion, who died in 1335.[1] According to the licence which was granted on February 28th, 1363, to Robert Mustres, rector of Kirklinton, Richard Mauleverer, rector of Fishlake, and Adam de Tanfield, rector of Wintringham,[2] the chantry was originally intended for four priests, and it was to be founded according to the ordinance of Avice, late the wife of John de Grey of Rotherfield. The chaplains were assigned twenty messuages, six tofts and four and a half bovates, one rood of land and six acres, one rood of meadow in West Tanfield and Carthorpe, for their sustenance. According to the chantry certificate of 1546 the master had lands and tenements to the yearly value of £23 3*s.* 2*d.*, out of which he took £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for his own stipend, and £2 3*s.* 4*d.* for each of the two chaplains, and with the rest provided board and lodging for the three of them and maintained a servant to attend upon them.[3] This foundation, with its common fund, common house, and division of the chaplains into ranks of master and brethren, resembles a chantry college in miniature.[4]

In 1362 the church of All Saints, Kirkby Overblow, was made collegiate, by the letters of Archbishop Thoresby, dated November 10th at Cawood[5]; but the foundation was of a peculiar kind, as the chantry priests had their sphere of work principally away from the church. The rector, Robert de Ede, and his successors were to be called provosts. They were still to exercise the cure of souls in the parish, to have full government of the church, administer its finance and bear all the burdens incumbent on the church. Besides the provost there were to be four chaplains, of whom one was to "bear the name, status and habit of the parsons" of York, and pray there for the archbishop and the canons, and the Percys—Henry, father of the present lord Percy, the late wife of the latter and the present Henry Percy himself. He was to be nominated by the archbishop, or the chapter *sede vacante*, and

in chief, and licence for him to assign the same to three chaplains celebrating at Tuxford. There were only two priests on the foundation in the sixteenth century (*Notts. Chan. Certif.*, p. 100).

[1] *V.C.H., North Riding*, i, 389.

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 312.

[3] *Y.C.S.*, i, 106–108.

[4] This chantry was not the only one in Tanfield church founded by the Marmion family. Leland (*Itinerary*, pt. I, p. 83) mentions this one, which he says is of a master and two priests, and also another chantry there, and several tombs of the Marmion family on the north and south sides of the church.

[5] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 124[d]–126[d]. Royal licence already obtained July 1st, 1359 (*C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 249).

William Newport, rector of Spofforth, and Sir Richard Tempest, executors of the will of Henry Percy,[1] were to present him within a month. The other three chaplains were to celebrate daily in Alnwick Castle chapel, near Alnwick Abbey, where the present Henry Percy's father and wife were buried. There was thus no outward form of a college at Kirkby Overblow itself, but (a most unusual feature in chantry foundations) all the members except the provost were to be non-resident. It was the duty of the provost to pay the chaplains £5 a year each out of the fruits of the church, at four quarters. The sums were to be received at Kirkby Overblow, but if the provost delayed payment at the appointed times he was to take them to the chaplains, and if he did not pay at all he was to be deprived of his office. The presentation of all the chaplains lay with William Newport and Richard Tempest and with the heirs of William, with lapse after three months to the archbishop. Robert de Ede did not hold the provostship for long, if at all, for on December 15th, 1362, Peter de Wellowe was made provost at Kirkby "newly ordained,"[2] which position he held until February, 1365, when he exchanged it for the rectory of Almondbury with William de Woderowe,[3] who, however, had resigned the provostship by March 10th of the same year,[4] having acquired the rectory of Spofforth by exchange of Ulleskelf prebend in York Minster with William de Newport on February 10th.[5] Two of the chaplains to serve at Alnwick were instituted on December 17th, 1362,[6] and on January 5th, 1362–3, Thomas de Lowthorpe was instituted as the chaplain to serve at York,[7] so it may be presumed that the chantries were in working order in the early part of 1363. The founder, Henry de Percy, third baron Percy of Alnwick, born in 1322,[8] was a member of the famous north-country family which guarded the Scottish border as Wardens of the Marches for generations. The founder himself served in this capacity on several occasions. His son Henry became the first earl of Northumberland, and his grandson was the famous Hotspur. He died in 1368.

In February, 1393, Richard le Scrope of Bolton obtained licence to found a chantry of six chaplains in Bolton Castle, of which one was to be warden, and to grant to them a yearly rent of £43 6*s*. 8*d*.[9]

[1] Died 1352.
[2] Reg. Thoresby, f. 119[d].
[3] *Ibid.*, f. 134.
[4] *Ibid.*, f. 134[d].
[5] *Ibid.*, f. 134.
[6] *Ibid.*, ff. 119[d], 120.
[7] *Ibid.*, f. 120. All three chaplains were presented by Henry Percy despite the archbishop's ordinance, in which the patronage had been given to William Newport and Richard Tempest.
[8] *D.N.B.*, article Henry Percy: C. L. Kingsford.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 224.

At the same time he proposed to provide for the sustenance of six additional canons and of twenty-two poor people in the Premonstratensian house of Easby, near Richmond, by the grant of an annual rent of £106 13*s.* 4*d.*, from various manors. These licences do not appear to have been acted upon, for in May, 1399, Richard le Scrope obtained licence to erect the parish church of Holy Trinity at Wensley into a college of one master and other chaplains, whose number was not then decided, and to alienate the advowson of the church and its chapels annexed, with an acre of land in Wensley for the habitation of certain poor people, to the master and chaplains for their support; also to alienate to them lands, tenements and rents to the yearly value of £150, which were then in the possession of the abbot and convent of Easby. The college was to find a chaplain in the chapel of Bolton Castle and also one for the chapel of S. Oswald in Bolton.[1] Hence it appears that Richard le Scrope had altered his former designs at Bolton and Easby and decided to found a college and a hospital at Wensley, to which should be given, by the Abbey of Easby, who had got possession of them between 1392 and 1399, the lands and rents to the value of £150, which he had proposed to bequeath to his earlier foundations. As the second set of letters patent had not been put into execution by December, 1399, Richard obtained a fresh licence for his college from Henry IV.[2] Judging from the terms of the founder's will, dated August 2nd, 1400,[3] it would appear that by that date the college had been founded, but that the house for poor people was not yet complete. After many bequests he left the remainder of his goods to be applied to the building of the hospital at Wensley, if it had not been fully completed during his life. When this had been done he wished the rest of his goods to go to the Master and his fellows of the College of Holy Trinity of Wensley for their relief and for the work of the college. Despite these bequests the college either never came into existence at all, or else it had decayed so much by the sixteenth century that at the dissolution of the monastery of S. Agatha at Easby there was only an ordinary chantry of one priest at Wensley, who was paid £5 6*s.* 8*d.* a year out of the manor of Brampton, which Richard le Scrope had given to the monastery, and there is no mention in the chantry certificate[4] of any poor who were maintained in connexion with the foundation.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 489.

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, p. 344—Dec. 20th.

[3] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 272–278.

[4] *Y.C.S.*, i, 104: "The Chaunterye of Our Ladye in the parysshe churche of Wenslaugh."

The founder was a man who had led an active and varied life both in the field and in the great offices of State. He fought at Neville's Cross in 1346, and thereafter for nearly forty years he missed scarcely a campaign in France or Scotland. From 1371 to 1375 he was Treasurer of the Realm, in 1377 Steward of the Household, and in 1378 and again in 1381 Chancellor of England. During the disturbances of the years 1386–89 Scrope sided with the King's opponents and was one of the Commissioners appointed in 1386. On Richard's resumption of power he was sometimes employed in negotiations in France and Scotland, but advancing age induced him to retire more to his north-country homes, there to devote himself to the completion of his castle at Bolton, the licence to crenelate which he had obtained in 1379,[1] and to such works as the founding of this chantry. He died on May 30th, 1403, and was buried at Easby Abbey.[2]

Besides these five chantries (which were all served by a number of priests, and of which two at least were originally intended for colleges, although the only one which was actually styled a college presented such unique features that it can hardly be ranked as a chantry college proper) there was in the great parish church of S. Mary Magdalene, Newark, a number of chantry priests, whose coalition in common life was more deserving of the name of college, which was never borne by the Newark priests, than some smaller foundations which were styled colleges. During the period 1350–1400 five chantries were founded at Newark, in addition to six or seven which had been founded before 1350, and it is during this period that a tendency to assume collegiate form by the priests (which was never actually attained) becomes apparent; first, by the licence of Archbishop Thoresby in April, 1361, to allow the priests to wear a special habit in choir,[3] and secondly by the building of a house in which they should all live together. The chaplains were all to wear, on feasts of nine lessons, black tippets with clean surplices, after the fashion of the vicars at Southwell. The building of the chantry house, "to the intente that they (the chaplains) should be Comensalles and associate togithers," is attributed in the chantry certificate to Alice Fleming,[4] but there is only a licence dated June 22nd, 1362,[5] to allow Simon de Beckingham and others to alienate a messuage and half an acre of land in Newark to the chantry priests for their habitation, although these may have been acting for Alice Fleming.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 369.
[2] *D.N.B.*, article Richard le Scrope: J. Tait.
[3] Reg. Thoresby, f. 247.
[4] *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 87.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1361–4, p. 222.

Of the five chantries founded during this period, the two earliest, of S. Katharine and Corpus Christi, were founded on the same day, and the prior and convent of Thurgarton were made trustees for both. On April 2nd, 1351, by their letters patent the prior and convent bound themselves to pay a yearly pension of six marcs to John Sibelle and his successors, celebrating at the altar of S. Katharine for the souls of William Wanseye the founder, Beatrice his wife, Richard his father, his mother, ancestors and benefactors. This document was confirmed by royal letters patent on June 1st, 1351,[1] and by the archbishop on November 29th following.[2] Similarly, on the same April 2nd, the prior and convent of Thurgarton undertook to pay six marcs a year at Michaelmas and Easter to Robert de Alyngton and his successors, celebrating for the good estate of the brethren of the fraternity of Corpus Christi and for the souls of the departed, and for Isabel Caldwell, at the altar of Corpus Christi.[3] The vicar of Newark had the presentation to the chantry, with the assistance of four *fidedigni*; a majority was to decide the presentation. If the vicarage happened to be vacant, the priest on duty for the week took the vicar's place, and after a month the presentation lapsed to the archbishop. The foundation was confirmed by Archbishop Zouche on November 29th, 1351,[4] royal confirmation having already been received on June 1st of that year,[5] the three dates of foundation and confirmation being identical for both chantries.

In the same year another chantry was founded at the Corpus Christi altar by a relative, possibly the husband, of Isabel Caldwell. William de Adyngton, one of the chaplains of the Gild of Corpus Christi[6] in the church, was to serve this chantry, but in this case his stipend, again of six marcs, was to be paid by the abbot and convent of Rufford, who bound themselves to payment upon the manor of Parkelathe and lands in the fields of Caunton and Kelham. The payment was to be made at Whitsuntide and S. Martin, and the presentation was arranged as for Isabel Caldwell's chantry. These ordinances were made by Robert Caldwell for his chantry on November 7th, 1351, in pursuance of royal letters patent on November 18th, 1349,[7] and of the abbot and convent, dated May

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 120.
[2] Reg. Zouche, ff. 149d–150.
[3] Isabel Caldwell named as founder in chantry certificate (*Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 76).
[4] Reg. Zouche, ff. 149, 149d.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1351–54, pp. 119, 120.
[6] Were there *two* chaplains of the Corpus Christi Gild with names as similar as "Alyngton" and "Adyngton"; or were Robert Alyngton and William Adyngton really one and the same person?
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1348–50, p. 289.

10th, 1350. They were confirmed by the archbishop on November 29th, 1351.[1]

The executors of Robert Caldwell were the founders, some thirty years later, of a chantry at the altar of Holy Trinity in Newark church, for the good of his soul. This time the Premonstratensian house of Newbo, near Grantham, was made responsible for the payment of the priest's stipend. On November 10th, 1379, the house had royal licence[2] to grant eight marcs of rent to a chaplain celebrating at the altar of the Virgin Mary in Newark church for the souls of Robert de Caldwell, his parents, ancestors and others. This was apparently surrendered on the grant of a further licence, on March 15th, 1381,[3] for the alienation of eight marcs of rent from lands in Barroby, Allington, Newbo, and Casthorpe, to a chaplain at the altar of the Holy Trinity. This later licence was inspected and confirmed by Archbishop Neville on October 24th, 1381, together with the letters patent of the abbot and convent of Newbo dated September 13th previous, by which it appears that the two parsons, William de Hanley and Robert de Alyngton, as Robert Caldwell's executors, made over £300 to the abbot and convent for the renewal of their debts and the purchase of the manor of Casthorpe. The chaplain took an oath of residence and choir service, and was bound to make, besides his daily mass and memorial for the founder, three other memorials daily—for the benefactors and defenders of the chantry, for the archbishop of York and the bishop of Lincoln, and for the inhabitants of Newark. The presentation remained in the hands of the executors during their lifetime; after their death it passed to the prior and convent of S. Katharine, Lincoln, and to the churchwardens, with lapse to the archbishop after a month.[4]

The fifth chantry had already been founded at the Altar of All Saints and the Nativity of Our Lady in 1364–5 by royal licence bearing the date of February 26th, which allowed the alienation in mortmain of twenty-two messuages, fifty acres of land, ten acres of meadow, and five marcs of rent in Newark and other places, for the endowment of the chantry.[5] The founder was Simon Surflete, although Roger Berye, William Wakebridge and William Perkyn are also named as founders in the chantry certificate.[6] He was himself a chantry priest, being one of the chaplains of the Corpus Christi altar in 1361, on Alan Fleming's foundation,[7] to

[1] Reg. Zouche, ff. 150–151.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 402.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 610.
[4] Reg. Alex. Neville (i), ff. 82–83.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1364–7, pp. 96–7.
[6] *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 81.
[7] Reg. Thoresby, f. 247.

which he had been instituted by a commission dated July 2nd, 1349.[1] The chantry, which was for two priests, has already been referred to as having been founded with the special object of helping the vicar and his curate to serve the parish. It is the only one of the five founded during the period 1350–1400 in Newark church whose priest did not draw his stipend from some religious house.

A word might be said here about the custom of making monasteries the trustees of chantries, as it was especially prevalent in Nottinghamshire and, as has been seen, at Newark. The duties which were imposed on the houses in return for the grant of lands and rents by the founder of the chantry were varied. Sometimes they were merely bound to pay the chaplain's stipends at certain times of the year, as the houses of Thurgarton, Rufford and Newbo were bound to do for the Newark chantries; but in other cases they were required to do more than this. The Trinitarian House of S. Robert at Knaresborough had to pay the chaplain at Scotton £6 yearly; to find a chaplain when the permanent chaplain was absent and pay him 12*d.* weekly; and to provide a priest to celebrate during a vacancy, either one of the brethren or someone else, and pay him at the rate of £6 a year; and furthermore they undertook to provide ten candles a year, each one pound in weight, on each of the five festivals of the Blessed Virgin, a candle called a "torche," two and a half pounds in weight, and three and a quarter gallons of wine with bread for the celebration of Mass at Scotton, at their expense.[2]

The two Augustinian houses of Kirkham and Marton had their duties to perform for Ralph Neville's chantry at Sheriff Hutton, although in a rather secondary way. If ever the heirs of Ralph failed to present to the chantry within forty days of its voidance, the presentation was to be made by the prior and convent of Kirkham, and the prior of Marton, the rector of Sheriff Hutton, was to select a chaplain to serve during a vacancy.[3] The Augustinian canons of Bolton were responsible for the upkeep of John de Lisle's chantry at Harewood. The church was appropriated to the priory, and the prior and convent had to find the first set of six chaplains for the chantry. On the death of any one of the chaplains the founder and his heir presented a chaplain to the prior and convent within three weeks. If this was not done the priory itself presented the priest, and the chaplains were henceforward removable at the will of the prior, for any reasonable cause.[4]

[1] Reg. Zouche, f. 130.
[2] Reg. Zouche, f. 84.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 510.
[4] *C.C.R.*, 1349–54, p. 520.

These are but a few examples of the custom, which seems to have had general acceptance, of making religious houses in some way responsible for the maintenance of a chantry, sometimes in return for the appropriation of the church in which the chantry was situated, and sometimes in return for a grant of lands or rents by the founder; but it must be understood that in those cases the chantry was in no sense an appendage to the monastery. The chantry priest, whether he received his stipend from a religious house, a dean and chapter, or from individuals, held his living independently of them all. The fact that apparently poor religious houses were able to supply a number of "titles" for ordinands quite out of proportion to their resources may be explained by this system of monastic trusteeship in connexion with chantries, which meant that in most cases the house had to find and present the chaplain, but not to pay him out of their own coffers.

The chantries which were founded during the years 1350–1400, besides those already mentioned, were all for one or two priests; and as there is thus nothing to distinguish one chantry from another beyond the founder and the date and place of the foundation of each, the subsequent chantries will be dealt with in the following order—in cathedral and collegiate churches, town churches, country churches and chapels, and in one or two odd places which fall under none of these headings.

It is fitting that the chantries in York Minster, the mother church of the great diocese of which Yorkshire and Nottingham formed only a part, together with those in the three great collegiate churches which served as pro-cathedrals for the different parts of the diocese, Ripon for the West Riding, Beverley for the East Riding, and Southwell for Nottinghamshire, should be dealt with first.

There were more chantries founded in the cathedral church of York for this period than in any other single church in the area under review. The earliest was that of Archbishop Zouche, who built an additional chapel on to the existing fabric of the church, in which to found his chantry. William la Zouche, dean of York, succeeded William de Melton as archbishop in 1342.[1] He made his will on June 28th, 1349,[2] and in it he bequeathed the sum of 300 marcs for the foundation of a chantry in the cathedral, and for the support of two chantry priests, who were to be attached to the altar in the chapel dedicated to God, the Blessed Virgin and all Saints, especially Mary Magdalene and Martha. On April

[1] Le Neve: *Fasti*, iii, 106. [2] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 55 *seq.*

11th, 1350,[1] the dean and chapter gave permission to the archbishop to erect a chapel on the south side of the choir, which should be entered by one or two doors placed in arches, for the construction of which the south wall of the choir—the twelfth-century choir—was allowed to be pierced.[2] Soon after this letter the work must have been begun. Among the miscellaneous expenses of the archbishop entered in his register there is an order dated November 16th, 1350, for the payment of £20 to Robert Swetemouth, rector of the altar of S. Laurence in the cathedral, " pro diversis expensis circa constructionem capellae nostrae ibidem." On April 25th, 1351, a similar order was made on behalf of John de Acomb, canon of the chapel of the Virgin and the Holy Angels, for the sum of £40. On November 18th a further sum of £40 was ordered to be paid to Acomb and Swetemouth, and on May 10th, 1352, two sums of £25 9*s.* 7*d.* and £27 were paid to them.[3] Previously to this, Zouche had obtained royal licence for certain chaplains to celebrate in a chapel built by him for the good estate of the king and himself, for their souls when they were dead, and the souls of the king's progenitors and the archbishop's predecessors,[4] which shows that the chapel was sufficiently advanced at that date for the archbishop to think of providing for his chantry priests; although when he died (July 19th, 1352) it was probably not yet finished, as he was buried before the altar of S. Edmund in the nave.[5] As the formal assent of the Chapter to the building of the chapel had not yet been regularly entered among the acts, it was duly enrolled only five days before Zouche's death.[6]

A chantry was founded at the altar of the Holy Innocents,[7] between 1354 and 1355,[8] by William Ferriby, who was, like many of the founders of chantries in the Minster, a member of the Chapter, for the souls of Edward II, Archbishop Melton, the good estate of the grantor and his soul when dead. William Ferriby had licence, November 12th, 1350,[9] to endow five chaplains, of whom only two were to celebrate at York, with £10 of rent out of land in York, Hotham, North Cave, Melton, Ferriby, Swanland and Elvelye; but on August 18th, 1352, as he had not yet granted the rent, he acquired further licence to assign it to the chaplains with five

[1] Year not given, but may be presumed from what follows to have been 1350.

[2] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 168 note; printed from Zouche's Register, 233 a.b.

[3] *Ibid.*—Editor's notes.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 146—July 16th, 1351.

[5] F. Harrison: *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

[6] Licence of the Chapter to the Archbishop to build a chapel, July 14th, 1352 (*York Fabric Rolls*, p. 168).

[7] *Y.C.S.*, i, 37.

[8] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 286.

[9] *C.P.R.*, 1348–50, p. 471.

marcs besides.[1] The founder held various prebends in York Minster; Bilton 1342, which he exchanged for Holme Archiepiscopi in 1350, and Donington 1356, besides which he was Archdeacon of Cleveland in 1355,[2] and a keeper of the Wardrobe 1360–61.[3] He died in 1379.

In 1357 the executors of Nicholas de Hugate, a former canon of York,[4] who died in 1338, founded a chantry[5] for his soul at the altar of SS. James and Katharine, for which they gave certain houses near the Bedern to the vicars, who paid five marcs a year to the chantry priest, the presentation of whom lay with the Chapter.[6]

The foundation of the chantry which was afterwards connected with the altar of Our Lady, which, after the completion of the choir about 1415, stood in the middle compartment of the presbytery, has been attributed both to Archbishop Thoresby and to Henry Percy.[7] That Thoresby took an especial interest in the new east end of the Minster, which was begun in 1361, is apparent from his gifts to the building fund of the church of stone from his ruined manor at Sherburn,[8] and of different sums of money while he lived; but that he founded a chantry there for himself is not so evident. The chantry certificates give two chantries of Our Lady in the Minster,[9] one of which is said to be "of the fundacion of Henry Percye erle of Northumberland," for which no date is given.[10] This, without doubt, is the chantry which was founded by Henry Percy in York Minster when the church of Kirkby Overblow was made collegiate in 1362,[11] the chantry at that time not

[1] *Ibid.*, 1350–54, p. 318.

[2] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, pp. 172, 192, 181, 146.

[3] T. F. Tout: *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, iv, 233.

[4] Prebendary of the prebend of Barnby, Nov. 22, 1327 (Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 170).

[5] Not mentioned in *Y.C.S.* Licence obtained Feb. 3, 1340 (*C.P.R.*, 1338–40, p. 417).

[6] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 286. There was another chantry at this altar, founded in 1363 by the executors of Thomas de Neville, a former canon of York. The presentation belonged to the vicars (*Ibid.*, p. 286).

[7] Raine: *Fabric Rolls*, p. 294. Harrison: *York Minster*, appendix II, p. 187. Stubbs: *Historians of the Church of York*, ii, 421.

[8] Indenture between Thoresby and the Chapter (July 20, 1361)—*York Fabric Rolls*, p. 174.

[9] *Y.C.S.*, i, 21 and 22.

[10] The other chantry, although said to have been founded by "the archebysshoppe, deane and chapyter of Yorke," does not necessarily have any claim on Archbishop Thoresby as founder, especially as there was a chantry attached to the Lady Altar in 1507 for the soul of Archbishop Rotheham (Browne: *Defence*, p. 139), although the certificate from the details which it gives as to the singing of the daily mass probably refers to a chantry of *S. Mary in the Crypt*, at which, according to the deed of foundation, mass was offered daily, accompanied with note by the choristers. An organ was afterwards added to this chantry (Browne: *Op. cit.*, p. 142).

[11] (See *ante*, pp. 148, 149.) Institution of Thomas de Lowthorpe as chaplain to serve at York (Jan. 5, 1362–3)—Reg. Thoresby, f. 120.

being assigned to any specified altar. The certificate also mentions "a certen yerly rent comyng out of the parsonage of Kyrkeby Overblavers," which further identifies Percy's unnamed chantry with the chantry which was afterwards said to be at the altar of Our Lady. As Archbishop Thoresby died in 1373, and the choir was not finished until the early years of the fifteenth century, it is impossible for him to have founded a chantry there during his lifetime; but it is possible that he may have intended to augment Percy's foundation,[1] and as his was one of the names which the chaplain at York was charged to pray for, the names of Percy and Thoresby may both have been connected as founders with the chantry which was founded by Percy at no particular altar, but which, sometime after the completion of the choir, was attached to the altar of Our Lady which stood then, as now, directly beneath the East Window.

In 1366 the executors of William de Newport, canon of York, founded a chantry for his soul at the altar of S. Gregory in the Minster. They paid two hundred marcs to the vicars, who engaged in return to pay five marcs yearly to a chantry priest. The Chapter presented, but in 1483, and at the time of the suppression of the chantry, it was in the gift of the vicars.[2] William de Newport, the founder, became prebendary of Ulleskelf in York Minster on February 10th, 1365, by exchange of Spofforth rectory with William Woderowe.[3]

The chantry certificates also assign another chantry to this altar, which is said to have been founded by "Master Jordayne" in 1370.[4] This is manifestly impossible as Jordan, Cardinal of S. Eustachio, had the deanery of York bestowed upon him by Pope Alexander IV in 1256, and was duly installed, although he shortly afterwards resigned and retired with an annual pension of a hundred marcs.[5] What apparently happened was that the chantry had been founded at some unknown date for Jordan, and that in 1370 the foundation was renewed by the Chapter, in whose gift it lay. On April 4th, 1370, at the request of Richard Letteby, chaplain, it was ordained that there should be in the cathedral a per-

[1] Thoresby had licence, November 12, 1369 (*C.P.R.*, 1367–70, p. 319), to assign 100/– yearly of lands and rent to a chaplain to celebrate in the Minster. If this were intended to increase the endowment of the Percy chaplain the letters were apparently not put into execution, as at the time of the suppression of the chantries the sole endowment of the chantry consisted of 100/– from Kirkby Overblow (*Y.C.S.*, i, 22).

[2] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 284: *cf.* *Y.C.S.*, i, 34, where the date of foundation is given as Oct. 10, 1363.

[3] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 219. Reg. Thoresby, f. 134.

[4] *Y.C.S.*, i, 41.

[5] Browne: *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

petual chantry for the soul of Jordan, the canons of the Church and all the faithful departed. The duties of the priest were not assigned to any special altar, but the Chapter soon named one near the feretrum of S. William.[1] That the chantry was only renewed and not actually founded in 1370 is also shown by an entry in the Roll of the Chamberlain of York Minster for 1371. Among the "pensiones perpetuae" occurs the payment of 33/4 to a vicar celebrating for the soul of Jordan, whose chantry "fundata fuit de shopis in Stayngate et adjacent' ten' Capituli et nunc de novo aedificatis cum eisdem per Capitulum et eidem Capitulo perpetuo permansuris."[2]

During the year 1366 two chantries were founded in the Minster, one at the altar of S. Stephen and one at the altar of S. William.[3] The former was founded by one of the vicars choral, John Alkbarrow, who conveyed certain houses in York to his colleagues the vicars for the chantry[4]; and the latter by John de Cottingham, rector of North Cave, who on October 8th, 1366, gave two hundred marcs, also to the vicars, in return for which they founded the chantry for his soul, and the souls of Edward III and Thomas de la Mare, late canon of York. The chaplain was presented by them.[5]

Another canon of the cathedral was the founder of a chantry there at the altar of S. Lawrence in 1368. This chantry, like several others at York, was actually established by the vicars, who had the presentation, in consideration of a sum of money which was paid to them by the executors of the founder. They received in this case the fairly normal sum of two hundred marcs, and paid the chantry priest five marcs a year.[6] The founder was Roger Chesterfield, who became prebendary of Grindall on May 20th, 1360.[7]

In October 1368 a chantry was founded in the Minster for the soul of one of the citizens of York, a layman. This was the first chantry, with the exception of the Percy chantry, since before 1350, which was not founded by a member of the Chapter or by a priest. The executors of the will of John Stayngate, a sadler of York, had royal licence, dated September 14th, 1368,[8] to alienate

[1] *Ibid.* This altar seems to have been that of SS. Cecilia and Petronilla. Raine also (*Op. cit.*, p. 279) says that the chantry was dedicated to SS. Agnes, Cecily and Petronilla before 1370, and after that time to S. Cecily alone. The only mention of the altar of S. Gregory in connexion with the chantry is in the chantry certificate.

[2] Printed in *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 124.

[3] Not mentioned in *Y.C.S.*

[4] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 305.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 293. *Y.C.S.*, i, 22, gives date of foundation as Nov. 11th, 1367, but this, here as elsewhere, is probably the date of the founder's deed, whereas the actual foundation would be a little later.

[7] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 191.

[8] *C.P.R.*, 1367–70, p. 151.

in mortmain four messuages in York and its suburbs, and three acres of land and one acre of meadow in Roucliff, near York, of the yearly value of 43/–, to a chaplain to celebrate daily at the altar of S. John the Baptist in the cathedral church of York, for the souls of John and of all the faithful departed. The foundation was made by the Chapter shortly afterwards, on October 21st of the same year, when the chantry was said to be for the souls of John de Stayngate, and of Joan and Emma his wives, and of Robert de Durham.[1]

The date of the foundation of the chantry at the altar of SS. Paulinus and Chad is given variously as 1364 and 1374.[2] It was founded by the vicars for the soul of John de Burton, rector of Huggate, and of Richard and Alice his parents, in consideration of the sum of 389 marcs which he had paid to them. They paid the priest the usual five marcs a year, and the presentation lay with them. The original foundation was at the altar of S. John the Baptist; in 1483 it was at the altar of SS. Paulinus and Chad,[3] where it remained until the suppression.

Maud Alnewyk, the widow of Alan Alnewyk, a goldsmith of York, gave directions in her will, proved June 20th, 1376, for the foundation of a chantry in York Minster. This was carried into effect on March 19th of the following year[4] by John de Beverley, draper, John de Brodsworth, priest, and John de Catton of York, draper, Maud's executors, who had already, by letters patent dated February 5th, 1377,[5] obtained licence to grant two messuages in York, which had belonged to Maud Alnewyk, to a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of S. Thomas the Martyr[6] in York Cathedral. The chantry was for the welfare of the king and for his soul after death, and for the souls of the late queen Philippa, the Black Prince, and Maud and Alan and their benefactors; and the presentation this time was in the hands of the Chapter.

It is somewhat surprising that during the whole of the reign of Richard II it has been impossible to discover the foundation of a single chantry at York,[7] unless the rather vague licence which

[1] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 290. In 1483 the position of this altar was "retro summum altare." If so, it was distinct from the other two chantries at the altar of S. John the Baptist. Was it at the altar of S. John the Evangelist? *Ibid.*

[2] 1374: *Y.C.S.*, i, 33—"by fundacion dated 11th March 1374." 1364: *York Fabric Rolls*—11th December, 1364 (p. 300).

[3] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 300.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 423. Catton is here called a "bakester."

[6] Called S. Thomas the *Apostle* in *Y.C.S.*, i, 19, but by 1546 S. Thomas of Canterbury had gone out of favour, which may account for the change. Date given as 1376 in the certificate.

[7] This statement refers to chantries for which there is definite information as to foundation. As may be

was granted to John Ferriby, undertreasurer of York, and John Bilton, a chaplain, on April 28th, 1393,[1] can be construed as an intention to found a chantry. They had permission to alienate a messuage in Micklegate, York, to the dean and chapter in aid of the maintenance of three clerks in addition to the usual number to sing the Mass of S. Mary daily and do other works of charity. Ferriby and Bilton may have founded the chantry which, in 1483, was at the altar of S. Gregory, called Bilton's chantry, belonging to the Chapter,[2] as a result of the acquisition of this licence, but this must remain a matter of conjecture.

In addition to the large number of chantries in the Minster there were the foundations known as obits, which only required an annual celebration, as distinct from the perpetual chantry, whose founders expected a daily remembrance. By his will, proved on May 9th, 1366, William de Newport, rector of Bishopwearmouth and sometime rector of Spofforth, and founder of a chantry at York, left forty marcs for a perpetual obit there[3]; and in May 1400 Thomas de Dalby, archdeacon of Richmond, bequeathed eighty marcs for the same purpose[4]; and these are but two instances of what must have been a widespread custom, especially in cathedral churches where the large staff of vicars choral, whose sole duty it was to sing the services of the Church, ensured the due celebration of these obits.

The chantries which were founded in the three collegiate churches of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell during this period were far less in number than the foundations at York.

On November 2nd, 1364, John Sherwood of Ripon had licence to grant houses and lands and 25/8 of rent in Ripon and other places to a chaplain to celebrate in the church of Ripon for the souls of John and of David de Wollore, who had procured the licence by the payment of £10, for John de Sherwood, and their fathers and mothers.[5] As the lands were held of the archbishop, a yearly rent of 12*d.* had to be made to him " for all service." On July 17th, 1365, the Chapter of Ripon formally confirmed the archbishop's licence for the chantry,[6] which was evidently attached to the altar of S. John Evangelist, for on November 22nd following

seen from the Appendix, licences for the foundation of chantries in York Minster were taken out during the reign of Richard II, but whether these were actually acted upon the writer has not been able to discover.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 278.

[2] *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 285. This chantry is not mentioned in the chantry certificates.

[3] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 80.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 261. Dalby died May 19th, 1400 (Le Neve: iii, 139).

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1364–67, p. 45.

[6] *Mem. Ripon*, i, 159.

a chaplain was instituted to a chantry, "newly founded," at that altar.[1] David de Wollore, the founder of the chantry of S. Andrew at Ripon,[2] apparently had some interest in this chantry also, but in 1546 John Sherwood is the only founder who is mentioned.[3]

The only other chantry founded during this period at Ripon was that of S. Andrew, which has already been dealt with.[4]

Nicholas Hugate, provost of Beverley, died on June 24th, 1338, before he was able to carry into execution his intention of founding a chantry in his collegiate church. His executors took some steps towards carrying out his design for a chantry of six chaplains in 1348,[5] but the foundation was not completed; and in 1352 John de Wilton, one of the executors, had licence, dated January 29th, to assign three messuages of the value of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly to *one* chaplain to celebrate at Beverley for the soul of Nicholas Hugate and for the good estate of John Wilton and his wife Alice.[6] The chantry thus became of Wilton's foundation, with Nicholas Hugate as one of the persons to be specially remembered by the priest.[7] The foundation deed for the chantry of Corpus Christi "in the Charnell" was drawn up by John Wilton on June 23rd, 1352. The founder was to present the chantry priest to an altar to be constructed in honour of Corpus Christi, but in the event of the founder or his heirs failing to present within three months of a vacancy, elaborate regulations were made for presentation. First the warden and brethren of the Gild of Corpus Christi (a Gild consisting wholly of priests) were to have a turn. If they neglected to present within fifteen days the Corporation of Beverley was to do so, and on their default the Archbishop, or, *sede vacante*, the Chapter of York, within a month. If the

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 127.

[2] For the foundation of which see *ante*, p. 126.

[3] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 358. Chantry here said to be of SS. John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, and date of foundation given as 1364.

[4] There is a licence dated March 29th, 1362 (*C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 181), for William de Plumpton to assign two messuages and ten acres of land to a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of Holy Trinity at Ripon, but this is probably only an augmentation of a chantry founded in 1345 by the same William Plumpton. *Y.C.S.*, ii, 360; *C.P.R.*, 1343–45, p. 455; *Mem. Ripon*, i, 154–157.

[5] *Inq. ad quod damnum*—22 Ed. III, No. 24 (*Chapter Acts of Beverley*, ii, Introduction, p. lx).

[6] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 210.

[7] The ultimate fate of the provost's intended chantry of six chaplains was decided in 1354, when, at the petition of John Wilton and Robert Sherburn, the only two of the executors who remained alive, licence was given to them to shift the responsibility of finding twenty marcs of lands and rent, which they had not been able to acquire of the £20 which had been intended for Hugate's chantry, to the master of S. Nicholas' Hospital, Beverley, who was to acquire the twenty marcs in mortmain and use them for certain alms and other works of piety (*C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 48).

vacancy still remained unfilled, then the founder's heirs had another chance, and so on, in turn, until the chaplain was duly found. He was to be admitted and inducted by the Chapter of Beverley, who was also to provide bread, wine, vestments, books, chalice and other necessaries for him by the chamberlain. The light for the altar, however, and the stipend of six marcs a year for the priest, were to be provided by the warden of the fabric, and during a vacancy the Chapter was bound to have the duty performed at a proportionate rate of pay.[1]

The two other chantries in the collegiate church of Beverley of whose foundation there is definite proof during this period[2] were both connected with the name of Richard Ravenser, who is a typical representative of the class of " King's clerks " who held, in addition to numerous prebends and livings, some secular office of state. Richard Ravenser was at one time archdeacon of Norfolk; he held prebends in Lincoln and S. Paul's; in 1365 he was master of S. Leonard's Hospital, York; provost of Beverley before 1367; archdeacon of Lincoln in 1368; and prebendary of Knaresborough in York Minster, 1372[3]; in addition to which he was the keeper of the Rolls in Chancery from 1357–1379. He died in 1386 and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. His name often occurs in letters patent in connexion with the foundation or the endowment of chantries in various places.

On September 18th, 1370, Richard Ravenser obtained licence to found a chantry of two priests at Beverley,[4] to whom he should alienate £10 yearly of land and rents; but this had not been done by the end of 1372, when John de Ravenser, Thomas de Etton and John de Frothyngham had licence[5] to alienate two parts of the manor of Bentley to Richard Ravenser, and the reversion of the third part on the death of Joan de Bentley, all of which was worth £8, as part of the £10 of rent which Richard and the canons of Beverley had had a previous licence to acquire. Letters patent of Sir Thomas Roos, of whom the manor was held, were obtained on May 15th, 1373,[6] but nothing further was done until 1378, when a similar royal licence to that of 1372 was obtained,[7] and the foundation was duly confirmed by Archbishop Neville at Cawood on

[1] Printed in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, xv, 110 *seq.* There is no information as to the date of foundation or the founder in *Y.C.S.*, ii, 534.

[2] See Appendix for other probable foundations.

[3] *D.N.B.*—Richard Ravenser; A. F. Pollard.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 231—December 1st.

[6] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 8–9.

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 260. Former letters " vacated and surrendered."

September 8th, 1379.[1] The collation belonged to Richard Ravenser during his lifetime, and the admission to the Chapter of Beverley. After his death the collation passed to the Chapter, with a month's lapse to the archbishop.[2]

In the same document is mentioned the chantry of S. Michael at Beverley which Richard Ravenser, Walter Skirlaw, archdeacon of the East Riding and afterwards bishop of Durham, and Robert de Beverlaco, had lately endowed with six marcs, for a priest to pray for them and for the souls of Sir Thomas and Nicholas Singelston, with an obit for Thomas and Nicholas on the feast of S. Mary Magdalene. Richard Ravenser augmented both of these chantries by the gift of eleven shops in the High Street, which stretches from the north doorway of the Minster to the fishmarket beside his prebendal house of the altar of S. Martin.[3] Further, in October 1380, Richard Ravenser and Walter Skirlaw made a new grant to the chantry of S. Michael of three messuages and three bovates of land in Beverley and Garthom.[4]

During the years 1350–1400 there is the record of the foundation of only one chantry in the collegiate church of Blessed Mary at Southwell. This was founded by William Gunthorp, prebendary of Norwell Palacehall in Southwell and of Weighton in York,[5] in 1395.[6] In 1413 it was said that " this chantry is called the chantry of S. Mary, the chaplain of which holds the church of Wheatley, and by himself or another fit chaplain celebrates daily at Southwell Our Lady's Mass with note at the usual hour, which church became so poor in the first pestilence (1349) that the chaplain could not support the burden," and so it was augmented by " Gunthorpe late canon."[7] In Gunthorp's deed, 1395,[8] the chantry was directed to be " in the chapel of S. Mary, situate on the north side of the church."[9]

[1] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 8–9.

[2] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 532, mentions a chantry of the Trinity of two priests at Beverley, with no other information. This may refer to the chantry of Richard Ravenser as it is the only one for two priests in the certificates.

[3] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 8–9.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 553. *Y.C.S.*, ii, 531—" The Chauntery of Seynt Mychell within the said collegiate church." No date of foundation is given.

[5] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 441 and 224.

[6] Letters patent obtained July 12th, 1395 (*C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 620). Documents of foundation in *Liber Albus* of Southwell, pp. 337–360 (*Vis. & Mem.*, p. cvii).

[7] In a deed made by the Chapter in 1413 at the request of the chantry priests as a convenient evidence of title. It is an *inspeximus* of an inquisition into the titles of chantries made in 1372 (*Vis. & Mem.*, p. 178, note a).

[8] *Liber Albus*, p. 360.

[9] The chantry certificate has no further information about this chantry. The date of foundation is not given. It is called " Our Lady's Chantry," and is attributed to William Gunthorp.

In these four churches of York, Ripon, Beverley and Southwell there were far more chantries founded by clergy than by lay people during this period, the founders being in many cases either members of the Chapter or in some way connected with the Church. This, however, is not surprising at York when it is considered that a cathedral church had no cure of souls, and was not in the first place intended for the use of lay congregations.

(*To be concluded in Part* 131.)

PREHISTORIC CULTIVATIONS AT GRASSINGTON, WEST YORKSHIRE.

By Arthur Raistrick, Ph.D., M.Sc.

On an area of rough pasture lying one mile north of Grassington is a series of earthworks, part of which has for many years been known as the "Borrans" and as the "Romano-British Camp." The part usually so described lies mainly on High Close, Lea Green, and Sweetside, and adjoining pastures, and has become known mainly through the descriptions (very inaccurate and inadequate) of the local antiquaries, the late Mr. J. Crowther and J. Bailey Harker. They regarded the Borrans as the remains of one of the largest Roman camps or cities in the country, and even went so far as to recognise a "pretorium," gates, etc. This view was fostered by the occurrence over much of the area of fragments of debased Roman pottery, and occasional Roman coins, but an attempt to make a plan of the earthworks would soon have discredited the idea of a Roman city. During the last decade of the nineteenth century part of the area was recognised by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins, J. W. Davies, and E. E. Speight as one bearing considerable traces of prehistoric occupation, and in 1892 an Upper Wharfedale Exploration Committee was formed as a sub-committee of the Yorkshire Geological Society, to raise public subscriptions and commence excavation. During 1893 and 1894 excavations were made in some of the barrows in the area and in two small groups of earthworks, one in Grass Wood, near Park Stile, and one on Lea Green ("Site A" of Fig. 1). The committee ceased to function in 1894 and no further attention was given to the area until 1919, when the present writer began systematic mapping of the area.

Preliminary trenches across a few of the banks had shown that the main part of the earthworks were of one type of structure, a turf and rubble bank, with a core of large stones, set straight on the roughly-levelled sub-soil surface. The banks frequently stand 3ft. high and 6ft. to 9ft. broad to-day, while the areas between the banks are more or less level, with a very thin soil covering and a turf layer, resting on sub-soil. The result of the difference of material is very clearly seen in periods of drought, or after light snow-fall. In the drought the grass covering the stony banks rapidly becomes

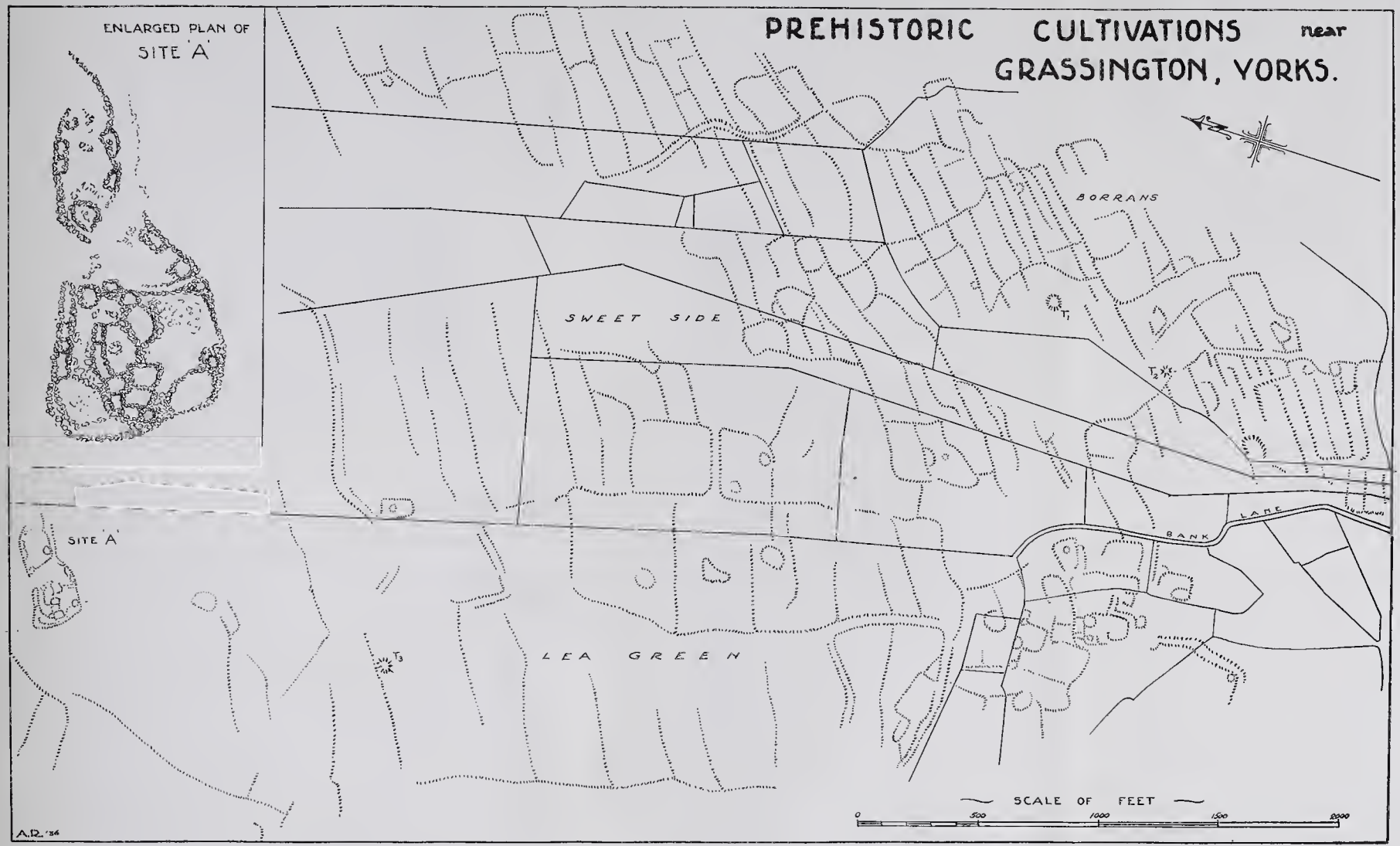

PREHISTORIC CULTIVATIONS near GRASSINGTON, YORKS.
ENLARGED PLAN OF SITE 'A'
SITE 'A'
BORRANS
SWEET SIDE
LEA GREEN
BANK
LANE
T1
T2
T3
SCALE OF FEET
0
500
1000
1500
2000
A.R. '36

FIG. 1



brown, while the remainder is green, and even where the banks are scarcely, if at all, raised above the surrounding ground level they are still traceable by the burnt grass. Trial sections during a dry summer, on areas where banks had not previously been noted, proved the reliability of this method of mapping, all cases indicated by burnt grass proving to be stone-cored balks on excavation. In winter, with a thin powdering of snow, the snow resting over the stone banks quickly melts, and if the right conditions are present the banks are seen as dark lines on the general background of white. By taking advantage of these conditions during the years 1919–1925 the area of earthworks marked on the Ordnance Survey maps (6″ to 1 mile, Yorks. W.R., 134, NW.) was extended to more than double, and the completed set of earthworks recognised as a very typical area of prehistoric cultivation fields or "Celtic lynchets." In 1927 Dr. Curwen visited the area, and coming to the same conclusion on the area nearest Grassington, printed a short note in *Antiquity* (June, 1928, pp. 168-172). A paper on the wider area of upper Wharfedale was published the following year, by the present writer (*Antiquity*, June, 1929, pp. 165-181), but no extended account of this particular area was given. Following these two accounts an air survey of the area was made in June, 1932, and Dr. O. G. S. Crawford kindly allowed the writer to purchase copies of some of the air photos obtained. These show very strikingly the full extent of the lynchets and confirm the earlier mapping. It is a matter of interest and encouragement that the air photos reveal no main feature that had not already been mapped by the methods outlined above, though in many places they confirm and establish detail only mapped with great difficulty on the ground.

During the thirty years following the work of the Exploration Committee Mr. John Crowther, of Grassington, spent much time and energy in bringing together casual local finds from the area, which for some time were housed in his private museum. The material excavated by the committee for long lay neglected in the Reading Room, and was eventually housed by Mr. Crowther in his museum, though the material was sadly mixed and broken up. During the last few years of Mr. Crowther's life the writer spent much time in systematising his collections and notes, getting the specimens accurately located, and selecting those which were fully documented, for description and record. Some time before his death Mr. Crowther passed over the bulk of his collections to the newly-formed Craven Museum at Skipton, where it was possible

to display for the first time much of the material from the 1893 excavations, and the objects subsequently added. Now that these collections are at last fully catalogued, and a large number of new records obtained for the area, the confirmation of the detailed mapping by the air survey provides material for a fuller record than has hitherto been possible.

Reference to the plan, Fig. 1, will indicate the general nature of the earthworks. It is clear that in general terms they consist of a network of stone and turf " balks " or banks, dividing the area into a large number of approximately oblong fields lying roughly north-east to south-west. Study of the plan shows that there are three main types or groups of enclosure present—(*a*) the very regular oblong fields on High Close (" Borrans ") and Sweetside, the highest ground of the area; (*b*) a group south of Bank Lane, smaller, and including both square and circular enclosures, and less regular in general plan; (*c*) the traces of large, roughly square fields on Lea Green, occasionally with very irregular oval or circular enclosures within them. Besides these groups there are among other features of detail three large barrows, two in the first group of fields and one on Lea Green; frequent portions of roadways winding among the fields; and at the north end of Lea Green a group of hutments surrounded by a rough stone wall, and marked site A on the plan. Among the fields are many small circular enclosures that have been described, probably correctly, as " hut circles."

In the first group the fields are orientated north-east to south-west and are roughly comparable in size over the whole group, about 350ft. to 400ft. in length by 75ft. wide. The balks between the fields are very well preserved and vary up to 5ft. high. Although there are several hut circles in this group, none of them have provided remains that would fix their date. In the midst of these fields and on a prominent high ridge are two tumuli (T^1 and T^2), but none of the balks impinge on them or have datable relation to them. Trial trenches have been made across the balks in several places and reveal the same structure everywhere, a small core of loam or turf and large stones, usually set directly on the subsoil, and a covering of turves and smaller stone rubble. There is no trace so far of anything resembling coursed masonry. In three cases fragments of pottery were obtained in the upper turf part of the bank, being a few fragments of mortaria of rough cream ware, and part of a rim of early second-century type coarse ware, with a few sherds of doubtful date. No pottery was obtained from



Air photo. of Fields, Hut Circles, and portions of Road at South end of Lea Green.

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the core of the walling anywhere. In the central area of the field, in three cases, fragments of coarse Samian ware and grey turned ware were obtained, which agree well in type with those from the bank.

In the second group the enclosures form much smaller, nearly square fields, with at least nine circular enclosures, six of which are probably hut circles. This area suggests very strongly a village settlement, possibly the residential quarters of the community which cultivated the first group of fields. A few finds have been made in this area, again of small sherds of coarse pottery, but a systematic excavation is needed, and this seems the most promising site in the whole district. The plan of this part is strikingly reminiscent of many village sites in Westmorland and parts of Scotland of proved Romano-British age. (The plan is almost identical, for instance, with the well-known Ewe Close village, Westmorland, figured by Collingwood, *Arch. Roman Britain*, 1930, p. 156.)

Along Lea Green and the lower slopes of Sweetside the enclosures are again different in character, the fields are far larger, 200ft. to 300ft. wide and 500ft. long, and orientated more nearly east and west. The balks are much slighter than in the other areas, and have less stone in them. Several of the fields have smaller enclosures, 50ft. to 100ft. diameter, mostly oval or slightly irregular. At the north end of Lea Green is the village site A, which was partly excavated in 1893 and re-examined between 1924 and 1927. In the middle of Lea Green is the largest of the tumuli, with a field balk passing very close alongside, but again having no relationship with it.

These areas together form the most imposing area of " Celtic lynchets " in the north of England and can be matched in type by many in the south that have been closely studied in recent years, and proved to belong to the late Iron Age and Romano-British period. Sufficient evidence has been obtained at Grassington to confirm the use of this area of lynchets in the second century A.D., and casual finds of pottery on the area other than site A extend the period from late Iron Age (possibly second century B.C.) to third century A.D.

Site A definitely belongs to the same range of date, the finds being exactly paralleled by those from the Romano-British occupation layers of the many caves in the Settle district and at Dowkerbottom cave, Wharfedale (for description and figures of Settle cave finds see Raistrick, Univ. Durham Phil. Soc., vol. ix, 1936,

pp. 191–204). Among metal objects from site A is the long-bladed and tanged iron knife (Fig. 2: 1–4), along with one knife with a broad triangular blade, exactly paralleled in the cave at present being excavated at Settle (the Jubilee Cave). Along with the iron knives is an iron sickle and a portion of a small iron pot, again comparable with those of the Romano-British site at Traprain Law. A carved bone spoon, bone pin, and a fragment of bone

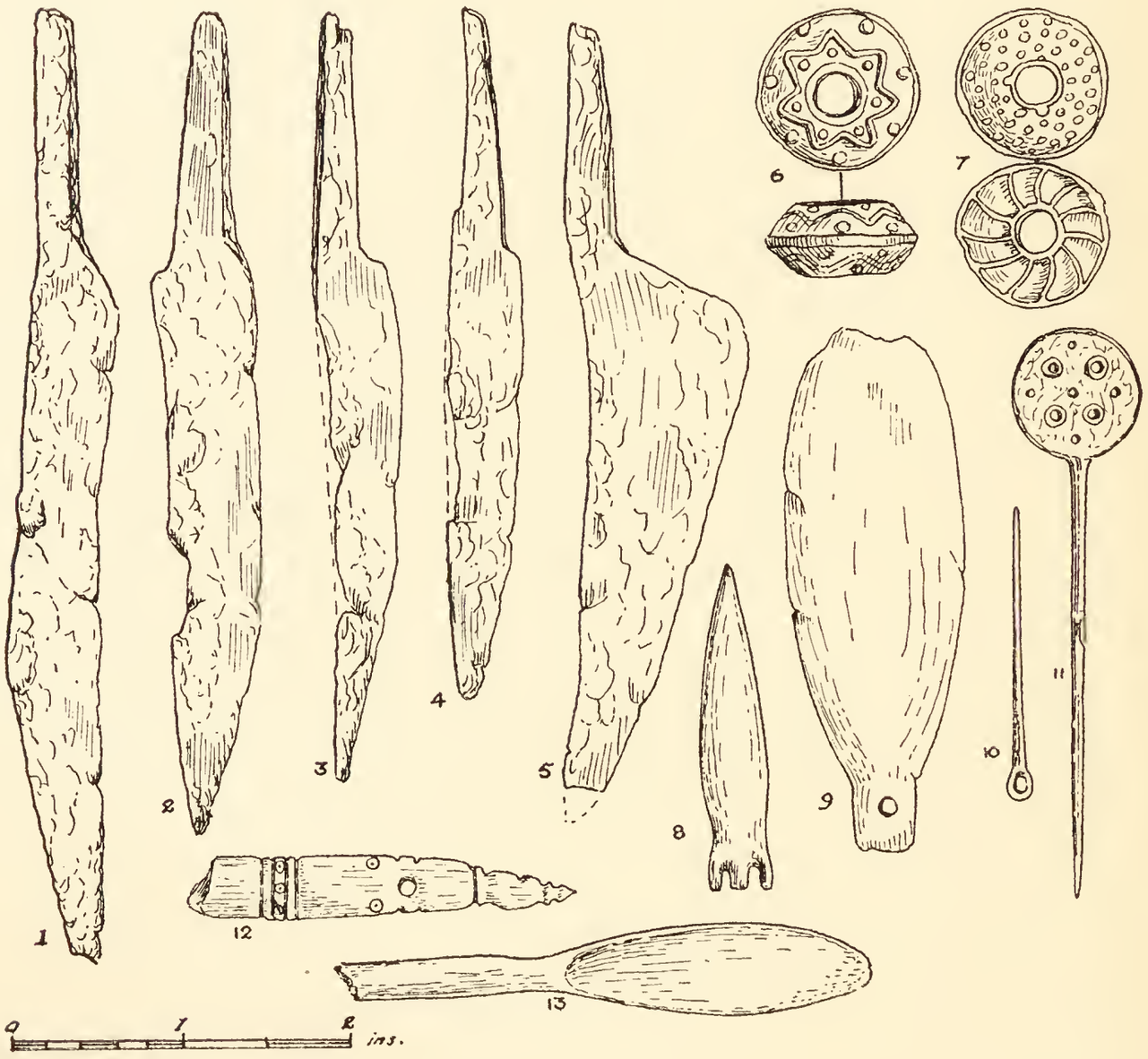


Fig. 2. Metal and bone objects from Lea Green.

decorated with parallel incised bands and several incised circles with a deep dot at the centre (Fig. 2: 12 and 13), correlate directly with the Settle cave sites. Bronze is represented by a pair of tweezers, a pin with eye hole, and a pin with disc head with perforations making an ornamental pattern (Fig. 2: 8, 10 and 11). In addition to several stone spindle whorls are two whorls of cast lead (Fig. 2: 6 and 7). The pottery, which was very abundant on the site, was mainly of early Roman type coarse black and grey

wares, but needs a detailed description.[1] Among the wealth of early second-century material is a goodly proportion of other objects, usually associated with Iron Age sites: flints, rough pounding stones, a quern of beehive top stone type, a large number of whetstones, etc., which are directly comparable with finds from many sites in the south of England dated as Iron Age, from second century B.C. to second or third century A.D. We have, then, in site A a village of Iron Age type which seems to have come in close contact with second-century Romanising influences. There is a clear need for further critical excavations in this area.

Within the area of the lynchets two other groups of objects need separate description—(*a*) the tumuli, and (*b*) a wealth of surface finds of flint implements.

(*a*) Of the tumuli, T^1 and T^3 are Iron Age, possibly even contemporary with the lynchets, while T^2 is of Bronze Age. T^2 was excavated many years ago by Rev. Bailey Harker, and yielded a fine beaker of Abercromby's type β, along with a crouched skeleton burial. In the grave along with the beaker was a small piece of polished green stone, described by Prof. Dawkins as an impure "jade," but never analysed or sectioned. The beaker was figured in the *Y.A.J.*, xxix, 1929, and has since been restored by the British Museum experts, and is now exhibited in the Craven Museum. The barrows T^1 and T^3 are very different in character and content, being low circular mounds of large diameter. Each contained multiple burials within a double ring of loosely piled stones, the graves being set mainly towards the periphery of the mound and containing crouched skeletons. From the graves of T^3 were obtained four iron knives exactly like those from site A, a bronze razor (Fig. 2: 9), bronze pin, and a patterned bone pin. These are typical late Iron Age barrows and may well belong to the people who cultivated the lynchets and occupied the village sites.

(*b*) The surface finds of flint implements have been unusually rich over the area, particularly of Lea Green, and the very beautiful suite of Bronze Age types of flint arrow points suggests a very considerable use of the area during that period. In the Grass Woods adjoining are several hut circles of late Bronze Age type, but nothing except these surface finds and the barrow T^2 has been recognised of Bronze Age on the lynchet areas. The flints come mainly from Lea Green, and form two natural groups. There are many large and rather irregular roughly-chipped flints, with occasional finely

[1] Miss M. Kitson Clark has recently examined much of this pottery, now in the Craven Museum, and her report will be awaited with interest.

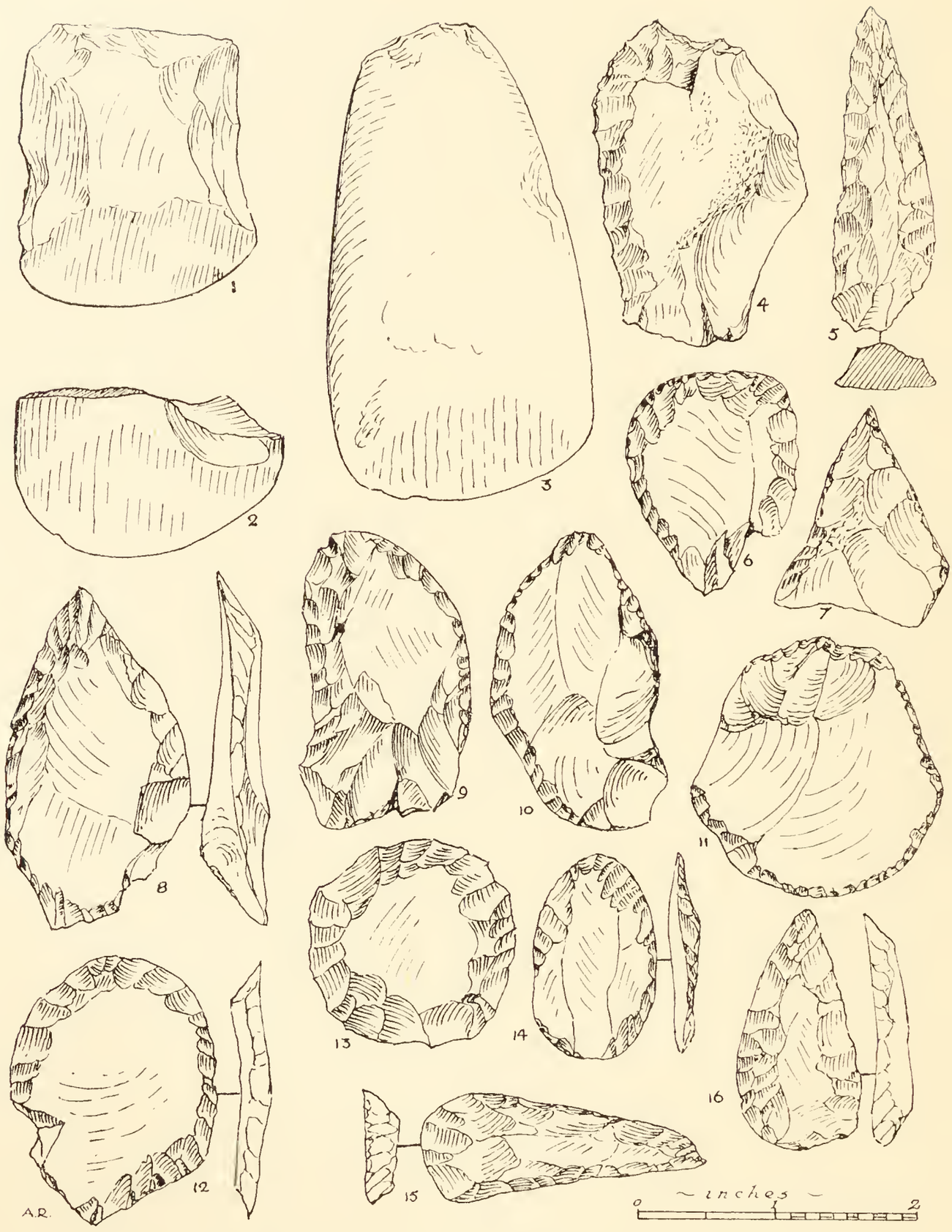


Fig. 3. "Neolithic" stone and flint implements from Lea Green.

worked edges, of "neolithic" type (Fig. 3: 4–16), and along with these a well-made greenstone polished celt and portions of two others (Fig. 3: 1, 2 and 3). A large fragment of roughly-chipped flint has been polished on one side to give a long, curved cutting edge, rather like the stone fragment Fig. 3: 1. These "neolithic" flints are, however, fairly abundant over most of upper Wharfedale, and can be matched from almost any area in the district. They are

accompanied by huge quantities of chips and fragments of flint, of crude workmanship, sometimes with secondary chipping to shape them into a usable tool, but none that might not belong to almost any age of flint users. The second group is the very fine set of arrow points, seen in Fig. 4: 2–25. It will be seen without detailed description that this series runs from very well-made leaf-

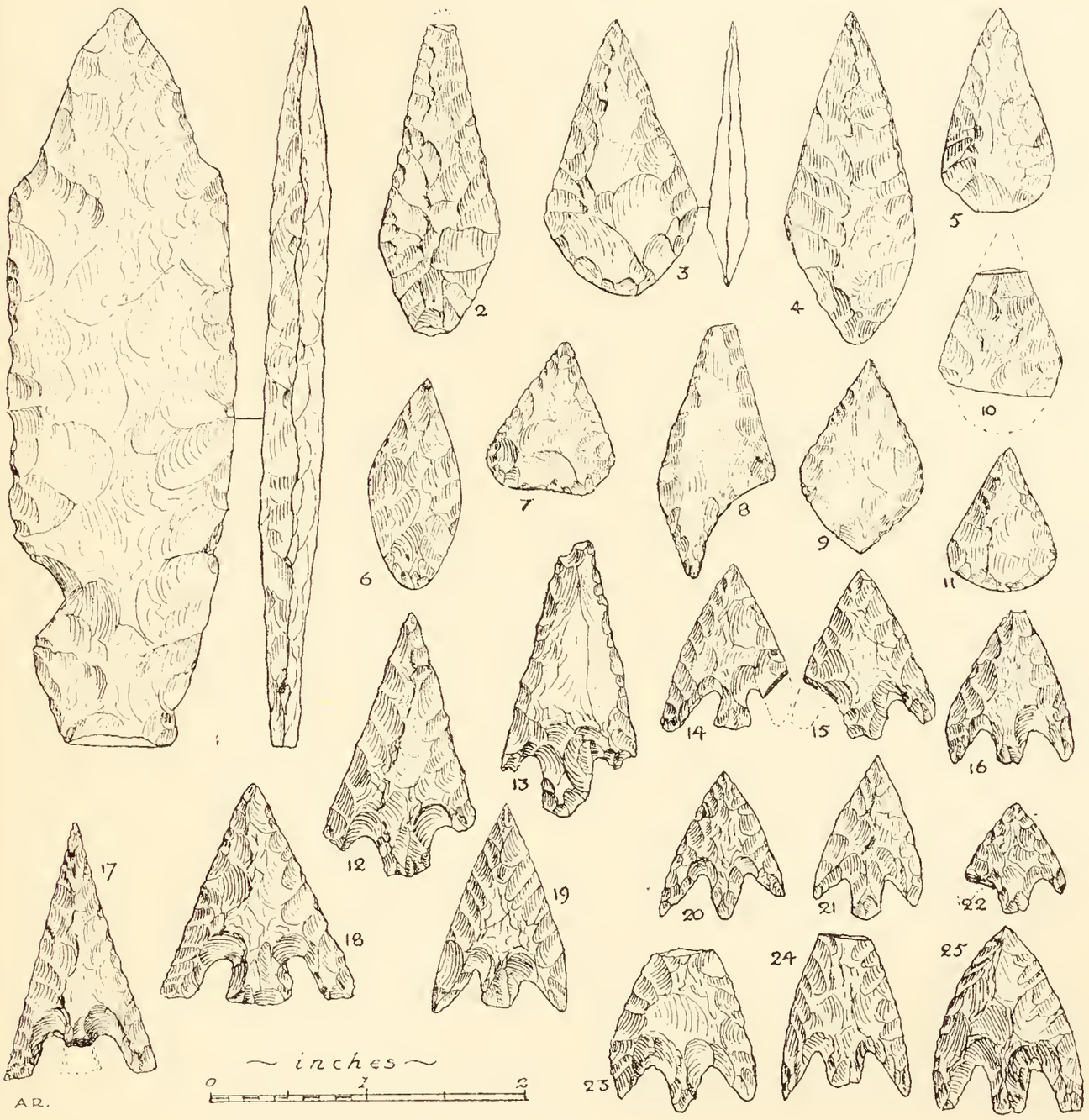


Fig. **4.** Flint arrow points from Lea Green.

shaped arrow points, often quoted as late neolithic, through a variety of barbed and tanged points of definitely Bronze Age type. Only one single barbed point is present (Fig. 4: 8), while the two-barbed points form sub groups, 12, 13, 17 and 18 with beautifully straight sides (17 and 18 with barbs and tang the same length), and the rest of them, 14–16 and 19–25, with curved sides. All the points figured have come from the area of the lynchets, and

suggest a very complete Bronze Age occupation of the area. The spear point (Fig. 4: 1) comes not from the area of lynchets, but from Grassington village, and was found some years ago on the line of Scar Street. It is a very beautiful shouldered spear, and worthy of record along with the other Bronze Age flints.

It will be agreed from the outline record of this area, given above, that a full description and discussion could only be based on further fairly extensive and critical excavations, and that such excavation is a desirable object within the next few years. Areas of similar lynchets are fairly common in upper Wharfedale and in parts of the other dales of W. Yorkshire, but none offers so complete a picture as this at Grassington.

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THE CASTLE AND THE TOLBOOTH.

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DISPUTE IN KNARESBOROUGH.

By W. A. Atkinson.

In the sixth edition, p. 32, of Hargrove's *History of Knaresbrough*, issued in 1809, the following statement occurs:

"A.D. 1590. From length of time, and the shocks that this castle had sustained in ancient wars, it was found to stand in need of considerable repairs. This service was begun and completed under the direction of Henry Slingsby, esq., who held the castle and barbican, by lease from the queen. The expenses attending these repairs, were, by an order of George, earl of Cumberland, then steward of the honor of Knaresbrough, to be paid, according to ancient custom, by the foresters alone, and that they only should bear the whole, by a fair and equal assessment; and that the freeholders, and inhabitants of the soke and liberty of Knaresbrough, should not be charged with any part thereof."

Quoting this passage, though not quite literally, in a footnote on p. 221 of his history of *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, Mr. Wheater, after describing it as "a circumstance not made clear by original evidence," adds—"This is startling information if to be relied upon; the 'Pipe Roll' charges 'the King's works within the castle' upon the domain."

Hargrove's statement, however strange it may have appeared to Mr. Wheater, is so clear and circumstantial that we can hardly doubt that it was based upon good, if not original, evidence. I have long suspected that Hargrove had access to some sources of information which various later historians have missed. The investigation of the statement quoted above has not only proved that such was the case, and that Hargrove made use of information obtained from the Slingsby muniments, but has revealed a strange and instructive story of conflicting interests and purposes in Knaresborough and the surrounding district during the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.[1]

[1] Since this paragraph was written I have had occasion to consult the copy of Slingsby's *Diary* in the Y.A.S. Library, having previously used my own copy only. In the former there is pasted a letter written by

There is good evidence that by the middle of that reign various parts of Knaresborough castle were falling into neglect and decay. In 1537 it was named as one of the fortresses "to be repaired for the rule within the land and to receive the King in person when his pleasure [shall be],"[1] and in the following year it was surveyed under Henry, first Earl of Cumberland, who was then steward of the Honour of Knaresborough, and the "requisites for repairs" were stated to be 118 oaks, 17 (? 71) fothers of lead, 700 quarters of lime, and an unspecified number of tons of stone and tons of iron.[2] The castle was then in the charge of a gentleman "porter" or "janitor," with a deputy-porter probably in residence; but the watch kept over it was not sufficiently strict to prevent on one occasion in the reign of Henry VIII the theft of twenty pounds of the King's money, which the deputy-receiver of the Honour had locked up in one of the great chests in the castle.[3]

A second survey was made in 1561,[4] when Peter Slingsby was gentleman porter. From this survey we learn that "y^{e} ring wall" of the castle was in good repair, a fact which enables us the better to understand how it could be garrisoned nearly a hundred years later, and could successfully resist attack until siege pieces were brought against it. But throughout this survey there is evidence that most of the buildings within the circuit of the walls were in need of much repair, especially to their roofs. Close upon other thirty years elapsed before Henry Slingsby, eldest surviving son of Francis Slingsby, took in hand the repairs referred to by Hargrove.

The account which the deputy-receiver gave of the theft from the castle shows quite clearly the main use to which the castle was put at that time, and, indeed, from that time onwards to the present, except for the brief reversion to military uses during the Civil War. It was the treasury, or "receipt," and courthouse of the Honour of Knaresborough, the headquarters of the administrative business of the Forest on the south side of the river Nidd, of the Liberty and Soke on the north of the river, and to some extent of the Borough of Knaresborough.

the editor of the *Diary*, the Rev. Daniel Parsons, M.A., to a friend in 1853, in which he says:

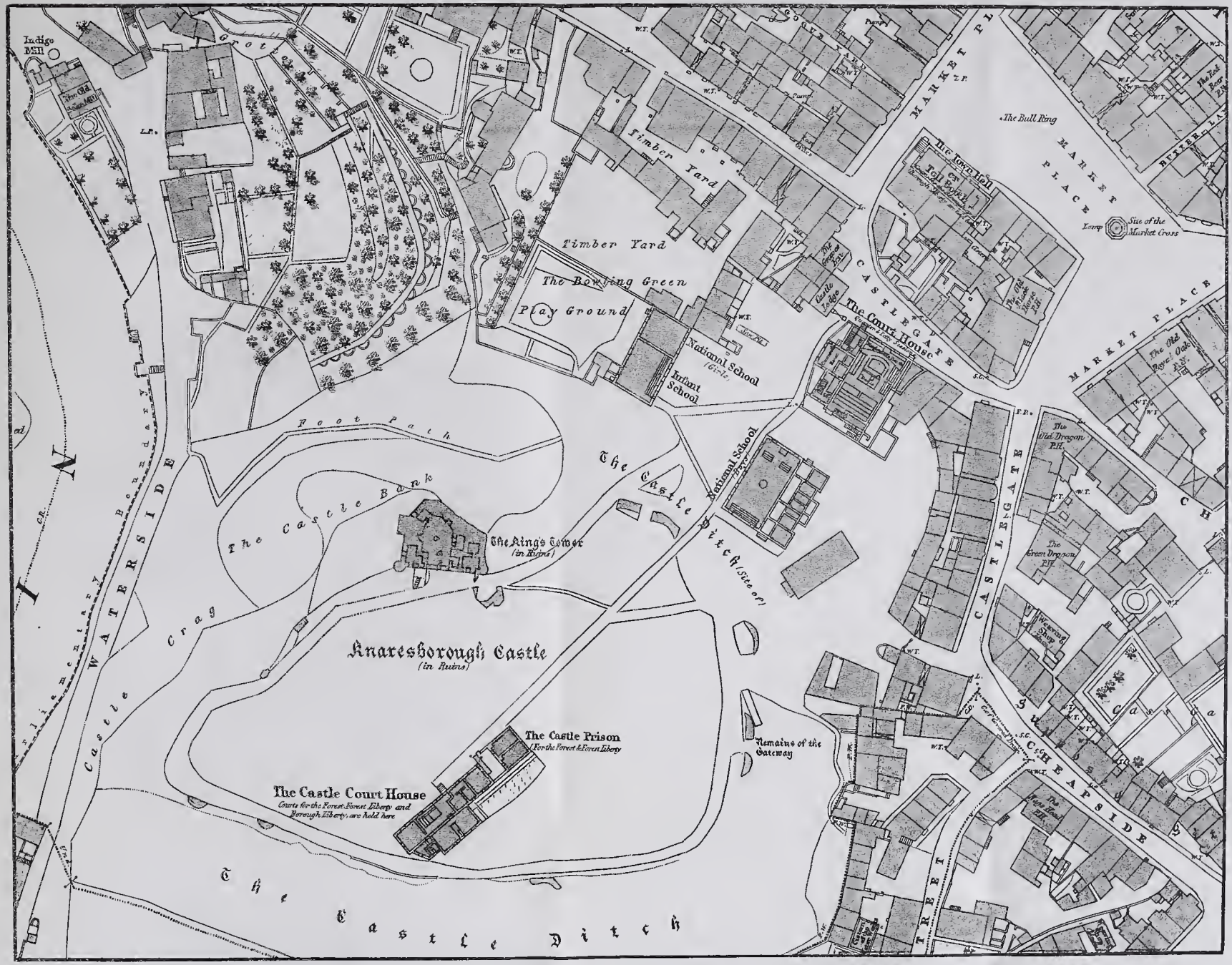
"I recommend to you, as quite the best piece of Topography in the shape of a Guide that I know, Hargrove's *Knaresborough*..... It was done by a gentleman. Hargrove put his own name on it. And I recommend an *old* edition not later than 1809."

[1] *Letters & Dom. Papers, Hen. VIII*, vol. xii, pt. i, p. 423.

[2] *L. & Dom. P., Hen. VIII*, vol. xiii, pt. i, p. 8. *Cf. Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxx, 221–4.

[3] Speight: *Nidderdale* (1894), pp. 286–287.

[4] Slingsby's *Diary*, ed. Parsons, pp. 239–243.



THE CASTLE GROUNDS AND MARKET PLACE, KNARESBOROUGH, 1849.

[Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, and printed by John Whitehead & Son Ltd., Alfred Street, Leeds.]

In the survey of 1538 there is no mention of any special court or courthouse. The castle keep is described simply as a keep, in some decay but still strong, containing "chambers and lodgings . . . . called The King's Hall," a chapel, and sundry other places, one of which may have been a "treasure house." Other buildings within the circuit of the walls were a hall with its buttery, pantry, and cellars, an armoury, and "The Resayt with lodgings and chambers adjoining thereunto viz. two heghtes of timber and plaster and sclayte [slate], and aither story or heght cont[aining] three lodgings."[1]

In the later survey it is stated that the courts were held in the hall on the first floor of the keep, the "King's Hall" of the earlier survey, and that:

> "in the same [are] one table wth a forme and a barr of wood within y^{e} w^{ch} the courtes be kept."

And it is also stated that the auditor was "wont to keep his audit" in the apartment underneath this hall. In close proximity, probably within the keep itself, were a record room, two prisons independent of the dungeon, and a porter's lodge containing a pair of stocks. It would appear, therefore, that at that time the administrative and judicial work was transacted in the keep, on the ground and first floors; and it may be that it was with the object of more completely isolating these apartments that the upper steps in the inner turret, which would give access from the room on the second floor and from the outer turret, were cut away.[2]

What the courts were which were held in the castle, the survey does not say. They were primarily the great Court Leet and the manorial courts, of which there were at one time four, it is said—the courts of the Forest, the Forest Liberty, the Borough Liberty and Soke, and the Borough; but the term need not be restricted to these, seeing that the castle would then be the largest and most convenient place in Knaresborough for the session of any court, judicial or manorial. Fortunately, it is not necessary for us to attempt to define the origin, venue, and powers of the four courts named; it is sufficient for the present to say that all of them, with the exception of the Borough Court, which will be dealt with later, were normally held in some part of the castle as long as they were held at all—that is to say until the war and recent legislation made an end of them.

There does not appear to be any detailed account of the repairs

[1] *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxx, 222.

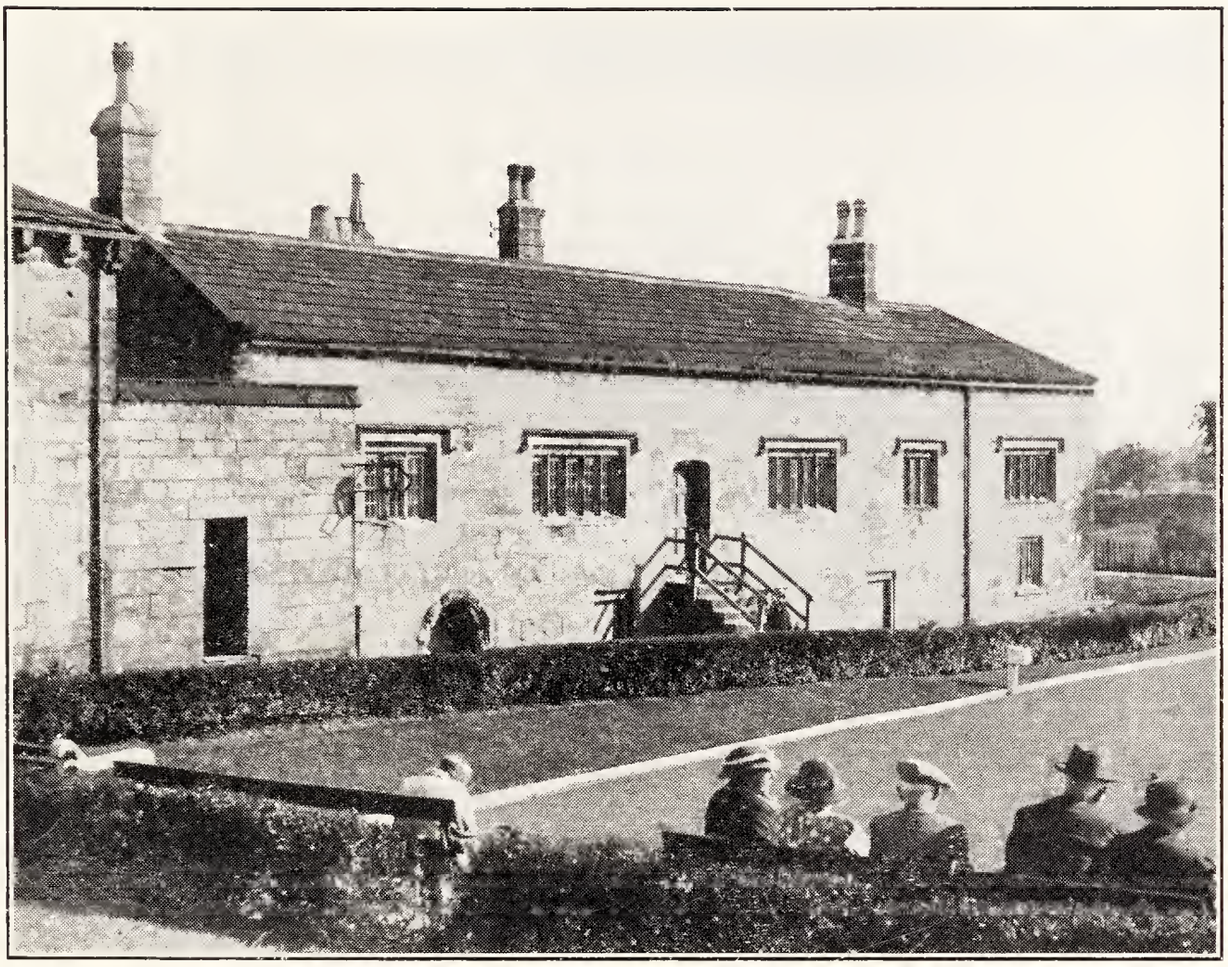
[2] Slingsby's *Diary*, p. 241. *Cf.* *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxi, 115.

which Henry Slingsby effected in the castle, according to Hargrove, in 1590, nor do we know whether he acted under any instructions or not. There is nothing in the existing ruins to point to extensive "repairs" at that time. But within the circuit of the walls there is a building approximately of that date; and piecing together such fragments of evidence as we have been able to collect, we are led inductively to the conclusion that the repairs were made in that building, and amounted in fact to a reconstruction.

The building is known as the Old Courthouse or the Castle Courthouse. It stands, whole and detached, near the centre of the castle grounds, overlooking the bowling-green, and it is still used as the local office, registry, and record room of the Duchy of Lancaster. The main part of the building is of late Elizabethan character, and has mullioned windows to the upper floor, which is reached by a few outside steps. Close inspection will show that it is only the middle part of the whole range—the door and the two windows on each side of it—which is of this date. The ends of the block and the room projecting from the back are later additions. Other alterations of the Elizabethan building may also be traced. The roof and the upper courses of the wall are newer than the work below. The window and the doors in the basement, with one exception, are recent. The exception, an arched and moulded doorway near the northern corner, half-buried in the accumulated soil, is much older than the rest, and is, in fact, contemporary with the castle keep. It shows that the site was occupied by older buildings, some part of which, probably the whole of the basement, was incorporated in the Elizabethan reconstructions. Measurements suggest that this older building was the "Receivers Lodging," mentioned in the 1561 survey as being "in apparance threescore foote in length [and] in breadth xv." This building, the survey states, was "made with timber and covered with slate," and the slate "had need of repaire." The description probably indicates a building having the ground floor of stone surmounted by a timber-framed story, since the arched and moulded doorway in the basement rather negatives the idea of a building timbered throughout.[1]

This was the building which in all probability Henry Slingsby repaired some thirty years after this survey was made. There is indirect evidence that his work did not stop at repairs, but was virtually reconstruction. Sir Henry Slingsby, baronet, son of Henry, relates in his diary that early in the Civil War (in 1642 in fact) he accompanied General Ruthven on a journey from York

[1] *Cf. Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxi, 127.



The Old Courthouse, Knaresborough,
from the North.



The Town Hall, Knaresborough,
from the North.

to Skipton. When they arrived at Knaresborough, Slingsby learned from his tenants that Lord Fairfax intended to put a Parliamentary garrison into the castle that night, and he decided at once to forestall that move by occupying the castle himself. He obtained the keys, had a bed carried in, and slept there. The same evening, however, Sir Richard Hutton arrived with a commission in due form to hold the castle for the King, and Sir Henry slept there only one night. He says expressly that he occupied "that rome & lodging that was built by my father & where I had lain when I was very young being sent for by my father."[1] Hargrove suggests that this earlier lodging in the castle was probably at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, or rather, we should infer, during the scare created by the discovery of the plot. The diarist was born in January, 1601–2, and Hargrove's conjecture seems a reasonable one. These considerations suggest that the "repair" which Henry Slingsby, the elder, effected consisted mainly in taking down, and re-building in more durable materials, the upper story of the old Receiver's Lodgings.

Though this upper story is now, and long has been, a court-room, there is no evidence that Slingsby rebuilt it with this use in view. The evidence points rather to the fact that it still remained a residence, or "lodging," and it is probable that it was the only part of the castle in which anyone might then lodge in convenience and comfort. The present arrangement of the interior can hardly have been the original one. There is only one old entrance to the court-room, and the eastern end of that room is now completely cut off to form a muniment-room to which there is no entrance except from the modern additions to the building. Something in the nature of a long apartment, divided by a central corridor or "screen," is what we may perhaps infer the original arrangement to have been. On the ground floor there is a wide open fireplace, such as a residential hall would have, but hardly suited to the basement of a courthouse.

In one of the numerous account books of the Slingsby family there is a record of £6 10*s.* 0*d.* being set aside in 1605 "for the diett of litle Mr. William at the Castle." Little master William was the eldest son of Henry Slingsby, repairer of the castle. He was killed at Florence in his sixteenth year, and his younger brother, the diarist, eventually succeeded to the estates. It will be observed that this was about the time of the Gunpowder Plot, when, as we have inferred, the future diarist was lodged for a while in that

[1] *Diary*, p. 81, and footnote.

room in the castle which his father had built. The two children were apparently there together. Other accounts show that they were under the care of their father's uncle, William Slingsby, now generally identified as the man who first brought the medicinal waters of Harrogate to public notice. In September, 1605, William Slingsby made his will, in which he is said to be of Bilton Park. In the following August, Henry Slingsby, by that time knighted, wrote a note to Marmaduke Coghill, the steward of the castle courts, in which note he says that a certain book is in the study at the castle, and that his uncle can give it to the steward.[1] Putting together these scraps of evidence, it seems fairly certain that, about fifteen years after the castle was repaired by Henry Slingsby, his two eldest sons, young children under the guardianship of their great-uncle, William Slingsby, were temporarily lodged for safety in the castle, and that they occupied some part of a building which Henry had repaired, which was in all probability that which is now known as the Old Courthouse, the courts being then, however, still held in the castle keep.

As already stated, the Borough Court was an exception. We must now look into its history. The Honour of Knaresborough was one of the dignities showered upon Henry, the eldest son of James the First, when he was created Prince of Wales in 1610. In the following year a commission was appointed by the Prince to make a survey of the ancient customs of Knaresborough and Scriven. This commission was presided over by Sir Oliver Cromwell, Master of His Highness's Game, and uncle of the famous Protector, whence has arisen much confusion among later historians as to the number of occasions when the latter was in Knaresborough. Sir William Fleetwood, Sir Henry Slingsby, kt. [the janitor and repairer of the castle), Sir William Ingleby, and Richard Hutton (serjeant-at-law), by reason of the various offices which they held, were also on the commission; while among the jurors were Peter Benson, four Roundells, Matthew Henlock, Peter Keighley, and as many more, whose names are of frequent occurrence in the local history of the time.[2] As part of their verdict they say:

> "The Borough Court about twenty years since was kept in a house in the said borough, called the Cockhill House; and before that time it was kept by Mr. Burnand, being the bailiff of the said Court, in a parcel of waste, called the Weaver's

[1] Slingsby MSS., in the custody of the Knaresborough Urban Council.

[2] Calvert: *Hist. of Knaresbrough* (1844), p. 146. Hargrove: *The Ancient Customs of the Forest of Knaresbrough* (1808), p. 72.

Shops; and long before that time it seemeth the same was kept in a house sold by the said Burnand to one Thompson, which house is now in the tenure of Thomas Nickson, for which to be the court house, and the king's house. Peter Benson, one of the jury, hath seen and read an ancient account, whereof it makes mention of money disbursed upon that house by the then lord of the Manor, nameing the court house; which account was in the keeping of Francis Slingsby, esquire, father to the said Sir Henry Slingsby; and the said court hath of late been kept in a house claimed by Sir Henry, called by the burgesses the Toll Booth, but where the same of right ought to be kept we cannot certainly set down."[1]

This clause supplies a key to much investigation. Its concluding words, we may say at once, while appearing only to express a doubt, in all probability really veil a dispute. What is quite clear from the jurors' presentment is that the Borough Court in 1611 was held in the Tolbooth, to which it had been removed from Cockhill House about twenty years earlier (that is about 1590)—whether rightly or wrongly the jurors could not, or would not, say.

This commission not only investigated the customs of the town, but it also enquired into the holdings and tenancies of the demesnes of the castle, including the burgages and wastes of the town. The jurors' "presentments" have come down to us,[2] and constitute a full and careful survey of the utmost interest, though, apparently, they have been hitherto neglected locally, except for the special purpose of establishing burgage votes in parliamentary elections. While the "customs" have been printed once or twice, chiefly on account of their statements in regard to copyhold fines and other manorial incidents, the corresponding surveys have never been published, so far as I am aware.

With the help of these surveys we are able to elucidate a good deal of the account of the Borough Court given in the foregoing quotation from the "customs." We learn first and foremost (of which there is other and better evidence) that the Tolbooth stood on the south side of the Market Place, into which it opened, and that it was in fact on the site of the present Town Hall, built in 1862. "Cockpitt Hill," a name long since forgotten, was to the rear, or south of it. Guided by the personal names Nickson and Burnand, we can trace with a fair amount of certainty the site of one of the earlier places in which the Borough Court was held;

[1] *Op. cit.*: Calvert, p. 154; Hargrove, pp. 52–53.

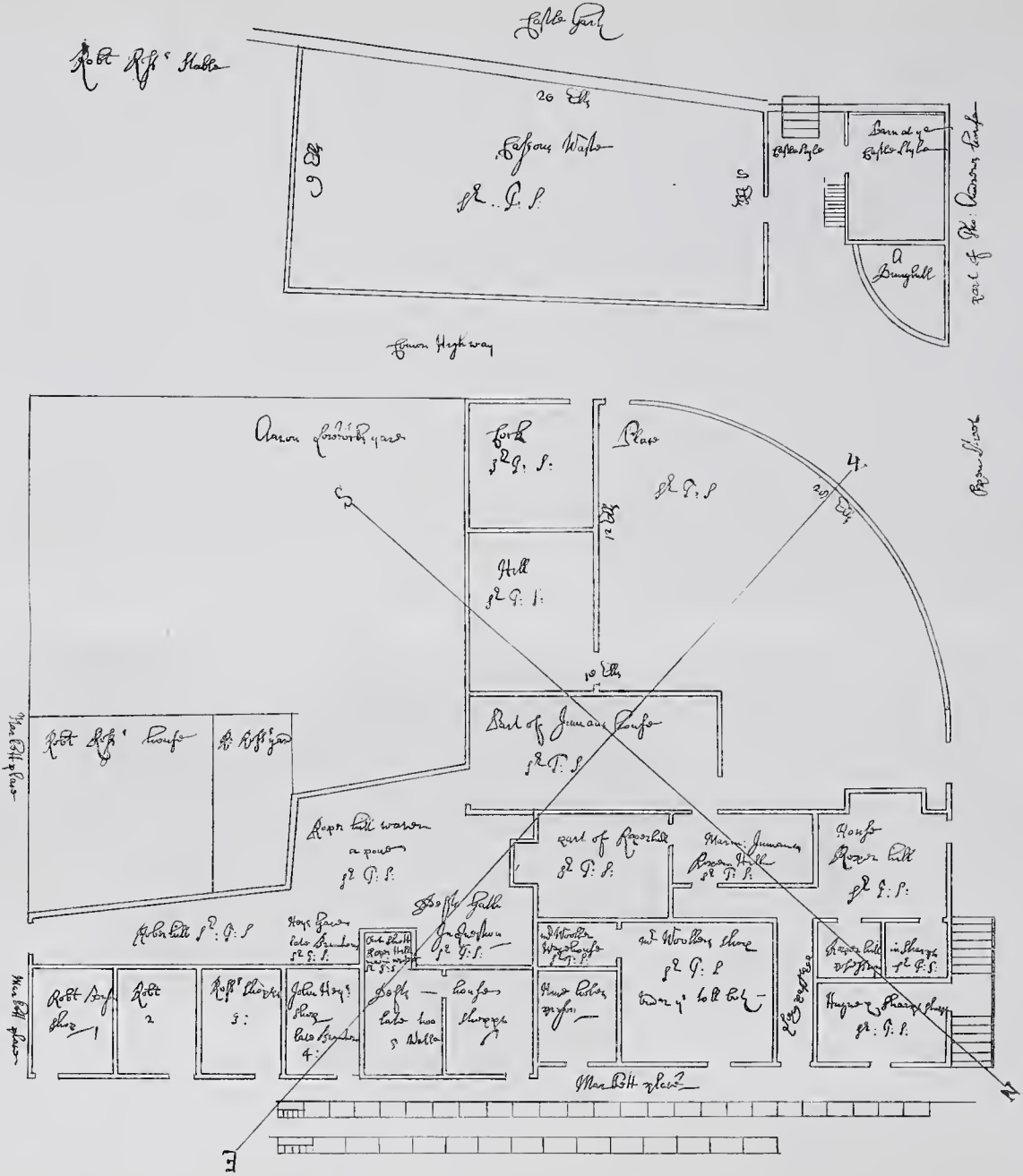
[2] *Ministerial Accounts in the Duchy Office*: MS. copy, Slingsby Papers.

and it seems very probable that the Urban District Council of Knaresborough has by a fortunate chance built its present offices on a site where the Borough Courts were held before, and perhaps long before, the first Tolbooth was erected. This, however, is to some extent speculative, and in any case carries us back to a period which antedates the particular history which we are trying to unravel.

It was in the reign of Philip and Mary that the first definite steps were taken for the provision of a permanent courthouse or Tolbooth. At a meeting of the Borough Court in January, 1555–6, a jury of thirteen tenants measured a certain piece of copyhold land, called Cock Place, which may have been at one time a cock-pit, and agreed that it should be granted to Richard Redshaw, upon condition that he should make provision for a courthouse upon it. The agreement is so curious and important that it is worth recording in its original form. The jurors "Saithe vpon there othes that a certeyne place called the Cok place conteyneth by measure hadd and maide by the said Jurye in compas about the skirte of the hill fowerteen elles everye Waye, w^{ch} wee are all contented w^{t}hall that Richard Redshawe shoulde fyne for the same by our whole consente and assente payinge to o^{r} soveraygne Lord the Kinge and the Queene one yearly rent to be assessed or rated by the discretion of M^{r} Auditor and other officers there and to builde vpon the same at his pleasure allwayes reservinge for o^{r} soveraigne Lord and Lady the Kinge and the Queene one house or place convenient in and vpon the same for the Keepinge of the Borough Courte and allso a house or a place for to imprison and punishe offendors and euell dooers, and that the said Richard shall have allwayes one paire of sufficient stockϱ w^{t}hin the same house for punishm^{t} of offendors, and this is o^{r} whole verditt and agreem^{t}." [1] And thereupon proclamation was thrice made that the Cock Place was to be thus granted, upon which the said Redshaw came forward and took the ground from the aforesaid lord and lady, the King and the Queen, upon those terms and at an annual rent of eightpence, with fealty and suit of court, according to the usual customs, paying also an entrance fine of three shillings and fourpence.

Whether Redshaw put any new buildings on the site or not is uncertain. There may have been some building on the Cock Place which was convenient for a courthouse, and may, indeed, have

[1] Copy of Court Roll in *Liber de Henrico Slingesbye*, fol. 29—a MS. volume of copies of miscellaneous records among the Slingsby muniments.



"A MAPP OF ROPER HILL" (*ca.* 1685).
[The site of the Town Hall, Knaresborough.]

been already used for that purpose; in which case the proceedings in the Borough Court were simply a means of defining Redshaw's obligations and making sure of a permanent place of sessions. The declaration made by the jurors in 1611, that the Borough Court about twenty years before that date had been kept in a house called Cockhill House, may be taken as evidence that Redshaw fulfilled his obligations, whether he built or simply reserved a courthouse.

The position of this courthouse can be fixed within very narrow limits, and it is necessary that this should be done, in order to understand what follows. The Town Hall of Knaresborough and its contiguous buildings occupy an island-site on the southern side of the Market Place, which covers roughly three of the fronts of the site—the north, east, and west—the fourth or southern front being defined by Castlegate, with the modern Sessions House and Police Station across the way. The Town Hall occupies the extreme north-western corner of the site, according to this approximate arrangement of the cardinal points. Though this end of the site is relatively narrow from back to front, and as level as it well can be, an old plan, dating from the later years of the seventeenth century, shows us that it was anciently divided into two "hills" —Cock Place Hill to the south and Roper Hill to the north.[1] Certain measurements recorded on the plan, totalling 58 ells as against the 56 ells granted to Redshaw, show us that it was only the Cock Place Hill that was measured out for him. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that Cockhill House occupied a site at the back of the present Town Hall, a site now overlooked by the front windows of the Police Station. From other sources we learn that the site of the Town Hall on Roper Hill was then occupied by a house known as Horner House.[2] And, though it does not immediately concern our subject, it is interesting to learn that to the east of Horner House, and fronting the main part of the Market Place, there were, as there still are, six shops standing on a copyhold site which had belonged to the dissolved House of St. Robert.

By the year 1590 practically the whole of Cock Place Hill and Roper Hill had come into the possession of Francis Slingsby, mainly by surrenders from Redshaw's grandson, Francis Casson, and another copyholder named Moore. Francis Slingsby was then about 68 years of age, and probably much engaged on national affairs in the Border country. Henry, his son, was about 30, and was busy in local affairs. He or they resolved to build a new court-

[1] Plan among the Slingsby MSS. [2] Slingsby MSS.

house for the borough. According to an account drawn up about seventy years later, the erection of this new courthouse was undertaken " upon y^e^ desire of y^e^ Justices of y^e^ Peace, his [*i.e.* Francis Slingsby's] associates, & the Burrowmen of Knaresbrough (who at that time wanted a fitt place for their publick meetings . . .)."[1] This statement is supported by the evidence which Peter Benson gave to a Jury of Inquisition in 1634, that " y^e^ said Toll booth was builded, as well for y^e^ use of y^e^ inhabitants of Knaresbrough as for y^e^ country, for an house, a prison, & a wool markett."[1] It was built, therefore, for the same purpose as Redshaw's earlier courthouse, with this addition, apparently, that the local Justices of the Peace had joined in the application, in order that they might also use the courthouse for their sessions; and it is probably to them that Peter Benson refers when he uses the word " country."

Though the Slingsbys paid all the workmen's wages when they pulled down Horner House and set up the new building on its site, there is evidence that much of the general cost was shared by others. Peter Benson stated that he and the other inhabitants of Knaresborough had contributed, and that Lord Fairfax, Sir W. Ingleby, and other gentlemen had given wood and money.[1] A proclamation issued by the Duchy even advances a claim, on behalf of the Queen, that the house was built " partely by oure charges, but chiefly at the coste and charges of the Bailiff and Burgesses " of Knaresborough, the bailiff being at that time Henry Slingsby.[2]

Of the courthouse itself much information can still be gathered. In size, plan, and arrangement it was very similar to the present Town Hall. The main room, the place of meeting, was on the upper floor, and was reached by a flight of steps outside the western end, where the covered entrance now is. Beneath this hall, on the ground floor, were two or three separate apartments, fronting the main part of the Market Place. The one at the corner nearest the steps was originally a dwelling, into which Francis Slingsby put an old servant, William Bullock, and his wife, Ann, probably as caretakers, since it is stated that they paid no rent. At a later time it was converted into a shop. At the end of the block farthest from the stairs was the prison, consisting of two lock-up cells, one perhaps a little less wretched than the other, and colloquially known as the " Nine Holes " and the " Small Ease." Beyond the prison were the " Six Shops " already referred to, which, however,

[1] Slingsby MSS.
[2] Original mandate, or " warrant," among the Slingsby MSS. *Vide infra*.

were no part of the Tolbooth. Within the latter was a little chamber, described as "the study." At the back of the building there were probably some out-buildings and a good deal of yard space, and then the ground southwards was probably quite open as far as the castle walls. Somewhere on the premises, in a prominent place like the foot of the steps, there would be the stocks.

Having built their courthouse, the Slingsbys were determined that it should be used. Henry Slingsby, who was a strong, hard-bargaining, litigious, but not dishonest or entirely ungenerous man, took the bold step of forbidding the holding of the Forest and Liberty Courts in the castle, his obvious intention being to force them to meet in the new Tolbooth. Thence arose a long and complicated contest. Unfortunately, we do not know all that happened in this contest; we see only a move or a countermove here and there; and we are left to fill in the gaps of the story as best we may. We do not quite know whether we see the beginning of it or not. There is a hint that the Foresters had sought, or were seeking, a revocation of Henry Slingsby's lease of the castle; and there may have been some friction between him and them before he took the drastic step of trying to exclude them from the castle.

The earliest hint of any attempt to remove the courts of the Forest and the Liberty to the new Tolbooth is found in a sort of certificate that the new courthouse is somewhat more convenient than the castle. The sheet of paper upon which it is written has been carefully preserved in an outer wrapping, which is endorsed as follows:

"Octob: 1592: Eliz. xxxiiij.

The Consente of div^{s} gentlemē & others Freeholders within the libertie of Knaresbroughe for the keepinge of the Courte of the Mannor within the newe builded Roome in the M^{r}kett place of Knaresbrō."

The folds of the sheet, notwithstanding this care, are much worn, and a small piece is torn out. The signatures are scrawled irregularly across the lower half of the sheet, and the writers' "marks" are frequently confused with the names added to them by another scribe; so that it is not possible to make sure of every name. Here is a copy of the declaration and its signatures, so far as they can be deciphered:

"Whearas their is a mislike emongst some of her Ma^{ties} Freeholders and Copiholders wthin the mannor of Knaresbroughe That the accustomed place of keepinge Court (w^{ch} hathe beene for div^{rs}

yeares nowe last past holden w^th^in the castell of Knaresbroughe aforesaid) should be altered and removed to a newe place erected and buylded for that purpos w^th^out the said Castell: Wee whose names are underwrytten do by these p'ñt^e^ certefie that this newe erected place to o^r^ iudgem^t^ is as convenient and seemlie for that use as the castell was, and rather more easefull for the sewters of the said court in that it is placed so neere the m'kett the Court beinge usuallie kept on the m'kett daye. In testemonie whereof we have subscribed o^r^ names the xx^th^ day of October in the xxxiiij^th^ yeare of her ma^tie^ that nowe ys 1592.

Thomas Tanckard
Mauger Vavasour
John Pulleyne
Samuell Pulleyn
Brian Stapylton
Edmunde Parkinson
Deerham
Francis Pulleyne
Henry dicconson m'k henrye freer
Peter Benson
Beckw^th^
Ralfe [?] [?] m'k
Thomas Palliser
John Smith
Ric Mawer
John M[otterbie ?—*torn*]
John thorpe
Peter Kighley
George Emonson
Willm Battye
John Busbye
lawrence Woodall
Thomas Slater
Thomas
Lowys marke
Willm
wryght m'ke"

The steward of the whole Honour of Knaresborough, under whom Henry Slingsby was nominally bailiff of the Liberty and of the Borough, was at that time George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, the illustrious navigator. The two men were rather closely related through their Percy alliances. The earl ordered, or allowed, the sum spent by Slingsby upon the repairs to the castle to be raised by an assessment upon the inhabitants of the Forest and the Liberty. A deputation from the Foresters petitioned the earl that Slingsby might not be allowed to prohibit the holding of their courts in the castle. Whether this petition was granted immediately or not is uncertain.

The inhabitants of the Liberty claimed that by ancient custom they were exempt from contributing to the repair of the castle. When, therefore, the Foresters, armed with the earl's authority, made their assessment, Peter Benson and another representative from the Liberty went up to London, and obtained an interview with the earl. They and the forest delegates, and also Henry Slings-

by, subsequently met in the presence of the earl, and the matters in dispute were discussed before him. As a result of this conference the Foresters were granted the use of the castle for their courts, but were ordered to contribute the whole of the cost of the repairs.

Benson was pardonably elated at the success of his efforts, and he has left on record a confused account of the proceedings, of which the following is a copy. It commences with the actual order issued by the Earl of Cumberland, which is probably the letter drawn up by Benson himself and signed by the earl, as related in the account which follows the order. To this MS. of Benson the writer has added punctuation marks, which are almost entirely wanting in the original, and without which the account would hardly be intelligible. In one or two places the long, involved sentences of the original have been divided. But with these exceptions and a few corrections in brackets Benson is allowed to tell his story in his own way.

THE ORDER OF YE RIT HONBLE GEO. EARLE OF CUMBERLN̄D

The 2d day of May in this present five and thirtieth year of the reign of or Sov'aigne Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God of England, France & Ireland Queen, Defendr of ye Faith . . . . . .

Upon hearing ye matter between ye Forresters of the Forrest and Honour of Knaresƀgh and the freeholders & inhabitants of ye Libtys of Knaresƀgh touching an assesmt & contribuc̃on of a sum of money paid unto Mr Henry Slingsby & by him befor bestowing [bestowed ?] on ye repairing of the Castle, before ye lease thereof [was] surrendred, & touching ye charge disbursed by some of the Forrestrs in the prosecuting ye revocation of ye lease & ye reestablishing ye Crt to be kept in the Castle of Knaresbrough, It is this day Ordered by ye Rt Honble George, Earle of Cumberland their steward yt ye freeholdrs and inhabitants of the Soack & Liberty of Knaresbrough afores^{d} shall not be charged wth ye paymt of any parte thereof, nor subject to any assessmt or contribution thereunto, but that ye forrestrs only shall pay and bear ye whole themselves, and that they only shall be assessed and charged in an equal and reasonable ꝑportion the paymt thereof.

And it is further ordered by ye sd Right Hon̄ble George, Earle of Cumberland, that the Cort shall from thence forth be kept wtin the Castle of Knaresbrough in such manner & att such place as the same hath heretofore been usually kept, untill ye sd Earle shall otherwise determine the same.

George Cumberland.

The cause of the making y^e^ Order above written was this: There had been some [*blank*] betwixt M^r^ Slingsby and the Forresters ab^t^ the keeping of the C^rt^ w^th^in the Castle of Knaresbrough, w^ch^ M^r^ Slingsby would not suffer, he then having a lease of the Castle from y^e^ Queen; & for that y^e^ Forresters, y^t^ is to say Rob^t^ Longe and others of them, preferred a petition to y^e^ s^d^ Earle ab^t^ y^e^ s^d^ p^r^misses, and [*blank*] by the Earles direction M^r^ Slingsby and y^e^ Forresters came before y^e^ Earle, who made the order for y^e^ Forresters to pay M^r^ Slingsby 40*li.* & odd money for his charge formerly bestowed in repairing of y^e^ s^d^ Castle; & upon y^e^ order y^e^ s^d^ Long & y^e^ other forresters, then being at London about that business, and desirous to have y^e^ Liƀty soack drawn unto y^e^ contribution of y^t^ charge, enformed y^e^ s^d^ Earle y^t^ wee were to have a benefitt as well as they by the keeping of the C^rt^ there, & further inform'd his Lordship y^t^ wee always in any matter for y^e^ of [*sic*] y^e^ Queens right did contribute & beare w^th^ them as the first township; unto w^ch^ speeches the Earle gave credit, & consented to that contribution. Notwithstanding they had gotten y^e^ Earles consent, they, bearing the signall [?] of the business, procured by their alluring speeches y^t^ he would be pleased to move to please [plead ?] the Chancellor y^t^ an order might be made by the [Duchy] Court for y^e^ contribution of y^e^ Liberty & Soake w^th^ y^e^ s^d^ forrest^rs^ for y^e^ charge, w^ch^ y^e^ then Chancellor was consented [contented ?] to doe, & thereupon, having gotten drawn an order for their purpose, gott y^e^ same confirmed by the C^rt^ by y^e^ Earles consent, and then, thinking themselves secure, came down, made assesm^t^ throughout y^e^ Soake & Liƀty as [?] their [*blank*], and nothing wo^d^ serve but perumptory speeches & p^r^sent paym^t^, or otherwise their goods destrained. I together w^th^ Henry Dickinson of Arkendale rode w^th^ y^e^ speed wee could to London, w^ch^ wee went and returned in seaven days, petitioned to y^e^ Earle, & there truly informed him of the whole matter, whereof his hon^r^ tooke consid^r^ation thereof, & willed me to draw a letter to stay y^e^ levying of the money of y^e^ Soak & Liƀty, & y^t^ wee and the forest^rs^ should be before his Hon^r^ att London y^e^ next terme after, w^ch^ letter I drew and brought it to his Hon^r^, who subscribed y^e^ same without alteration of one letter. Y^e^ letter [being] deliver'd to Long & other of the officers in open court, they made great reviling, protesting they wo^d^ either reverse the contents of y^e^ letter or otherwise they would never returne; and presently Long, Graver, & some others went to London to answer his

L^dshipp's letter. I followed, M^r Slingsby then being att London, & at y^e coming thither, they presently went to his hon^r, lying then at Bedford house, who, after some speeches had, his Hon^r showed o^r petition, which they affirmed to be most untrue; and as they were in their speeches, M^r Slingsby and I came in. His Lordšp y^n [then] being at no leasure appointed all of us to attend the next morning at eight of the clock at that place, which accordingly we did, where were used many speeches, but in the end his Lordšp made y^e order as before is set downe. The order it selfe under his hon^sp [*sic*] own hand is hereunto annexed, with this disgrace to y^e Forresters by these words: 'I will never hereafter give credit to any of yo^r reports in any cause wherein you are parties.' I have thought good to set down the cause to that intent it may be better answered in future time if need shall require.

℔ me Petrum Benson.[1]

It is obvious from this statement that Benson was chiefly or only concerned to obtain the exemption of the Liberty from contributing to the repair of the castle. He holds no brief for the Borough, which, indeed is not mentioned; and we may regard it as certain that the Borough was exempt, either by charter now lost, or by a custom like that which was claimed for the Liberty.

Benson's attitude with regard to the use of the castle for the courts of the Forest and Liberty is not so clearly defined. Although the Foresters, when laying their case before the Earl of Cumberland, asserted that the inhabitants of the Liberty were to have a like benefit with themselves in the use of the castle as a courthouse, Benson seems to repudiate this; and, as we have seen, he had signed the declaration in support of the new courthouse in the Tolbooth. On the other hand there are indications that he was not entirely pleased with the position which the Slingsbys, to whom he was somewhat related, had taken up in regard to the Tolbooth. Some independence may, perhaps, be traced in his evidence, already quoted, as to the various contributors to its erection; and this detachment was probably increased at a later time by disputes with the Slingsbys over land, by parliamentary election contests in which they and his son were rival candidates, and in other ways. In the latter part of the seventeenth century there was, in fact, litigation between Henry Slingsby's grandson and a Benson respecting this very Tolbooth. But, at the time with which we are dealing, Peter Benson's attitude was probably this, that he

[1] Slingsby MSS.

regarded the Tolbooth as a very convenient courthouse, but was opposed to any undue appropriation of the building by the Slingsbys.

The Earl of Cumberland had married Lady Margaret Russell, and these negotiations were conducted at Bedford House, once the town house of the Dukes of Bedford. Benson's associate, Henry Dickenson, of Arkendale, was a substantial yeoman, but of no particular distinction. He was probably a brother of William Dickenson, who married Elizabeth Fawkes, a sister of the conspirator.[1] Graver, who is named as one of the delegates from the Forest, seems to have belonged to a Fewston family.[2] Robert Long, who is named with him, may be identified with more certainty. He was of Winsley, near Burnt Yates in Nidderdale, where some of the family resided in Winsley Hall until late in the eighteenth century. At the commencement of the nineteenth the house and estate were bought by the trustees of the Burnt Yates School.[3]

The Earl of Cumberland's order was not entirely accepted by Henry Slingsby, who was not easily diverted from his set purpose. He seems to have still tried to withhold the use of the castle from the Foresters, and to have entered upon protracted negotiations in London to strengthen his position. On the 25th of November, 1597, the following "warrant," which is still preserved among the Slingsby muniments, was issued from the Duchy Office. The document is endorsed, "A warrante for the keping of Courtes in the Toll boothe house in the Towne of Knaresburghe in the Countie of Yorke." The seal of the Duchy of Lancaster is still attached to it, and the note signed by John Brograve is written on the lower overturned edge of the parchment through which the tape by which the seal is suspended is slotted.

> ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England France and Ireland defendor of the faithe &' TO oure trustie and righte welbeloved cosin George Earle of Cumberland highe steward of oure Manno[r] of Knaresburghe parcell of oure Duchie of Lanc' in oure Cowntie of Yorke, his deputie or deputies, and to oure Bayliffes within cure said mannor there and to everie of them greatinge WHEREAS heretofore there hathe been in oure said Towne of Knaresburghe one Toll boothe or Courte house otherwise called *Aula placitorum* as appeareth by auncient recordes

[1] Collins: *Knaresborough Wills*, i, 180, and note.

[2] *Id.*, i, 160. Pullein: *Pulleyns of Yorkshire*, p. 305.

[3] Slingsby MSS. Grainge: *Harrogate and the Forest of Knaresborough*, pp. 378–381. Grainge: *Nidderdale*, p. 102. Collins: *Wills*, i, 175–6.

or evidences thereof And that wee are creadably enfourmed that there is a fayre meete and convenient house of late builded ꝑtely by oure charges, but chiefly at the coste and charges of the Bayliff and Burgesses of the said Towne of Knaresburghe and others the Inhabytantes and resyantes withen the said Lordshippe for the furtherance of oure service and for the greate benefitt of the said Towne and ease of the Ten^{a}ntes within the said Mannor and of all suetors to the said Courte and Courtes there to be holden which shall owe suit thereunto or have occacon' to repayre to the said Courte or Courtes WEE therefore consideringe the premissϱ will and require youe oure said highe stuard of oure said Courte youre deputie and deputies and all others to whome in this case yt shall apperteyne that at the nexte Courte after the receipte hereof youe make publyke proclamac̃on in oure name that all officers ten^{a}ntes and suetors to oure Courte or Courtes to bee holden and kepte within oure said Mannor of Knaresburghe at the nexte three weekes Courte after the publicac̃on of this oure proclamac̃on make there repayre to the said new buylded house where the said Courte or Courtes are hereafter to be holden and kepte at suche dayes and tymes as hathe allwayes heretofore been vsed when the said Courte or Courtes hathe been kepte in the Castle or other remote place from oure said Towne for wante of the repayre of the said Toll boothe or Courte house AND theis oure ł̃res vnder oure seale of oure said Duchie shalbe youre suffycyent warrante and discharge in that behalf NEVERTHELESS oure further Will and pleasure is that yf anie persone or persones shall vpon anye reasonable or iuste cause fynd themselves greaved that the said Courte is to bee kept in the said Towne, that then he or they maye repayre to oure Chauncellor and Cowncell of oure said Duchie for the tyme beinge to shewe his or there reasonable cause of myslike wherein he or they shall receyve suche order as to oure said Chauncellor and Cownsell of oure said duchie shalbe thoughte meete and convenient NOTT Fayling hereof as wee truste youe YEAVEN at oure pallace of Westm' vnder the seale of oure said duchie the xxvth daye of November in the xlth yeare of oure reigne.

Gerrard.

And yf there be iuste cause
of complainte M^{r} Slingesby
hathe promysed to geve hym
his chargis.

John Brograve.

That this warrant was the outcome of long controversy, or of protracted negotiations, is to be inferred not only from the length of time which had elapsed since the Earl of Cumberland had made his order, but also from a letter which Robert Long addressed to Francis Slingsby about three months after the warrant was obtained. In this letter he says that the court had "been long forborne to be kept," which seems to show that while Henry Slingsby had successfully excluded the foresters from the castle, they on their part had refused to hold the courts at all. This seems to be confirmed by the warrant itself, which is in effect an order that the next three weeks' court shall be held at its proper time in the Tolbooth. The order is not, however, imperious and absolute; an appeal to the Duchy Court is allowed. We may surmise that the dispute had come to a deadlock, and the Chancellor had resolved to force an issue: either the local court should be held, or the dispute should be immediately brought before the Duchy Court. Here is the letter referred to, which carries the matter a stage further. The wife of Francis Slingsby, it may be premised, was buried on the 7th of February, 1597–8.

[*Address*]

To the Right wo^{r}shipfull
M^{r} Francise Slyngesbye
Esquier theis Delyver.

S^{r}, my dewtie remembred, I vnderstand thatt yowe ar agreed at London concernyng the Court kepinge, whiche I am gladd of. And for thatt the Court haethe bene longe forborne to be kept bothe to the losse of her matie and hinderaunce of suitors. And weddinsdaie next shuld be the Court daye by course and order. I would therefore crave to knowe yo^{r} pleaso^{r} whether the Court shalbe kept vpon weddinsdaye next or no. Yf yt shuld I wold gyve warnynge in the market at Rypley this daie, and also to the officers of the forest for thatt purpose, as I wold require yowe to do the like .to yo^{r} bayliff. And so sorie for yo^{r} heavines for the losse of so good a gentleman [*sic*[yo^{r} wief, thoughe no losse but a gaine to her I cease to troble yo^{r} wo^{rp}. Wynnesley this xxth of Feobarij 1597.

Yo^{rs} to vse to his power
Robte Longe.

What the agreement was, which was made in London between the issue of the warrant on the 25th November, 1597, and the date of Long's letter, written near the end of February, 1597–8, we do not know. It seems most probable that Henry Slingsby at last gave way so far as to allow the Forest and Liberty Courts to be

held in the castle, while the Borough Courts were held in the Tolbooth. Assuming that Long's letter refers to the summoning of a Liberty Court in the castle, his ready acquiescence and cordiality are explained. According to Dr. Francis Collins the courts were held in the castle continuously until the time of the Commonwealth; and the series of rolls about this time is only broken by a single omission at rare intervals. One of these is the roll for 1595–6, which would probably be the one which ought immediately to precede the issue of the Duchy's warrant.[1] These, however, are details to which too much importance must not be attached, seeing that the records of such courts are frequently posted up with more appearance of regularity and conformity to rule than actually marked the proceedings themselves.

From this time onward there appears to have been no further dispute as to the holding of the Forest and Liberty Courts in the castle. Francis Slingsby died in 1600, and Henry, knighted in Ireland in 1602, died in 1634, and was succeeded by his son, Henry, the diarist, who was made a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1638. Meanwhile, events were hastening on to the Civil War. Captured by the Parliamentary forces shortly after the battle of Marston Moor, Knaresborough castle was, by order of Parliament, "sleighted" and made untenable in the winter of 1648–9. A few months later an Act was passed for the sale of Crown lands, and in January, 1649–50, the Honour of Knaresborough was surveyed and valued, and shortly afterwards sold. The three Parliamentary Commissioners who made the valuation say in their report:

> "There is a little House called the Courtehouse scituate in the Castle Steade, but wee value not the materialls thereof by reason that the Courts of the Forest as [well as] the Libertie have been aunciently and yett are there kepte.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "There is a Courte Leete and Courte Barron belonging to the Hono[r] aforesaid usually kept together at the said Courthouse infra Mensem Pasche et Michis.
>
> "Also the Court Barron was usually kepte every Three weekes at the place aforesaid and the said Three weekes Court was sometimes heretofore farmed at 24[li] ꝑ annum.
>
> "There is also a Courte kept in the Toll Booth within the Borough aforesaid every Fortnight called the Burrough Court." [2]

[1] Collins: *Knaresborough Wills*, i, Preface (vii–viii), and pp. 196, 203. Pullein: *Pulleyns of Yorks.*, p. 666. In his preface Dr. Collins gives 36–37 Eliz. as the missing roll; but reference to the wills themselves, pp. 196 and 203, shows that the roll is 37–38 Eliz.

[2] Copy, Slingsby MSS.

It is difficult to fix with any precision the date when the castle courts were transferred from the keep to the building which we have assumed Sir Henry Slingsby built, and which is still the courthouse. The Parliamentary Commissioners say that the courts were "aunciently" kept there. It would be unwise to take this statement too literally. The Commissioners were not concerned to distinguish between the holding of the courts in one part of the castle more than another. The word "aunciently" is in any case limited by the age of the courthouse itself. Moreover, Sir Henry had contested, with some measure of success down to 1597, the right of the courts to sit in the castle, which he could hardly have done if he had himself recently built and furnished an apartment in the castle as a courthouse. We have advanced reasons for concluding that this building was used as at least a temporary residence for some years after this date. On the other hand, a manorial court could be held in any sufficiently spacious room without the usual features of a judicial court. The furnishing of the old courthouse as it exists today is of a character too plain and rough to yield a precise date nor is it necessarily contemporaneous with the building. All things considered, I incline to these conclusions: that the building was restored by Henry Slingsby about 1590, with the mixed character of a residence and offices; that he finally submitted to the order that the Forest and Liberty Courts should be held in the castle about the end of 1596; and that some time between the death of William Slingsby, his uncle, in 1606,[1] and the "sleighting" of the castle in 1648–9, but late rather than early, the new building was furnished as a court of justice.

In any case, by 1650 these disputes about the courts were finished, and from that time onwards to the present century they were held, or could be held, in their respective places, though as the manorial business became concentrated in the Duchy offices, and of relatively smaller consequence in local government, the Old Courthouse became the venue of them all. In the latter part of the seventeenth century there was, as already stated, litigation between a Slingsby and a Benson regarding the Tolbooth; but this appears to have been merely a case of trespass or encroachment complicated by the confusion and the legislative experiments associated with the Interregnum and the alienation and resumption of the Crown estates. Sequestration, compounding, family settlements, the boundaries of the various franchises, and the

[1] Kaye: *Records of Harrogate*, p. 73.

nature of the tenure, whether freehold or copyhold, all entered into the dispute; but in the end the plain fact emerges that the Slingsbys retained the ownership of the whole of the Tolbooth, subject to its use as the Borough Courthouse, and retained it without further question until the building was sold a few years ago.

Though one or two buildings have succeeded the original Tolbooth on the same site, the existing Town Hall presents some curious survivals. When it was built in 1862, the site was enfranchised, and the ground and the buildings are the freehold of the present owner. The ground floor is divided into shops separately let. The first floor was leased to a joint stock company for 150 years as a public hall, which is now sub-let. The clock and the market-bell are the property of the town, and an acknowledgement is, or was, paid for the fixing and use of them. And ever and anon in the deeds relating to the building, even in the enfranchisement, the reservation of a fit place for the holding of courts turns up, notwithstanding that a separate Sessions House has long been built, and a statutory Urban Council has taken all meaning out of the "borough court." Only a prison—the "nine-holes" and the "small-ease"—and the stocks are wanting to maintain the conditions upon which Cock Place was granted to Redshaw in 1556. Even these are not far away. Modern cells for the detention of prisoners are attached to the Sessions House across the way; and somewhere in the precincts of the same building the old stocks are, I believe, still preserved.

I wish to make various acknowledgments for the facilities and help which I have received—to Major T. W. Slingsby and other members of the Slingsby family for permission to consult and reproduce documents, including the plan of the Tolbooth; to the Urban District Council of Knaresborough for convenience of access to the muniments in their keeping; to Messrs. Powell, Son and Eddison, solicitors, who occupy the Old Courthouse; to Mr. J. Morley, who owns the Town Hall; to H.M. Stationery Office for permission to reproduce part of the old Ordnance Plan of Knaresborough, and to the Castle Studio for photographs.

TWO SPEARHEADS OF THE MIDDLE SAXON PERIOD FROM FERRYBRIDGE.

By J. D. Cowen.

The two iron spearheads which are the subject of this note were found twenty-four feet below ground level and twenty feet from the bank of the River Aire when excavating for the intake works at Ferrybridge Electric Power Station during April, 1926. The photograph and permission to publish we owe to the kindness of the Yorkshire Electric Power Company. The precise circumstances of the find are not recorded, but it seems likely that they must have been in some sense associated; and though, as will appear, they represent very different traditions, they may be almost contemporary.

The first, $18\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, is a finely preserved piece with wide, open socket, and long narrow blade, well stiffened by a central rib, and running off into the neck in a slightly concave curve which forms a distinct if modified angle with the base of the blade proper. The construction, if plain, is workmanlike and sound, and the whole forms a very serviceable weapon. The parentage of the type is obvious. It is simply a variation of the common angular spear of the pagan graves. Examples of the same general character may be seen in Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England* (vol. iii, pl. xxxi, 3 and 4), from the cemeteries at Little Wilbraham and Darlington. Nevertheless, it is not quite characteristic, and in a fairly wide survey of the literature no exact parallel has been forthcoming. It is at once too long, too narrow, and at the same time, one might almost say, too robust and too decisively formed to be contemporary with the more squat and angular, the more cheaply produced spears of the pagan cemeteries.

Now, though the dating of Saxon weapons of the middle period is still far from established, if there is one fact which emerges with something approaching to certainty from Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler's recent analysis of the material in his London Museum Catalogue, *London and the Saxons,* it is this tendency to elongation. And while the Ferrybridge spear remains in all essentials within the pagan tradition, we feel we are on safe ground in placing it at the



Anglo-Saxon Spearheads from Ferrybridge
(slightly over one-quarter size).

very end of the series—that is, not earlier than the end of the seventh century, and more probably somewhere within the eighth.

It is, however, worth noting that nothing quite similar is to be seen in the very full series of illustrations to Dr. Wheeler's book, and we may perhaps conclude that while the London area at this time was already subject to fresh influences from abroad (*op. cit.*, p. 169), resulting for example in the development of elaborated forms of junction between blade and socket, further to the north the provincial weaponsmith persisted in the native tradition. If that is so, it is remarkable that he should also have shared in the improvement in craftsmanship which in the south is attributed to foreign contacts.

With the second spearhead (eighteen inches long) we are at once on firmer ground. The broad "leaf-shaped" blade—to use a term much abused, but still permissible—running off into the socket in easy swinging lines, and above all the distinctive perpendicular grooves on the socket itself, show beyond a doubt with what we have to deal. Here is clearly a forerunner of the well-known winged "Carolingian" spearhead so common in Continental collections, and so tantalisingly rare in our own. But it is an early stage. The wings have not yet begun to sprout, and the deep facetting which is so marked a feature of later examples is here present only in the form of simple grooves. This spearhead must be contemporary with those which in Norway fall under the heading of Petersen's type A (Jan Petersen, *De Norske Vikingesverd* (1919), pp. 22–23, fig. 7). The significance for us in this country of the Norwegian material is that, falling as it does within the period of well furnished graves of a land still pagan, the sequence of types is fixed in a well established series and even in its earlier stages fairly securely dated. Now Petersen's type A, the earliest in his study of Viking weapons, immediately precedes, and probably lasts into the opening of the Viking period, which is there taken as beginning about the year 800. Our Ferrybridge example may therefore be placed with fair confidence in the second half of the eighth century. This is a dating which, if it does not exactly coincide with that suggested above for the first example, is at all events sufficiently close not to preclude the possibility of contemporary deposit.

This is, so far as we are aware, the only spearhead of its class recorded from this country. The grooved socket without wings remains unique, and even the general form is not easy to parallel. It is with some hesitation that we mention a sadly corroded example, which may once have presented a similar appearance, recovered

from grave 11 in the Viking cemetery at Pierowall on North Ronaldshay, in the Orkneys. It is illustrated by Dr. A. W. Brøgger in his *Den Norske Bosetningen på Shetland-Orknøyene*, fig. 76, and by him assigned (p. 167) to the period about 800—a dating which, for what it is worth, considering the condition of the piece, tends to confirm our own.

But if the first spearhead is in the unbroken native tradition, the second is as certainly an intruder. In these islands the type has no roots, and it makes its appearance, the first of its breed, as an undisguised foreigner. Whether it came from those shores which lie nearest to our own, the coast of north-eastern France and the lands about the mouths of the Rhine, or whether it must be attributed to direct contact with the men soon to be known as the Northmen, the time is not ripe to decide. But the sweeping elegance of its lines by comparison with the contemporary northern product, as illustrated by Petersen, together with the known intercourse between England and the Empire of Charles the Great, inclines us to the former view. Though we have no specific note of such, we think it would not be difficult to find in the collections of Belgium and Holland close parallels among the large series of weapons recovered from the alluvial mud of the Low Countries.

If the association of the two spearheads is accepted, we have, in the fairly close dating which is possible for the second, a useful confirmation of that inferred on purely *a priori* grounds for the first. What is more, the find in that case gives us something in the nature of a fixed point about the middle of a period for which evidence of this kind is singularly deficient.

If, however, in the absence of a proper account of the discovery, the association be not accepted, then at all events it is of no small interest to have before us from a single site two fine weapons so characteristic of such fundamentally different traditions. There is here no blending of styles, no interchange of technical improvements; the two types stand forth in their purity, uncontaminated by external contacts, starkly opposed—the one the last and no unworthy representative of the unregenerate native tradition with its roots in the Migration Period, the other a newcomer, an intruder from overseas, in the very first stage of a development that had before it a brilliant future.

A CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHURCHES IN THE UNDIVIDED DIOCESE OF RIPON.

By G. E. Kirk.

There were for many years at the Episcopal Palace, Ripon, three large albums with an index, bearing title *Churches of the Diocese of Ripon*, and containing illustrations of most of the ancient churches and parochial chapels and many of the modern ones in the undivided diocese, as re-constituted in 1836.

It is not easy to say how or when this collection was compiled. It must have been begun between 1836 and 1888, for in the latter year the Diocese of Wakefield was formed and there are included many churches now within its area, as well as in that covered by the Diocese of Bradford, which was founded in 1920.

These illustrations, of various kinds, sizes, merits and interests, include sketches in pencil, pen and ink, architects' perspectives, water colours, lithographs, engravings and photographs. In certain cases the pictures are dated and the names or initials of the artists are given. In the work of recording the items and identifying certain of the artists the co-operation of the Rev. William Oliver, of Leeds, is gratefully acknowledged.

Since in many cases the churches of three (present) Yorkshire Dioceses are depicted as they appeared before their alteration or demolition, it is felt that these illustrations ought to be placed on record and made accessible to those interested. This catalogue refers in brief terms to the three albums named above, which since 1932 have been in the care of Mr. A. B. Leigh, as Secretary of the Diocesan Advisory Board, at the Church Institute, Albion Place, Leeds.

Another valuable collection of views of certain West Riding churches is contained in the volumes of the enlarged copy of Thoresby and Whitaker's *History of Leeds, &c.*, edited by William Boyne, F.S.A., in the Leeds Public Reference Library, where a list of the views can be consulted. They include the churches of Adel, Bardsey, Barwick-in-Elmet, Bradford (and some of its daughter churches), Bramhope Chapel, Calverley, Castleford, Church Fenton, Collingham, Halifax (and some of its chapels),

Harewood, Horbury, Huddersfield, Idle, Kippax, Lead Chapel, Leathley, Ledsham, Leeds (and some of its chapels and daughter churches), Methley, Middleton (nr. Leeds), Otley, Pudsey, Rawdon, Roundhay (St. John), Rothwell, Saxton, Seacroft, Sherburn-in-Elmet, Swillington, Thorner, Wakefield (and daughter churches), Whitkirk; also Kirkstall Abbey. The artists of these include "Bowers," "Briggs," John Dixon, J. Greig, "Higham," John and Joseph Rhodes, W. R. Robinson.

For descriptions of Yorkshire churches between 1825 and 1874 (many of them before "restoration") see the notes of Sir Stephen Glynne, printed in various volumes of the *Journal*, to which an index is provided in volume xxvi.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AP=Architect's perspective.
E=Engraving.
L=Lithograph.
P=Print.
Ph=Photograph.
S=Sketch.
W=Watercolour.
WD=Wash Drawing.

(Except where otherwise stated, all are exterior views.)

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Addingham	SW.	W	n.d.	I	1
Adel	SW. [before 1879]	E	n.d.	I	4
——	NW. [since 1879]	W	n.d.	I	2
——	S. Doorway	E	n.d.	I	3
——	S. Doorway	W	n.d.	I	2
——	Chancel Arch and interior of Chancel, east [before 1879]	E	n.d.	I	4
Ainderby Steeple	SE.	W	1852	I	5
—— ——	S.	W	n.d.	I	5
Aldborough, nr. Boroughbridge	NE.	S by Moore	n.d.	I	6
Aldfield Chapel ..	SE.	S	1839	III	23
Allerton Mauleverer	SE.	S	n.d.	I	8
Almondbury ..	SE.	S	n.d.	I	8
Arkendale	SE.	S by E.L.E.	1841	II	55
Arkengarthdale ..	SE.	W by O.W.K.[1]	n.d.	I	18a

(1) Apparently O. W. Kilvington (see Garsdale). Orfeur William Kilvington was son of John, of Dulwich, Surrey, arm. Christ Church, Oxford, matric. 5 Feb. 1800, aged 19; B.A. 1805, M.A. 1808; Vicar of Brignal, Yorks., 1816–1854. Married, 29 Aug. 1816, Hon. Maria Margaret, dau. of Francis 7th [? 8th] Lord Napier, D.C.L. (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*). His wife died 19 July 1861. He was an army chaplain and served in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars. Under dispensation from the Bishop of Chester for non-residence at Brignal, he resided at Hatfield, near Doncaster, 1824 to his death, 17 Oct. 1854. M.I. at Brignal and at Hatfield. See Tomlinson, J.: *Level of Hatfield Chace*, 1882, p. 133.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Armitage Bridge, St. Paul's ..	SE.	W by H. Allen	n.d.	I	9
Armley, Leeds .. [Old Chapel]	SE.	S	n.d.	II	64
Arncliffe	SE.	W	n.d.	I	18b
———	SE.	W	1841	I	19
———	SE.	W	1843	I	19
Askrigg	SE. [Unrestored]	W	n.d. [before 1853]	I	21
Austwick Chapel ..	NE. & Village Cross	S (Pen and ink) by W. J. E. Rooke	? 27 June 1851	I	74
Aysgarth	SW. [Restored]	Ph, by Rev. T. Milville Raven[1]	n.d.	I	20b
———	NE. [Unrestored]	W by C. Wyvill[2]	n.d.	I	21
Bankfoot .. St. Matthew's, Bradford	NE.	AP by Mallinson and Healey, Archts., Bradford	n.d.	I	56
Bardsey	SE.	S	n.d.	I	24
Barkisland [par. Halifax], Christ Ch.	SE.	AP	n.d.	II	24
Barningham ..	S.	Ph	1897	I	24
——— ..	Interior E. (Before alteration)	Ph, by E. Yeoman, Barnard Castle	1891	I	24
——— ..	Interior E. (As altered)	Ph.	1898	I	24
Barnoldswick, St. Michael's le Gill[3]	SE.	W	n.d.	I	25
——, Another Church	NW.	W	n.d.	I	25
Barton, St. Cuthbert [New Church]	SE.	W by T.T., D.	n.d.	II	5
Barwick-in-Elmet..	SW. (from Rectory Gardens)	W	n.d.	I	26
Bedale, St. Gregory	Nave interior, NW.	W by E. Bairstow	May 1855	I	28b
———, ———	Ext. SE.	S by C. Wyvill	n.d.	I	29
Bellerby, Old Chapel	SE.	S	n.d.	III	53
Bentham, St. John	SE.	S (Pen and ink)	n.d.	I	30
——— St. Margaret's Chapel	SW.	S (Pen and ink) by W. J. E. Rooke	12 June 1851	I	30
Birstal	NE.	L	n.d. (before rebuilding)	I	35
Bishop Monkton ..	SE.	W	n.d.	III	23
Bishop Thornton ..	NE.	W	n.d.	III	24
? Blubberhouses (Blenberg), par. Fewston	NW.	L by E.P.G.	1851	I	90

(1) Curate of Scruton (N.R. Yorks.), 1861–1866; Vicar of Crakehall with Langthorne, near Bedale, 1867–1896. Died 30 March 1896. He was a first-rate amateur photographer and one year he won the first prize medal of the British Photographic Society (see Speight's *Richmondshire*, 1897, 153–4).

(2) Probably one of the Wyvils of Constable Burton.

(3) *Sic.* Should be St. Mary-le-Gill.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Bolton Abbey ..	NW.	L by J. Scarlett Davis, printed by G. Mullmandel	n.d.	III	48
———— ..	Interior of nave, W.	L drawn and printed as above	n.d.	III	47b
Bolton-by-Bolland	SW.	W	n.d.	I	43
————	Interior, E.	W	n.d.	I	43
Bolton-on-Swale ..	NW. with monument to Henry Jenkins, aged 169	S	n.d. (before restoration)	I	71
———— ..	SW.	Ph (*stamped* Rev^{d} T. Milville Raven)	n.d. (Restored)	I	71
Boroughbridge .. [Old Church]	NW.	S by E.L.E.	1840	I	35
———, St. James' [New Church]	SE.	AP (coloured) Mallinson & Healey, Archts.	n.d.	I	43b
————,————	SE.	W	1852	I	44
Bowling (par. Bradford), St. John	SW.	L by W. Monkhouse, York	1840	I	49
Bracewell	NW.	W	n.d.	I	44b
————	SE.	W	n.d.	I	45
Bradford Parish Church [Cathedral]	SE.	E (from a sketch taken 22 Oct. 1828)	—	I	46
Bradford, Christ Church	SW.	S	n.d.	I	46
Brighouse, St. Martin, with Parsonage and School ..	SE.	L by A. F. Tait	n.d.	II	15
Brignal Old Church	NW.	W by O.W.K.	n.d.	I	58
—— Present Church (Cons. 23 Sept. 1834)	NE.	W	n.d.	I	59
Broughton Church and Vicarage ..	NE.	S by E. G. Petit	1839	I	59
Burmantofts (Leeds) St. Stephen ..	NW.	AP (coloured)	1854	II	70
Burneston	SE. (before) restoration)	W by J. Serjeantson	n.d.	I	60
————	SE. (restored)	Ph	n.d.	I	60
Burnsall, with Lychgate	SW.	S	1 Sept. 1847	I	62
————	SE. (before restoration)	W	n.d.	I	62
Buttershaw [par. Bradford]	SE.	S by J. D. Bowman	1853	I	50
Calverley	From the E (before restoration)	S by W. Moore, Calverley	1837	I	65
Carlton [? in Craven]	SW.	W [*Endorsed* Aug. 2, 1851]	—	I	70
Catterick	S (before reconstruction of 1850)	S	n.d.	I	72

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Cautley Chapel, par. Sedbergh	SW.	W	n.d.	III	40
Cawthorne	SE.	W by Lady Carteret	n.d. (before restoration)	III	44
Chapel Allerton, Chapeltown [par. Leeds], Old Chapel. Demolished 1935	NW.	S	n.d.	II	66
Chapelthorpe [par. Sandal Magna], Old Chapel	SW.	S	n.d.	III	37
Clapham	NW.	S	n.d.	I	74
Clayton, par. Bradford	SE.	L by W. Bevan, printed by W. Monkhouse, York	n.d.	I	50
Cleasby	SW.	W	n.d.	I	75
Coley [par. Halifax]	SW.	S	n.d.	II	16
Collingham ..	S (as restored)	S	n.d.	I	75
Conistone, Craven	SW. (as restored: Sharpe & Paley, Archts.)	L by Day & Son	n.d.	I	63
Copgrove	SE.	S by E.L.E.	1841	I	76
Coverham	SE.	W by C.W.[1]	n.d.	I	77
Cowgill (Cowghyll) Chapel [par. Sedbergh]	SE.	S	n.d.	III	41
Cowthorpe	SW.	W	n.d.	I	76
Cowton, East: New Church	NE.	Two Ph, taken on day of Consecration, 23 Feb. 1910	—	I	60b
———, ———	Interior, W., showing old font.	Ph	*c.* 1910	I	78
———, ——— [Old Church] ..	S.	W by T.T., D.	n.d.	I	78
Cowton, South ..	SE.	S by J. Miller	n.d.	II	5
Cragg Vale, *see* Halifax, St. John-in-the Wilderness.					
Crakehall ..	SE.	WD by C.W.	n.d.	I	29
Croft, St. Peter ..	SW.	W by C. W. Hay	1851	I	79
———, ——— ..	SE.	W by C. W. Hay	1851	I	79
Crosland	S.	W	n.d.	I	10
Cross Stone [par. Halifax]	SW. (distant view)	S by S. Snowdon	n.d.	II	16
Cundall	SE. [before reconstruction]	W	n.d.	I	80
Dacre & Parsonage	SE.	W by C. H. Woodd	Nov. 1846	III	24

(1) ? C. Wyvill.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Dale Head, St. James' (par. Slaidburn) ..	SW.	AP	n.d.	III	50
Darton	SW.	W	n.d.	I	82
Danby Wiske ..	SE.	S	n.d.	I	81
Deanhead (Scammonden), Huddersfield	SW.	S	1850	II	38
—, St. Bartholomew	—	P	n.d.	II	38
Denholme Gate ..	SW.	AP by J. B. Chantrell, Archt., Leeds, 1846	—	I	54
Denton (par. Otley)	SE.	W	n.d.	III	4
Dewsbury	Interior, E.	L by C. J. Greenwood & R. Groom	n.d.	I	83
————	Exterior, SE.	L by the same	n.d.	I	83
Dewsbury Moor ..	SW.	Sepia drawing	n.d.	I	84
Downholme ..	SE.	WD by C. Wyvill	n.d.	I	87
Earlsheaton, St. Peter (par. Dewsbury)	NNE.	S	n.d.	I	84
Easby	S.	WD	n.d.	I	87
Embsay	SE.	AP (coloured) by Thos. Shaw, Archt., Leeds, 13 Feb. 1854	—	III	49
Emley	S. [before restoration]	W	n.d.	I	88
Eryholme	S. [before restoration]	W	n.d.	II	6
Farnham	SW. (distant view)	S by E.L.E.	1841	I	89
Farnley (par. Otley)	SE.	W	n.d.	III	3
————	SE. (? before reconstruction)	W	n.d.	III	3
Farsley, St. John (in par. Calverley; Cons. 27 Oct. 1843)	S.	L by J. E. Masser, Leeds	—	I	66
Fencoats, par. Kirkby Fleetham ..	SE.	W by T.T., D.	n.d.	II	48
Fewston	SE.	S	n.d.	I	90
Fingall	SW.	WD by C. Wyvill	n.d.	I	89
Flockton [old Chapel]	SE. (distant view)	W	n.d.	III	60
Forcett	SE. [before restoration]	W	n.d.	II	6
Garforth, Old Church	SE.	W	n.d.	I	90b
———, New Church of St. Mary (by G. Fowler Jones, York)	SE.	L by J. K. Colling	n.d.	I	91
Gargrave, St. Andrew	SW.	S	n.d.	II	1

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Garsdale	NW.	W by O. W. Kilvington	1846	III	40
——, Vicarage House	—	Ph	n.d.	III	39b
Giggleswick ..	SE.	Pencil drawing by M. Pagram	May 1851 (?)	II	2
———— ..	SSE.	Ph, by Horner, Settle (*Endorsed* Giggleswick, Dec. 98)	n.d.	II	2
Gilling	S.	W by T. (?) Gully	1839	II	4
Gisburn	SE.	W	n.d.	II	7
Golcar (par. Huddersfield)	NE.	W	n.d.	II	36
Goldsborough ..	SE.	W	1852	II	8
Gomersal, St. Mary	NE.	AP (coloured) by J. Dobson, Archt., Leeds	1851	I	35
Guiseley	S. [Distant, showing Rectory]	S	n.d.	II	9
Halifax Parish Ch.	SE.	L by N. Whittock	n.d.	II	11
——— and Vicarage	S.	S	1838	II	12
——, All Souls', Haley Hill ..	Interior, E.	P	n.d.	II	24b
———, ———, ——	Ext. SW.	Architect's Drawing[1]	n.d.	II	25
———, ———, ——	Ext. SE.	Do.[1]	n.d.	II	25
——, Holy Trinity, Queen's Head [Queensbury]; Cons. 29 Aug. 1845 ..	—	L by W. Physick	n.d.	II	14
Halifax, St. James'	SW.	E by E. K. Procter	n.d.	II	13
——, St. John in the Wilderness (Cragg Vale) ..	SE.	S	n.d.	II	23
——, St. Paul ..	SW.	S	n.d.	II	12
Halton Gill ..	SE.	W	1843	I	20
Hampsthwaite ..	NW.	S	n.d.	II	27
Hanging Heaton ..	SE.	WD by J. L. Mathew	n.d.	I	85
Harewood	SW.	W	n.d.	II	27b
Harrogate, High, Christ Church ..	NE.	L	n.d.	II	30
——, Low [St. Mary's Old Church]	NW.	Woodcut	n.d.	II	30
Hartshead, Hartishead	SE. (Before restoration)	S	n.d.	I	85
Hawes [Old Chapel, before 1850]	SE.	S [Architect, Coates]	n.d.	I	22b
——, Proposed New Church	NE.	E by A. B. Higham, (reproduced), Wakefield	1850	I	22
———,————	Int., E.				

(1) Apparently only one of these designs was carried out.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Hawkeswell, West	SSW.	S	n.d.	III	72
Hawkswell ..	SW. (Restored)	Ph	n.d.	I	38
Haworth	S. [Before rebuilding]	S	n.d.	I	51
Headingley, Leeds (1838–1884) ..	SW.	W (Plennell)	n.d.	II	66
Healey (par. Masham)	SE.	L	1848 (2 copies)	II	79
Hebden (par. Linton-in-Craven)	NE.	W	n.d.	II	74
Hebden Bridge, St. James' [par. Halifax]	SW.	S	n.d.	II	17
Heptonstall, St. Thomas a Becket, par. Halifax [Old Church]	NE.	S	n.d.	II	18
——, —— [New Ch.]	SE.	L by W. Bevan	n.d.	II	18
High Hoyland ..	SW.	W by O. W. Kilvington	July 1846	II	31
Holbeck [St. John], Leeds	Int. from NW.	P	n.d.	II	67
——————	Ext. NE.	Architect's drawing	n.d.	II	68
Hopton (par. Mirfield)	SW.	AP	1846	II	87
Hornby	SE.	W. by T.T., D.	n.d.	II	32
Horsehouse (par. Coverham) ..	S.	W by C. Wyvill	n.d.	I	77
Horsforth [Old Chapel] ..	NW.	S	n.d.	II	9
Horton [par. Bradford], St. Andrew	NE.	L (coloured) by Crane	n.d.	I	51b
——, Old Chapel ..	N.	S	n.d.	I	52
Horton-in-Ribblesdale	SW.	S	1848	II	32
Howgill, New Chapel (cons. Oct. 1838); also showing the Old Chapel	—	S by Caroline Green	June 1839	III	41
Hubberholm ..	SE.	W	n.d.	I	20
Huddersfield Parish Church [St. Peter] as rebuilt in 1836	SE.	L by W. Monkhouse, York	n.d.	II	33
——, Holy Trinity (Cons. 8 Oct. 1819)	SE.	S	n.d.	II	34
——, St. John ..	ESE.	AP	n.d.	II	32b
——, St. Paul (Founded 13 Nov. 1828)	SE.	P	n.d.	II	34
Hudswell (par. Catterick), Old Chapel	SW	W by T.T., D.	n.d.	I	72

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Hunsingore [Old Church] ..	SE.	S by S.M.G.S.	n.d.	II	40
Hunslet [Leeds], Old Chapel	SW.	W	1852	II	66
Hunton	SE.	W	n.d.	III	6
Hutton Magna [Old Church]	SW.	W	n.d.	II	41
Idle [par. Calverley]	NE.	S	n.d.	I	67
Ilkley	SE.	S	n.d.	II	41
Ingleton	SE.	S (Pen and Ink)	3 Oct. 1851	I	31
Keighley, as rebuilt, 1846–1848 ..	SE.	L (Coloured)	n.d.	II	42
Kildwick	SW.	W	n.d.	II	43
Kippax	SE.	S	n.d. [Before 1875]	II	44
Kirby Fleetham ..	S.	W	n.d.	II	48
Kirby Hill (Kirby-on-the-Moor)	SE.	S	n.d.	I	34b
Kirby Malzeard ..	S.	S	n.d. [Before restoration]	II	80
Kirby Overblow ..	SE.	S by S.M.G.S.	n.d.	II	50
Kirkburton ..	SE.	L [by R.C.]	n.d.	II	45
————	SW.	S by R. Collins	1841	II	45
————	Interior, westward, showing galleries, box pewing, etc.	S	n.d.	II	45
Kirkby Malham ..	SE.	W	n.d. [Before restoration]	II	48b
————	NE.	W	n.d.	II	49
————	SW.	W	n.d. [Since restoration]	II	49
Kirkby Ravensworth, St. Peter ..	SW.	S	n.d.	II	50
Kirkby Wiske and Rectory House ..	SE.	S by W. Gray	1840	II	51
————	North Doorway	S by ? M.G.	16 Sept. 1840	II	51
Kirk Deighton, as restored, 1849	SE. & Rectory House	L	—	II	52
———— ..	Int. E. (restored 1849)	L	—	II	51b
Kirk Hammerton ..	SE.	S	n.d.	II	52
Kirkheaton ..	SE.	W	n.d. [Before enlargement]	II	53
[*Endorsed*: The entrance is removed and the body of the church raised and spoiled]					
Kirklington ..	SE.	S	1837	II	54
Kirkstall [St. Stephen]	From S.E. [Before enlargement]	W	n.d.	II	67

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
KNARESBOROUGH PARISH CHURCH	SE.	W	1852	II	54
LAITHKIRK (? Laithwaite)	S.	Ph	n.d.	I	44b
————	S. [Before building of Vestry]	W	n.d.	III	30
——— Vicarage, etc.	From Lune Bridge	Ph	1865	I	45
LANGCLIFFE, nr. Settle, ST. JOHN'S	SE.	AP [Mallinson & Healey, Bradford]	n.d.	II	3
LANGTON-ON-SWALE	SE. [showing Central Tower]	W	n.d.	II	56
LEATHLEY	SE.	W	n.d.	II	56
LEEDS, ALL HALLOWS	SE.	Ink photo.	*c.* 1885–6	II	58
———, ————	Int. E.	Ditto	Ditto	II	58
——, CHRIST CHURCH	NE.	W [*marked* Plennil]	n.d.	II	59
——, HOLY TRINITY	SW.	E	n.d. [Before 1839]	II	61
——, ST. ANDREW	SE.	Architect's Drawing	n.d.	II	61b
——, ———— ..	SW.	AP	n.d.	II	62
——, ———— ..	Int. E.	L	n.d.	II	63
——, ST. CLEMENT	Int. E.	Ph	n.d.	I	65b
——, ST. GEORGE ..	SW.	S	n.d.	II	60
——, ST. JOHN [Briggate]	SE.	Sepia drawing	n.d. [Before restoration]	II	59
——, ST. MARK, WOODHOUSE ..	SE.	E	n.d.	II	65
——, ST. MARY ..	SW.	W	n.d.	II	60
——, ST. MATTHEW, LITTLE LONDON[1]	SW.	L	n.d.	II	65
——, PARISH CHURCH [ST. PETER] ..	NE.	L	1841	II	57
———— ..	Int. E.	L	[1841]	II	57
——, ST. PAUL [Park Square][2] ..	SW.	S	n.d.	II	61
——, ST. PHILIP [Wellington St.][3]	S.	S	n.d.	II	60
——, ST. SAVIOUR ..	S.	S	n.d. [Before 1892]	II	61
LEEMING CHAPEL ..	SE.	S	*Endorsed* 1838	I	61
———— ..	SE. [As rebuilt]	S [Sepia]	n.d.	I	61
LINTHWAITE ..	S.	W	n.d.	I	10
LIVERSEDGE	SW.	E (T. Taylor, Archt.)	n.d.	I	38
LOCKWOOD	NW.	S by E.B.	n.d.	I	11

(1) If so the design was not carried out. (2) Demolished 1906. (3) Demolished 1931.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Longwood	SE.	S	1849	II	37
Lothersdale, under Carlton	SW.	W	n.d.	I	70
Low Dunsforth ..	SE.	S	n.d.	I	34b
Manfield	SE. (Distant view)	W	n.d.	II	75
Manningham, St. Paul	SE.	AP (Mallinson & Healey, Archts., Bradford)	n.d.	I	51
Markington ..	SE.	W	n.d.	III	25
——, St. Michael the Archangel	SE.	Architect's Drawing	n.d.	II	74b
Marske-in-Swaledale and Rectory ..	SE.	W by C. Wyvill	n.d.	II	76
Marton-cum-Grafton	S.	S	n.d.	II	77
Marton-in-Craven	SE.	W	n.d.	II	77
Masham	SE.	Ph (by T. Milville Raven)	1867	II	77b
———	SE. [Before restoration]	S	n.d.	II	78
———	Vicarage	S by C. Wyvill	n.d.	II	78
Meanwood, nr. Leeds	SW.	L	n.d.	II	69
Melsonby	SE. and Rectory House	S [*Endorsed* From the Rev[d] J. Barmby[1]]	n.d.	II	84
Meltham Mills, St. James', & Schools	SE.	L by W. Monkhouse, York	n.d.	I	13
Methley	SE.	W	n.d.	II	86
Mickley (par. Masham)	SE.	W	n.d.	II	81
Middleham	SW.	W by C. Wyvill	n.d.	II	86
Middlesmoor ..	SE.	W by M. Yorke	10 July 1846	II	82
Middleton, nr. Leeds	SW.	AP	1846	III	32
Middleton Tyas ..	SE.	S	1839	II	87
Milnes Bridge ..	NE.	S	n.d.	I	14
Morton, nr. Bingley, St. Luke	SW.	Litho-E of AP by Pulleyn & Hunt, Leeds (Perkin & Backhouse, Archts.)	n.d.	I	33
Mount Pellon, Christ Church [par. Halifax]	SW.	Architect's Drawing	n.d.	II	24
Mytholmroyd, St. Michael [par. Halifax]	NE.	Do.	n.d.	II	19
Nidd	SE.	S	n.d.	II	90
Norton-le-Clay ..	NW.	W	April 1850	I	80
Ossett (par. Dewsbury) [Old Chapel, showing village Cross]	SW.	S	n.d.	I	85
——, South, Christ Church	SE.	L by W. Bevan	n.d.	I	86

(1) Rev. James Barmby, rector of Melsonby 1816–1852.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Otley	NNE.	W (Before restoration)	n.d.	III	1
Oulton	NW.	L by G. Hawkins	n.d.	III	24
———	Int. looking NE.	L by W. Bevan	n.d.	III	35
Ouseburn Magna ..	SE.	S	n.d.	III	5
—— Parva	SW.	S	n.d.	III	5
Oxenhope, St. Mary	SW.	W	n.d.	I	55
———, ———	Int. NE.	W	n.d.	I	55
Paddock	SW.	S	1849	II	37
Pannal	SE.	S	n.d.	III	6
Pateley Bridge (Built 1827, with Bewerley Hall in distance)	NW.	W by May Yorke	1845	III	26
Patrick Brompton, in 1820	SE.	P[1]	—	III	5b
——— as restored	ESE.	Ph, by Rev. T. Milville Raven	n.d.	III	5b
——before restoration	SE.	W by C. Wyvill	n.d.	III	6
Penistone	SE.	S	Easter Tuesday 1852	III	7
Poole, par. Otley ..	SE.	W	n.d.	III	3
Pudsey	SE. from Radcliffe Lane	S by W. Nelson, Lith. by Day & Haghe	n.d.	I	68
Ramsgill	SE.	W by M.Y.	1842	II	82
Rathmell	NW.	L by Day & Haghe	n.d.	II	4
Rawdon [par. Guiseley]	SW.	S	n.d.	II	10
Redmire	SE.	S	1847	III	72
Richmond, Grey Friars Tower	SE.	Drawing by J. Buckler; Engraved by J. Pye	n.d.	III	11
———, St. Mary ..	N.	S by E.M.	n.d.	III	9
———, ——— ..	S.	S	n.d.	III	10
———, ——— ..	N. and rectory house	S	n.d.	III	10
Riddlesden, St. Mary's, nr. Keighley	SE.	L by J. F. Masser Leeds	n.d.	I	34
——————— ..	Int. E.	L by the same	n.d.	I	34
Rigton [par. Kirkby Overblow] ..	SW.	Ph	n.d.	1	35b
——————— ..	Int. E.	Ph	n.d.	1	35b
Rilston	SW. [Before reconstruction]	S	n.d.	1	63
Ripley	NE. [Before restoration]	S	n.d.	III	12

(1) Reproduced as in Whitaker's *Richmondshire.*

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Ripon, Episcopal Palace	—	Sketch plan and elevation	Dec. 1837	I	1
——— Cathedral	SW.	Drawn by R. Douglas, York; L by W. Monkhouse	21 Feb. 1837	III	14
——— ——— ..	Stalls & Bishop's Throne	S by R.A.S.	1846	III	15
——— ——— ..	S. Transept interior looking S.	Drawn as above	n.d.	III	18
——— ——— ..	Nave, interior E.	L by E. H. Buckler	n.d.	III	19
——— ——— ..	Choir, interior E.	Drawn by R. Douglas; L. by W. Monkhouse	n.d.	III	19
——— ——— ..	Detail of SE. angle of Choir, etc.	W by N. Worsley	n.d.	III	19b
——— ——— ..	Choir, E.	L by E. H. Buckler	n.d.	III	20
——— ——— ..	Choir, E.; Eng. for Winkles's *Cathedrals*	E by B. Winkles	n.d.	III	20
——— ——— ..	Nave, E.; Ditto	Ditto	n.d.	III	20
——— ——— ..	SE.	L by E. H. Buckler	n.d.	III	21
——— ——— ..	SW. (Distant)	L by T. S. Cooper	1837	III	21
——— ——— ..	E (Distant)	L by T. S. Cooper	1837	III	21
——, Holy Trinity	SE.	E	n.d.	III	22
——— ——— ..	SE.	S	n.d.	III	22
——— ——— ..	Int., E.	E (pub. by T. Langdale, Ripon)	Nov. 1828	III	22
——, St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel	SW.	S	n.d.	III	17
——— ——— ..	SE.	W	n.d.	III	17
Roecliffe	SW.	L	n.d.	I	7
Rokeby	"SE." [This Church stands N. & S.]	W by O. W. Kilvington	1845	III	31
Romaldkirk ..	ENE.	S	n.d.	III	30
Rothwell	SE.	S (*but endorsed* John Bell, A.M., Vicar)[1]	n.d.	III	32
Roundhay [St. John]	SE.	S by C.M. or G.M.	n.d.	I	26
Sandal [Magna] ..	SE.	W by H. Howard[2]	1846	III	37
Sawley [nr. Ripon]	SW.	W	n.d.	III	25
Scruton	SE. [Before alteration]	WD	n.d.	III	38
———	SE. [Restored]	Ph, by Rev. T. Milville Raven	n.d.	III	38
———	SE. [Restored]	Ph (smaller)	n.d.	III	38
Seacroft	NW.	WD	n.d.	III	76
Sedbergh	NNE.	S (Pen & ink)	1848	III	39
——— Vicarage ..	—	W	n.d.	I	21b

(1) Vicar of Rothwell 1829–1869.

(2) *Endorsed*: "H. E. Howard, from a sketch by the Rev[d] John Petit, 1846."

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Settle	SW.	W by O. W. Kilvington	July 1846	II	3
Shadwell [par. Thorner] ..	SE.	WD	n.d.	III	61
Sharow	SE.	W	n.d.	III	25
Shelf [par. Bradford] St. Michael and All Angels	NW.	AP (Mallinson & Healey, Archts., Bradford)	n.d.	I	56
Shepley, St. Paul [erected 1848]	SW.	AP (Coloured— W. W. Allen, Archt., Huddersfield)	n.d.	II	35
Silkstone	S.	S (*Endorsed* 1846)	—	III	42
Sisset	E.	W	n.d.	II	31
Skeeby Chapel (par. Easby)	NW.	S	1847	I	88
Skelton, nr. Ripon, Old Church ..	SE.	W	1846	III	27
Skipton	ESE.	W	n.d.	III	47
—— Christ Church	WNW.	W	n.d.	III	47
Smeaton	S. (Before restoration)	W	n.d.	III	51
Sowerby [par. Halifax]	SE.	S	n.d.	II	22
—— St. George ..	SE.	W	n.d.	II	22
Spennithorne ..	SE.	S by C. Wyvill[1]	n.d.	III	52
Spofforth ..	SSW. (Before restoration)	S by S.M.G.S.	n.d.	III	53
Stainburn	SE.	W	n.d.	II	50
Stainforth	NE.	W	n.d.	II	3
Stainley, North ..	SE.	? Chalk litho. print	n.d.	III	27
————, South ..	SW.	S	n.d.	III	51
Stallingbusk [? Old Church]	SW.	W	n.d.	I	23
Stanley, nr. Wakefield	SW.	W (*Endorsed* O.W.K.)	n.d.	III	68
Stanwick, St. John	SE.	S by E. T. Parris	Oct. 1844	III	56
Startforth [Old Church]	SE.	S (Pen & ink)	n.d.	III	57
Staveley [Old Church]	ENE.	S by E.L.E.	1841	III	58
Tanfield	SE. (Distant view)	Chalk litho.	n.d.	III	59
————	ESE. as restored by Lord Ailesbury 1860	Ph by Rev. T. Milville Raven	n.d.	III	59
Thorner	SW. [Before reconstruction of 1855]	Chalk litho. print by Linforth	n.d.	III	60
Thornes, nr. Wakefield	SW.	WD	n.d.	III	69
Thornhill	SE. (Before reconstruction of Nave)	S by E.L.E.	n.d.	III	60

(1) *Endorsed*: Rev. E. Wyvill, Rector [1829–1869].

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Thornton[in-Craven]	SW.	S	n.d.	III	61
Thornton-in-Lonsdale	NW.	S (Pen & ink)	n.d.	III	62
Thornton Steward	SSE.	S	n.d.	III	62
————————	SW.	Ph	n.d.	III	62
Thornton Watlass	SE. (Before rebuilding)	Coloured perspective by C.W.	n.d.	III	63
Tunstall, par. Catterick	NW.	L by F. Arundale, dedicated to the Rev. John Croft, Vicar of Catterick,[1] and subscribers	n.d.	I	73
Upper Thong ..	NE.	L (E. H. Shellard, Archt., Manchester)	n.d.	I	15
Wakefield [All Saints', now Cathedral]	ENE. (Distant)	W (*Endorsed* O.W.K.)	n.d.	III	66
———— ———— ..	SW.	E by J. Le Keux (Dedicated to E. V. V. Harcourt, D.C.L., Abp. of York [1808–1847])	n.d.	III	64
—— Bridge Chapel	NW.	S by S. Johnson, Engraved by Fred Branston	n.d.	III	65
—— ———— ————	Int., E.	Ditto	n.d.	III	65
—— Holy Trinity	NW.	L by Day & Haghe	n.d.	III	67
—— St. John ..	SE.	S by E.L.E.	n.d.	III	66
Wath [by Ripon] ..	ESE.	WD	n.d.	III	70
Well	SE.	W by C. Wyvill	n.d.	III	70
Wensley	SW.	S	n.d.	III	71
Weeton, St. Barnabas	SE.	Architect's Drawing	n.d.	II	28
———— ————	S.	Ditto	n.d.	II	29
West Town, Dewsbury	ESE.	WD (Bonomi & Cory, Architects, Durham)	1846	I	86
Wetherby, St. James	SE.	L	n.d.	III	54
Whitkirk	SE.	S	n.d. [Before 1855–6]	III	75
————	SSW. (Distant)	S	n.d. [Shows Vicarage house, erected 1823]	III	75
Whitley	ESE.	W ("Chancel by Bonomi & Cory, Archts., Durham")	1846	II	53
Whixley	SW. [Before restoration]	S	n.d.	III	76

(1) Vicar 1841–1869.

Place-Name of Church	*Aspect*	*Kind of Illustration*	*Date*	*Vol.*	*Page*
Wibsey Chapel [par. Bradford]	S. (Prior to 1836)	S	n.d.	I	53
———— ..	S. [As rebuilt]	S	1843	I	53
Winksley	SE.	W	n.d.	III	28
Witton, East ..	SE.	WD by C. Wyvill	n.d.	III	73
Woodhouse, nr. Huddersfield [Christ Church]	SE.	S by G. D. Tomlinson	1833	II	39
————	SE. (Distant)	L	n.d.	II	40
————	SW.	E by H. Winkles	n.d.	II	39
————	Double-gable-fronted house (? Vicarage)	S by G. D. Tomlinson	1837	II	39
Wortley, New, St. John Baptist, Leeds	NE.	AP (coloured)	1852	II	70
Wycliffe	SW.	S	6 Oct. 1838	III	77
Wyke	SE.	AP (coloured): Mallinson & Healey, Archts., Halifax	n.d.	I	40
Yafforth (par. Danby Wiske)	SE.	W	n.d.	I	81
Yeadon (par. Guiseley) St. John ..	SE.	E by J. Wilson	n.d.	II	10

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1936.

Edited by Mary Kitson Clark.

York. The following coin was dug up in 1935 in Leeman Road, York.

Sm. br.: *Obv.*—Constantinopolis
Bust of Constantinopolis, helmeted, cuirassed, l., with sceptre.

Rev.—No legend. Victory st., l., foot on prow, holding sceptre and leaning on shield.

$\overline{\text{TR.P}}$ Treveri. *c.* A.D. 330–337.
Cohen 21. P.C.

Details of discoveries on the site of the Odeon Cinema, 1936, have not yet come to hand. M.K.C.

West Riding.

Adel. The trench opened in November and December, 1935, running due south for 100 feet from Mr. Hirsch's enclosure on the shoulder of the hill, was extended to 160 feet in January and February, 1936. Stretches of paving and rammed stone bared in November were cut through and proved to be of late date. They overlay a second-century occupation level. Two cooking holes and one hearth were cleared, and from one of the cooking holes a cook-pot was recovered. The work on this site to date suggests a ribbon village along the road from Ilkley to York. No trace of military occupation has been found as yet.

A spindle-whorl has been found in Mr. Hirsch's garden by the gardener, and another was found (and lost) some years previously.
B.J.W.K.

Askham Bryan. In the spring of 1936 the very much worn rim of a creamy-coloured mortarium was discovered by Mr. Atkinson, of Bilbrough, on or near "diamond or round paved areas at one foot depth over lumps of coal." The site was on the Leeds University Farm, south of the main York-Tadcaster road, and between the main road and the Copmanthorpe road. This appears

to be a new Romano-British dwelling site, near the Roman road from York to Ilkley. M.K.C.

Bramham. The coin of Antoninus Pius reported by Mr. Mellor in "Roman Yorkshire, 1934" (*Y.A.J.*, xxxii, 231) was found in the summer of 1933 on the road between Clifford and Bramham in the township of Bramham by one of a gang of men engaged in widening the road. M.K.C.

Dentdale. "*Overborough to Bainbridge.*" The compiler of "Roman Yorkshire" regrets that she permitted several errors to pass in Dr. Villy's note under this heading. Dr. Villy notes that the second sentence should run: "After a course of three miles, during which it passes Leck Fell House, it is swallowed by peat." *Hacken Gill* should be *Hacker Gill*; and *Widdale Fort* should be *Widdale Foot.*

Dr. Villy adds that in September, 1936, he cut trenches in ground suitable for a Roman fort, near the intersection of the Overborough-Bainbridge road with the Craven Way, and not far from where Deepdale opens into Dentdale. He found a ditch, and a mass of clay, combining with road metal in such a fashion as to suggest that the side of a fort may have been struck. There were no finds. Dr. Villy adds: "More definite statements cannot be made safely as yet." M.K.C.

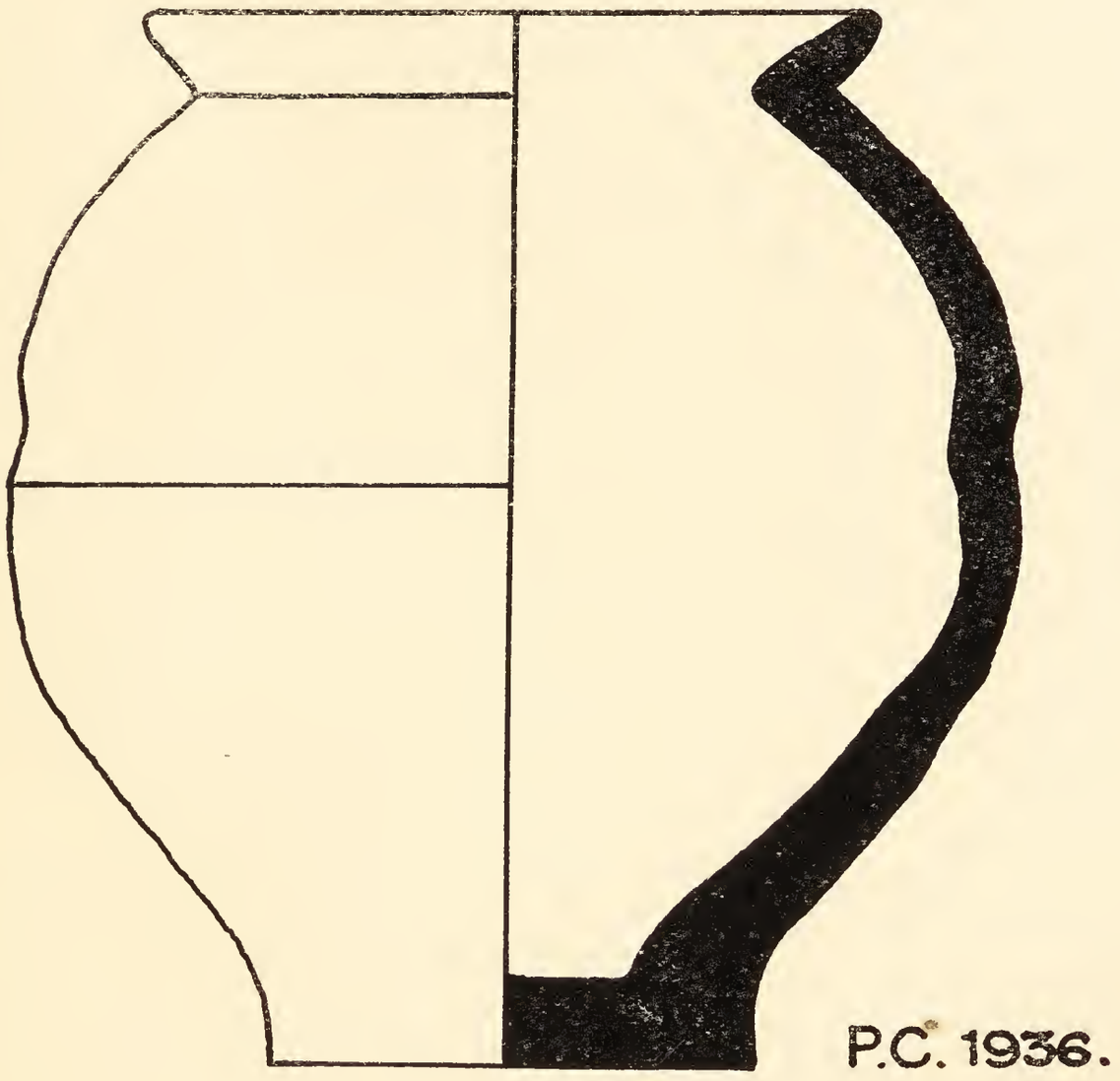
Harlow Hill, Harrogate. Mr. W. Preston reports the discovery of a silver coin of Faustina II (Fecvnditas), by Mr. Walling, early in 1933. The coin was found in the garden of a bungalow between the Harlow Carr Hotel and the road to Birk Crag. M.K.C.

Ingleborough. At a recent sale at Sotheby's Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard purchased from the collection of the late Dr. Arthur Relph, of Gerrard's Cross, a small black jar, labelled "Cinerary urn from a barrow on Ingleborough." The jar, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, is of hard black ware, containing fine crystalline sand in the clay. It is of bulbous form, with sharply everted rim, and probably belongs to the late first century A.D.

The probable origin of this jar is of great interest. As it is clearly too small to have been used to contain a cremation, the label may have been wrongly attributed. Or the description may

be no more than normally inaccurate, and the jar may have accompanied, if it did not contain, a cremation: indeed, the fact that it is perfect is in favour of its discovery with a burial.

Somewhere through this district ran the Roman road west from Bainbridge, and it is possible, particularly if there were settlements in the neighbourhood, that a Roman burial took place by the side of the highway even in this desolate country. In



INGLEBOROUGH.

fact, if the place of the burial could be identified as such, it would be a strong piece of evidence for the existence of a Roman road.

A cairn is marked on the 6″ O.S., xcvi, NE., in Sleights pasture, between Ribblehead Station and Chapel-le-dale. Another suspicious mound called Lockdiddy Hill, not far from Winterscales and Batty Moss viaduct, is marked on the Sheet lxxxi, SE. It is on the opposite side of the valley to the cairn already mentioned. Both stand on the lower slopes, above a stream, and

above a road in use. But neither mounds nor roads (as far as we know their course) are, strictly speaking, *on* Ingleborough, although they lie under its shadow.

There are, however, ancient dwelling sites *on* the hill. On sheet cxiii, NW., south-east of Ingleborough summit, and situated on the lower slopes of the hill, is Yarlsber Camp, an enclosure of about 1½ acres, with simple bank and ditch. This is described in *V.C.H.*, ii, 18, where Mrs. Armitage gives a reference to *The Antiquary*, 1905, p. 411. Here H. M. White, describing excavations in Castle Hill, Burton-in-Lonsdale, says incidentally (p. 417), "At Yarlsber the few finds unearthed (*e.g.*, flint chips, fragments of a black glass-like substance) shew traces of a very primitive race." It is not clear if Mrs. Armitage had private information, or if she understood the whole article to refer to Yarlsber, but there is nothing in White's account to support her statement that the mounds at Yarlsber were erected on a stone foundation. Phillips (*Rivers, Mountains, and Sea Coast of Yorkshire*, 2nd ed., 1855, p. 27) also describes the camp of Yarlsber. He further describes the much more interesting citadel that crowns the summit of Ingleborough itself (pp. 27–9, plate V), a hill-top town of rather over fifteen acres. His account and plan are not only more detailed than that of Armitage and Montgomerie (*V.C.H.*, ii, 6–7) but antedate the destruction that has nearly levelled the enclosing wall—presumably in order to erect the cairn. The following words are especially worth quoting:

"The wall is constructed after a regular plan....There is along the inner edge a series of broad, thin grit-stones set upright, edge to edge, so as to make a thin vertical face-wall or limit. From these at right angles proceed outward many other such rows of broad stones, also set on edge, forming 'throughs' at intervals of six feet; the intervening spaces being filled in with a dry-built wall: the openings in the wall already described are vertically faced, but the outer front of the wall is not so guarded; there are no buttresses. The enclosed area is generally and remarkably dry, and shows the millstone grit at the surface frequently. In this space are nineteen horse-shoe shaped low wall foundations, about 30 feet in diameter, each ring-like foundation having only one opening, which is always on the side looking towards the south-east. They are evidently the foundations of ancient huts (*Cyttiau*), each probably designed to bear a conical or dome-shaped roof of heath or sod—*congestum cæspite culmen*—with an opening turned away from the north-west, which is the quarter for violent wind

and snow-storms. No traces of fire have yet been found in any of these areas."

An interesting parallel at once suggests itself with the undated Castle Folds, by Great Asby, described by Mr. I. A. Richmond (*Trans. Cumb. and West.*, N.S., xxxiii, 1933, pp. 233–237). There the dry walling was held in place by two rows of single orthostats, eight to nine feet apart—not, as Phillips describes, by internal rows of cross-walls—commencing from an inner face. Phillips himself points out that this internal wall technique is similar to that of dry-stone cairns, and similarities are probably due to similar material: and although the type of site at Castle Folds is not wholly unlike, it would be irreverent to describe the noble lion-head of Ingleborough as a "fortified knoll."

At once we think of Iron Age and early Roman hill-top towns of South and West Britain; unfortunately we cannot use the small jar in Mr. Hildyard's collection as direct evidence for the first century date of this hill-town, or of any other of the field antiquities already mentioned; yet it is solid evidence for the early Romanization of the Yorkshire Pennines, and an indication of what we may expect to find among the hill-dwelling Brigantes and their conquerors. E.J.W.H., P.C., M.K.C.

Tadcaster. On February 12th, 1935, a stone coffin was discovered at Tadcaster by the workmen of Mr. J. C. Kettlewell in the garden of a house immediately west of Tadcaster cemetery (O.S., 6″, W.R., 190, SW.). It lay at a depth of four feet, was 6′ 9″ long and 2′ 3″ wide, and contained the bones of an adult. A minute scrap of castor ware was said to have been discovered inside it. There seems to be no doubt that the coffin is Roman, and it is one of the very few Roman finds that have ever been made in or near Tadcaster. It is not far from the supposed line of the York-Ilkley road. The coffin has been preserved by Mr. Kettlewell in his works on the Bridge at Tadcaster. M.K.C.

East Riding.

Brough. The work at the Roman town of Brough was continued from August 3rd to September 2nd, under the direction of the Reverend Thomas Romans and Mr. Philip Corder. The work on the defences was concluded and two areas within the town were examined.

Defences.—Two further sections of the early turf rampart were made. This was found, south of the gate, to consist of laid turves on a bottoming of laid stones 16 feet wide behind the later stone wall. At the north-east corner there had been neither internal tower nor external bastion, and the ditch turned with the wall, destroying the early turf rampart which had continued its line northwards. No gate, except that discovered in 1935, had existed on the east side of the town. The date of the stone wall and its accompanying clay rampart was confirmed by a coin of Sabina and stamps of CENSORINVS and FRONTINVS.

Two other bastions were discovered south of the gate, and their interval determined.

The buildings within the town revealed seven phases of the occupation. The early native huts of wattle and daub were succeeded by massive stone buildings very early in the second century, before the town had received its first defences. Before they were built, the debris of the early occupation had been buried by a spread of clean sand. This first phase of Romanization was short-lived, and is represented by massive footings only, for, where walls were found standing upon them, they belong to a later rebuilding. After a complete destruction, possibly to be associated with the disturbances in the second decade of the second century, there followed a rather poor and hasty rebuilding, and it is probable that at this time the town received its first defences. In the second quarter of the second century a channelled hypocaust of excellent masonry superseded one of these poor earlier buildings, and to this period may be assigned the town wall. Full occupation of the town in the third century was attested by coins and pottery. In the Constantian period there was a complete rebuilding, sometimes on the burnt remains of earlier buildings, but also on new sites, and these buildings were no longer in alignment with the earlier defences of the town. The late fourth-century occupation was slight and confined to a portion of the town only, and no buildings could be certainly assigned to it. 58 coins were found, ranging from Vespasian to Constans. A large quantity of pottery was recovered, including a complete rustic jar from a rubbish pit ante-dating the earliest stone buildings. Greater precision in the dating of the various building phases can only be expected when time has been allowed for the study of the finds, and the above conclusions must be considered as provisional. P.C.

Mr. T. Sheppard, Director of Museums in Hull, published in the daily press in October a very important discovery of bronzes, skeletons, and some remains of the Brough-York Roman road, all of which were found in October, 1936. No further reference is necessary here, as a detailed account will doubtless follow.

M.K.C.

Elmswell. Excavations were continued in August, 1936, by Mr. A. L. Congreve, with Mrs. Holtby's kind permission. No buildings were found, but finds were very plentiful, including an iron awl complete with its bone handle and Roman and Saxon pottery; there was a Samian Form 33 stamped Rottali–m. Nine coins were found, among them a barbarous minim. A full account is in process of composition. A.L.C.

Hornsea. Mr. Corder reported the following coin in 1935: "Found near Hornsea."

A.V. *Obv.*—Imp Cae Magnentivs Avg
Bust, dr., r.

Rev.—Victoria Avg Lib Romanor
Victory l., facing a draped figure (Roma?), r.; between them a trophy.

$\overline{\text{TR}}$ Treveri. *c.* A.D. 350–352.

P.C.

Market Weighton. Mr. Corder reported the following coins in 1935, as found at Skelfrey Park Farm, Market Weighton.

Sm. br. *Obv.*—Constans Pf Avg
Bust, diad., dr., r.

Rev.—Victor)iae Dd Avgg (Q Nn
Two Victories facing, each holding wreath and palm; mint mark lost. *c.* A.D. 341–345.

Cohen 179.

Sm. br. *Obv.*—Dn Magnen(tivs Pf Avg
Bare head, bust, dr., r.

Rev.—Victoriae(dd Nn Avg Et Caes
Two Victories facing, holding wreath, bearing Vot V Mvlt

Cohen 68–71. *c.* A.D. 351–353.

P.C.

MILLINGTON.

(1) Coin.

Mr. Corder reported in 1935 that the following coin was "found in a garden at Millington, by a Mr. Long."

Sm. br. *Obv.*—IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG
Bust, radiate, draped, r.

Rev.—PAX AVG
Pax, st. l., holding branch and transverse sceptre.
Mint mark lost.

c. A.D. 286–293.

Cohen 209.

P.C.

(2) Thieves' Sty, Millington Pasture.

This old road is supposed to be part of the main Brough-Malton Roman road (Kitson Clark, *Gazetteer, E. Yorks.*, pp. 38, 111) where it is stated that it is marked by the O.S. as such, and that "It looks likely, both on the ground and from the air; but all the valleys that meet here in a knot are interlaced with entrenchments and tracks." It is also on much the most direct line between Warter and Painsthorpe Wold. However, Brigadier-General Sir Edward Whitley watched the recent laying of a pipe-line by the Pocklington Rural District from Garrowby Reservoir in September, 1935, which cut across the line of this old road a trench about 2′ 6″ deep, and he records that there was no trace of foundation or paving north of the stream, although the paved ford is still extant. The pipe-line ran parallel with the stream about twenty yards to the north, and would have cut any road running parallel to Thieves' Sty. We know that the Brough-Malton road was paved at Londesborough (Kitson Clark, *Op. cit.*, p. 98), so that, in Sir Edward's own words, it looks as if this really was a Thieves' Sty, probably mediæval, and that the official road lay elsewhere. In that case we should expect the main road to make a detour round the head of the valley by Huggate, just as the modern road does, and it is fair to point out that the line from Cold Wold Cottages to Millington Beck has never been satisfactory. But the whole problem requires careful re-examination.

During the same excavation a quern was discovered at Warter Priory. M.K.C.

RUDSTON. The excavations at Rudston were resumed on August 3rd, under the direction of Mr. K. A. Steer, and terminated

on August 28th. Mr. R. H. Stanwell assisted in the work of supervision, and welcome additional labour was provided by ten past and present scholars of the Alsop High School, Liverpool, led by Mr. O. N. Jones, who stayed on the site for a fortnight. As a detailed report on the excavation should appear in these pages in due course, only a brief review of the month's work need be given at this stage.

As last year, the excavations were concentrated in the area west of the mosaic pavements, where trenches cut in 1934 had indicated the presence of outbuildings. One of these, the "Workshop," had been partially excavated in 1935 (*Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 81–86) and two occupation levels, the earlier Constantinian, and the later Theodosian, had been distinguished. Excavation of the eastern half of the building confirmed the existence of these two periods, the upper level yielding coins of Valens and Gratian (2), in association with pottery of the Huntcliff type, and the lower five "radiate" coins and a quantity of early fourth-century ware. Two more ovens, making seven in all from the early level, were brought to light.

Further west, 11 Building (*Y.A.J.*, vol. xxxiii, plan opp. p. 82) was examined, with disappointing results. It proved to contain three floor-levels, but the quantity of pottery yielded was negligible and throws practically no light on the history of the building. More disappointing was the entire lack of datable evidence from the ditch, which, as indicated last year, was sealed beneath the original chalk floor. The west wall of 11 Building abuts on to the remains of an apsidal structure, whose east to west wall is crossed by an isolated stretch of walling with no returns (Building III on plan). Excavation in this area proved that the apsidal building did not belong to the original occupation of the site, for two floors were found running underneath the footings of the east to west wall. Again the yield of pottery was too small to serve as evidence for dating purposes, but it appears probable that all the stone buildings so far discovered on the site are of third- or fourth-century construction. In this connection the work of the last week was most important, for inside the north-east angle of the boundary wall remains of a post-hole structure were discovered, with considerable stratified pottery of second-century type, including a complete Samian cup (Form 33) stamped by the Lezoux potter GENITOR. This gives a clue to the mass of unstratified second-century pottery from the site, and suggests that it is in this area that the early history of the villa is to be sought for.

Outstanding amongst the by-products of the excavation were two fibulæ found together inside the apsidal building, but below the wall footings. Both were in an excellent state of preservation. The smaller of the two is of the first-century wing-bow type, comparatively rare on North of England sites, while the second is a perfect example of the enamelled head-stud brooch dating to the second century. A slide key and two sickle-shaped keys of a type found in the *vicus* of the Roman fort at Zugmantel, on the German lines, will, it is hoped, be illustrated in the forthcoming report, together with sections of the pottery excavated during the last two years. K.A.S.

Thorp-le-Street, Shipton. Further finds of pottery have been made by Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard and others in the gravel-pit, near Thorp-le-Street (*Y.A.J.*, xxxi, 199, and xxxii, 234). These range from native calcite-gritted Iron Age ware to sherds of Signal Station type. P.C.

North Riding.

Ampleforth. Mr. G. F. Wilmot reports his discovery, in October, 1936, of a Romano-British pot near the track linking the High Street and the Hambledon Street. Further details will be forthcoming later. M.K.C.

Bowes.

(1) A Roman Altar from Bowes.

This altar was recently detected by Mr. S. E. Harrison, of the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, whilst inspecting a number of worked stones which had been unearthed about thirty years ago. The find-spot is 253 paces east of the fort and six paces north of the road which runs in an east-west direction on the south of the village. A stone with typical broaching completes the Roman material, and it seems improbable that the collection had been deposited in Roman times.

The capital and part of the die of an altar which had been broken and re-dedicated, our fragment is 21 inches high, 11 inches wide, and 8 inches thick; on the top there is carved a rude focus, but the sides are devoid of ornament. In the opinion of the local stone-mason the stone is a local grit and is of the same nature as that found at Crag quarry, some two miles north of the village.



On the front are the following inscriptions:

(*on the capital*)	(M)ARTI	Marti Condati	To Mars-Condatis
	CONDATI	Arponakus	Arponakus pays a
	ARPONAK	votum solvit	vow willingly and
	VS VSLM	libens merito	deservedly
(*on the die*)	MART	Marti	To Mars

Originally dedicated to Mars, this altar appears to have been broken and a new inscription afterwards carved on the capital; in the second state it was probably sunk in the ground, thus hiding the older inscription.

Professor R. G. Collingwood informs me that the character of the lettering would incline him to place the earlier inscription within the second half of the second century and the later one perhaps into the third century, the latter date fitting well with his conclusions after a close study of these local cults.

I am indebted to Mr. I. A. Richmond for the following note:

" The epithet *condatis*, applied to Mars, is of interest to northern students, because it occurs exclusively between the Tyne and the Tees basin. In addition to the new stone from Bowes, two others are known—from Piercebridge (*C.* 420) and Chester-le-Street (*EE.* vii, 984). The meaning of the term is not in doubt: *condate* signifies in Gallic (Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz, s. v.*) a waters-meet, and is attached to many Gaulish places in such a position, and to one British site somewhere south-west of Manchester. One may mention *Condate*—Rennes, at the meeting of Loire and Nohain; *Condate*—Condé-sur-Iton (Eure), between two branches of the Iton, and *Condatisco*—St. Claude (Jura), whose etymology is actually explained in the traditional life of St. Romanus (*Acta Sanctorum,* 28 Feb., III, 741D). " Mars *condatis* " may thus certainly be explained as Mars of the watersmeet; though it is not clear whether this refers to one confluence, where lay a temple famous in its district, such as *Fanum Cocidi* in Cumberland (*Ravenna List,* 433, 4), or whether it applies to the locality in which each of the dedications was found. Against the second view there is the strong point that deities were rarely so distinguished.

Whatever the nature of the cult, its dedicators come from no high station in life. The most distinguished is the *mensor* from Piercebridge, a surveyor whose profession would suggest that his dedication could have reference to a boundary-adjustment affecting the interests of the shrine. The dedicator from Chester-le-Street does not state his rank, and his name is not clear on the stone. Arponakus of Bowes has only a single non-Roman name, suggestive of low birth, as agrees with the poverty of his dedication carved upon a stone already smashed. As might be expected, this native cult attracted humble worshippers, matching in this respect the cult of Belatucadrus, which covers a somewhat wider area in Cumberland and Westmorland (*C. & W. Trans.*, N.S., xxxii, 136–7)."

The altar has been removed to the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle, where it may now be seen. J.McI.

(2) The Roman Road from Bowes to Binchester.

Search was made in September near Bowes for this road, which had already been proved in three places in County Durham. Near the road-junction 200 yards north of Bowes railway-station a broad mound begins, which, keeping about forty yards south of the modern road to Barnard Castle, accompanies it for nearly a mile. To see whether it covered the Roman road, Mr. R. P. Wright, of the Durham University Excavation Committee, probed and trenched the mound. Trenches were also cut in the field due west of the road-junction to learn whether the Roman road, if underlying the Barnard Castle road along this sector, continued westwards after the modern highway turns south. In both cases the results were negative. R.P.W.

Crambeck. In the autumn of 1935, G. B. Walker, R. S. Harland, and D. H. Waller, of Bootham School, York, located a kiln site between Whitwell and Crambeck, about half a mile from the kilns discovered in 1927 (*Y.A.J.*, xxxii, 465). The site was at the foot of a pylon, which lay in the track of the new road in course of construction by the N.R.C.C. between York and Malton. With the permission of the County Surveyor the kilns were excavated by myself and boys from Bootham School, before they were entirely removed (*Yorkshire Post*, July 16th, 1936).

The kilns were exactly similar in type to those discovered in 1927; but, unlike these, both showed clear signs of having been reconstructed, and it has been possible to relate this reconstruction to the types of pottery manufactured in them. In view of the widespread distribution of Crambeck wares in the fourth century, and their usefulness in dating other sites, it is hoped shortly to publish an account of these kilns, with a discussion of the date of their products. P.C.

Gillamoor. Mr. R. W. Crossland reports the discovery of shards and a loom-weight in the summer of 1936, during excavations conducted by the Kirkby Moorside District Council for an enlarged reservoir half a mile south of Gillamoor. The shards include two bases, one-calcite gritted, and the lip of a bowl. All were probably made at the Crambeck kilns. The loom-weight is limestone, five inches long. This is a welcome addition to the fringe of Roman sites on the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering,

where we should expect to find Dr. Elgee's " tabular hills " to be well inhabited during the Roman period. M.K.C.

WHITBY. Mr. H. P. Kendall reports the following two coins on behalf of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society Museum:

(1) Large brass of Antoninus Pius, struck in Alexandria for local circulation, A.D. 149.

Rev.—Zeus seated l., with eagle.

Found in digging foundations of a New Higher Grade School on the West Cliff, Whitby, 1935. No other objects.

(2) Small brass of Constantine II. A.D. 330–335.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITUS. Mint mark : ? Thessalonica.

Found in 1928 in digging foundations in the rebuilding of the " Jolly Sailor " Inn on St. Anne's Staith. H.P.K.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. CROSSLEY, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

REVIEWS.

York Minster and Neighbouring Abbeys and Churches. By Gordon Home; 192 pp.; London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1936.

This small book is one of a series under the editorship of Mr. Gordon Home. He himself is responsible for this volume. 136 pages are given to the Minster; 18 pages to St. Mary's Abbey, some York buildings and churches; 18 pages to the Abbeys of Rievaulx, Byland, Kirkham, and Whitby; and at the end three pages about one or two Yorkshire churches. The book is characteristic of its author; he has the gift of being picturesque and interesting, and shows himself an artist not merely in delightful little sketches, but also in word pictures. This is a kind of book that will be read by a person unable to tackle a serious guide book.

The book seems to have been hastily put together and contains a good number of mistakes. Alcuin is said to have received his education "in the Cloister School of York." There never was such an institution. Alcuin is also said to have founded the early York Library, whereas he merely carried on the work of Archbishops Albert and Egbert. The dignity of Chancellorship is stated to be pre-Norman, showing that Mr. Home has not studied Hugh the Chanter. It was not until 1191 that the Chancellor is mentioned. Ingulph is quoted as an authority for a pre-Norman monastery in York, on or near the site of St. Mary's. An uninformed reader reading Mr. Home will certainly receive the impression that the Shrine of St. William was in the Nave of York Minster, and not behind the High Altar. We are told that after the execution of Scrope Henry IV rode from Bishopthorpe to Cawood. What he did do was to ride from York to Green Hammerton. On one page the new pavement of the Minster is said to have been laid in 1732; on another page in 1734. A.R.

Swaledale. By Ella Pontefract. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1934; pp. 216 of text; 31 illustrations, 2 maps and a plan. Cloth, 8vo.

This book particularly deals with the life of the people as author and illustrator have known it for the last few years.

It owes something to Leland's *Itinerary* (1535–46), Clarkson's *Richmond* (1821), Dr. Whitaker's *Richmondshire* (1823), and the works of Speight, Bogg, A. H. Smith, A. Raistrick; also *Y.A.J.* and *V.C.H. Yorks.*

The illustrations are generally good and include a pack-horse bridge, now washed away; a plan of the town of Richmond, and

one of Easby Abbey (reproduced from H.M. Office of Works' measured plan).

Although written in a popular manner—it is not documented and has no footnotes—the work covers the natural and historical and archæological features of the district, with some notice of manners and customs and of dialect. G.E.K.

Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-painting, by John A. Knowles, F.S.A.; xv + 253 pages, preface, 63 plates, 79 figures in the text, and index. S.P.C.K., 30*s*. net.

Nobody but Mr. Knowles could have written this book, for he is the only person who combines in himself that intimate acquaintance with the technique of glass-painting, that wide knowledge of medieval painted glass in general, and that detailed familiarity—the word "friendship" would hardly be the wrong word—with the medieval painted glass of York in particular, all of which the book displays.

Only a handful of students resident in York have thought it worth their while to study the York glass in any detail from the time of James Torre (who died in the year 1699, and to whom Mr. Knowles on page 188 does less than justice) to the present day. It is to be hoped that the junior branch of the Yorkshire Architectural and Archæological Society will in time remedy this defect.

In this book Mr. Knowles has given us what may be called a peep behind the scenes. We see the working of the minds which planned the contents of the windows, the interiors of the workshops, the business side of the craft of glass-painting, the mutual influence of the York and other schools on one another, the combination of the craftsmen in gilds, and, finally and fitly, the connection between the church of St. Helen and the glass-painters who lived in the parish. Several descriptive accounts of the York glass in various periods exist, but this book breaks fresh ground.

Mr. Knowles makes some statements which will not be universally accepted. Quite rightly he refuses to agree with those—they cannot be a large proportion of those who know very much about the middle ages—who cannot see in the artistic products of that period anything but the best in motive and achievement. But some of his judgments on the ecclesiastics and the lay folk of the middle ages are disturbing even to those whose critical faculties are by no means disarmed by the stupendous artistic triumphs of that period. It is comforting to hope that Mr. Knowles's judgments are justified by circumstances that were exceptional. Mr. Knowles criticises the Minster because it does not contain "a single carving of any religious subject" (page 51). Several come at once to the mind of one who for years has had an almost daily acquaintance with the Minster; and how many were destroyed either before or during the fires of 1829 and 1840 it is probably impossible to say. The criticism that "the chapter house.....contains in three windows more subjects from holy writ than all the rest of the windows" in the building is one that simple counting can prove

not to be true. Four (not three) windows in the chapter house contain 80 scriptural subjects; a fifth, at the foot, contains five figures of New Testament saints; and a sixth, in one light, five episodes from the life of St. John the Baptist. The rest of the building can show nearly 400 such subjects, including single figures of our Lord and New Testament saints. Mr. Knowles suggests that the East Window was filled, in 81 panels, with pictures from the Apocalypse simply because these easily and conveniently filled the empty spaces. But the Apocalypse subject was used because it is an integral part of the general idea represented in the window, namely, *Ego sum Alpha et Omega*. Further, in choosing the Apocalypse the Dean and Chapter, by a bold stroke, revived an interest in the Apocalypse which had been the chief attraction of illuminated manuscripts in the thirteenth century.

Mr. Knowles criticises a so-called "English altar" in the Minster as being unworthy because this kind of altar is "a cheap makeshift for poor parishes that could not afford a carved reredos." There are two altars of this kind in the Minster, one in the Lady Chapel (surmounted by a coloured reredos, and part of a very costly scheme which beautified the Lady Chapel exceedingly) and one in the Zouche Chapel (part of the scheme to provide a memorial to the late Lionel Ford, Dean of York from 1926 to 1932, a scheme which involved the conversion of the chapel from a vestry into a worthy place for private prayer). In neither case did cheapness, which on occasion may be a paramount consideration even in the case of a cathedral, dictate the style of altar chosen.

Here and there, words and phrases are used which might be expressed differently, such as "country bumpkins" (page 47) and "intriguing" (pages 111 and 146). Some inaccuracies and inconsistencies are apparent, of which a few examples may be given—"Thomas's church" for "Thomas's choir" (page 8); "south" for "north" (page 69, line 4 from foot); "St. Quintin *c.* 1420" (page 87), which becomes "St. Quintin 1420" (page 89) and "St. Quentin 1425" (page 122); "Germany" for "Holy Roman Empire" (page 180, note 2); and "rector" for "vicar" (page 253). Printers' errors, however, are refreshingly few, and, like those inaccuracies and inconsistencies which easily escape notice in the last of many long stages in the production of a book of this kind, can be remedied in future editions, for which it is hoped that there will be a demand.

In a large review it would be possible to discuss various matters which Mr. Knowles has raised, such as (1) the re-building of St. Martin's church, Coney Street, from 1443 to 1450, about which certain documentary evidence exists which was made known in the year 1926 by the present writer in a booklet on the church; (2) the whereabouts of a portion of the fifteenth-century east window of this church, which can be seen in the west aisle of the south transept of York Minster; (3) the transference of possibly eleven of the thirteen lights damaged in the fire of 1829 from the east end of the clerestory of the Lady Chapel to various other

places in the Minster; (4) the date of the Peter de Dene window in the north aisle of the nave of the Minster; and various other matters, such as the possibility that the north transept of the Minster should have been finished by the year 1240. These are a few amongst other matters which may only be mentioned here.

The sketches of his own which Mr. Knowles has included in the book show him to be a draughtsman of a high order, and, though one sighs for coloured reproductions of medieval painted glass in almost every book about it which is published, the price of this book naturally makes any such sighs in this case unreasonable. We end by thanking Mr. Knowles for his permanent and unique contribution to a fuller understanding of the York medieval painted glass and of the men whose combined efforts over several centuries deserve to have formed a separate "school," of which Mr. Knowles and his family are almost the only modern representatives. F.H.

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Bradford Antiquary, N.S., part xxviii, contains—The Settlement of Ryecroft, by W. Robertshaw; The Rev. Jeremie Collier, M.A.; The Bradford Mail during 300 years, by A. E. Trout; Notes on the Early History of the Manor of Eccleshill, by W. E. Preston; The Manor of Wakefield; The Bainbridge–Ilkley Roman road and the intermediate fortification at Coniston, by F. Villy; Letter from Robert More, Puritan Rector of Guiseley; Butler Wood—an appreciation, by W. H. Barraclough; Rents of the Honor of Pontefract; The Old Bradford Workhouse; Manningham Poor Lands.

The Hull Museum Publications contain—No. 188: Numismatic Notes; The South Ferriby Theodosian Hoard, by B. H. St. J. O'Neill; and Roman Aes found at South Ferriby, by J. W. E. Pearce. No. 189: Excavations at Brough, E. Yorkshire; Third Interim Report, 1935, by P. Corder and T. Romans. No. 190: Record of Additions (recent discoveries on the Roman site at Brough; Bronze Age Burials at Cleethorpes, by T. Sheppard).

The Thoresby Society's Publications, vol. xxxiv, contains—The Court Books of the Leeds Corporation—First Book, January 1662 to August 1705; transcribed by J. G. Clark.

Proceedings of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archæological Society, vol. ii, no. 4, contains—Heart Burials, by A. A. R. Gill; The Bedern College and Chapel, by Chancellor F. Harrison; Excavation of an Earthwork in Heworth, by A. R. and P. C.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. xvi, includes—A Note on a looped socketed celt from Yorkshire (p. 323).

The Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters, vol. vi, includes—A History of the York School of Glass-Painting: xvii, the Medieval Glass-Painter, by J. A. Knowles.

The British Museum Quarterly, vol. x, includes—The Clarke–Thornhill collection of British Coins (p. 156).

The British Numismatic Journal, vol. 21, includes—The Mints of Canterbury and York in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII; by G. C. Brooke (p. 73).

The Cambridge Historical Journal, vol. v, includes—The Case of Saint William of York, by Dom David Knowles.

The Catholic Record Society, vol. 35 (Miscellanea), includes—The Catholic Registers of Little Blake Street Chapel, now St. Wilfrid's, York, 1771–1838, by J. S. Hansom; The Catholic Register of Nut Hill and Hedon in Holderness, East Riding of Yorkshire, by J. P. Smith and J. R. Baterden.

The Connoisseur, April 1936, includes—A paper on Heraldry of Yorkshire Families, by F. S. Eden.

The Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, vol. vii, part 2, includes—Some Tomb Slabs in Teesdale Churches, by R. H. Eddleston (Middleton in Teesdale, Romaldkirk, Eggleston, and Wycliffe).

The Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society, vol. xiii, includes—Aaron of York, by Michael Adler.

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, Fifth Series, vol. ix, includes—A Short Pedigree of Baxster of Sharphill, par. Drax (p. 188), and a Pedigree of Farrer of Ewood (p. 224).

The Numismatic Chronicle, Fifth Series, 1936, part 3, includes—A Hoard of Constantinian Coins from Langwith, York, by Anne S. Robertson (p. 235).

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[*Note.*—Books and Pamphlets are included in this list which have been issued from 1 Jan., 1925. The compiler will be glad to hear of any which may have escaped his notice.]

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The Register of the Civil Marriages, 1653–1660, belonging to Richmondshire; ed. by G. W. Waine; and an Index to the Parish Register Transcripts belonging the Archdeaconry of Richmond (the ancient deaneries of Boroughbridge, Catterick and Richmond) from their commencement to 1848; ed. by W. Oliver; 9×6; pp. xvii + 94; and xxii; Yorkshire Parish Register Society, vol. ci, 1936.

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Speeton Parish and Church, in the East Riding of Yorkshire; by George Alcock; 8½ × 5½; pp. 54; Scarborough: Saint Nicholas Press, Ltd., 1936.

Roman Yorkshire; by F. R. Pearson; 8½ × 5½; pp. xii + 208; London: A. Brown & Sons, Ltd., 1936.

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CONTENTS OF PART 131.

(Being the Third part of Volume XXXIII.)

	PAGE
EDITORIAL NOTES—The Harrogate Group Movement	235
Committee on Prehistoric Antiquities	235
Summer Excursions, 1937	235
An Ancient Chest from Brighouse	236
THE FOUNDATION OF CHANTRIES IN THE COUNTIES OF NOTTINGHAM AND YORK, 1350–1400 (Part II)	237
MARJORIE A. RILEY, B.A.	
COMPARISON OF THE KEEPS OF BUNGAY AND SCARBOROUGH	287
HUGH BRAUN, F.S.A.	
CUP AND RING MARKINGS TO THE NORTH OF OTLEY	291
E. T. COWLING.	
NEW RECORDS OF THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE	298
A. G. DICKENS.	
A DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE COLLECTION IN YORKSHIRE OF A SUBSIDY UNDER THE ACT OF 1601	309
C. T. CLAY, M.A., V.P.S.A.	
THE KELLINGTON SERPENT-STONE	314
CANON EGBERT C. HUDSON, M.A.	
GIANTS' GRAVES, PENYGENT	318
W. BENNETT, M.A.	
THE ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON (E. YORKS.)—Fourth Interim Report	321
K. A. STEER, B.A.	
OBITUARY—HUGH PERCY KENDALL	339
REV. CANON A. A. R. GILL, M.A.	342
YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS	343
REVIEW	344
TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES	344
PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.	345
YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY	345

Illustrations.

EDITORIAL NOTE—Ancient Chest from Brighouse	236
SCARBOROUGH AND BUNGAY—Comparison of the Keeps	286
CUP AND RING MARKINGS TO THE NORTH OF OTLEY—	
Map of Area	290
The Various Markings	292, 294, 296
THE KELLINGTON SERPENT-STONE	*facing* 314
GIANTS' GRAVES, PENYGENT—Map of Site	*facing* 318
THE ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON—	
Plan of Site	320
Ditch Section	326
Pottery from the 'Workshop'	332
Pottery from the Ditches, etc.	334
Objects of Bronze, Bone, and Iron	336

Editorial Notes.

THE HARROGATE GROUP MOVEMENT.

The Harrogate group movement, mentioned in the last issue of the *Journal,* is making considerable progress and has already brought in forty-eight new members to the Society.

Reports have been received of many objects of historical interest which require either protection, restoration, or exploration, and owners of land have offered it for those purposes; ancient deeds and other objects of historical interest have been promised. Afternoon excursions and lectures are being arranged for the summer, and the members are looking forward to a profitable season.

It is very much hoped that members of the Society will initiate similar movements in such centres as Barnsley, Doncaster, Dewsbury, Rotherham, Skipton, Otley, and Ilkley. The officials of the Society would give their support, and the desire for a membership of at least 1,000 could be easily attained.

H. C.

COMMITTEE ON PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES.

A Committee has recently been formed by the Council for the study of this branch of Archæology in Yorkshire. All members of the Society who are interested in the subject are asked to communicate with Dr. A. Raistrick, Armstrong College, Newcastle upon Tyne, so that they may be summoned to a meeting which it is hoped to hold at 10, Park Place, Leeds, in July or August.

Dr. Raistrick would also be glad to hear of any new finds in the county.

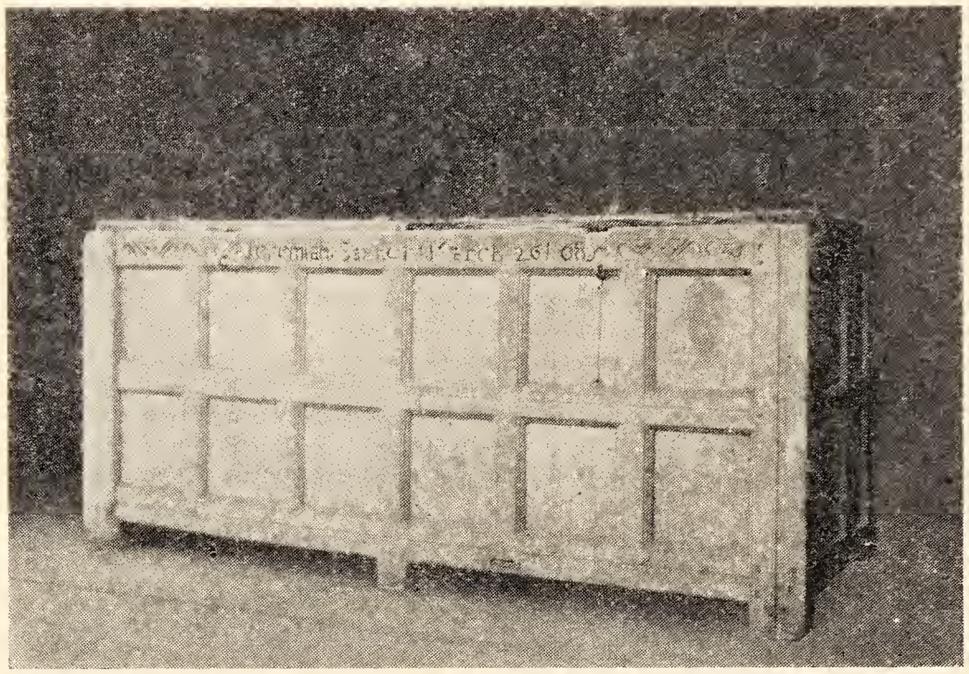
E. W. C.

SUMMER EXCURSIONS, 1937.

June 4—Harrogate–Knaresborough District.

July 21 and 22—Richmond District (under Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson, V.P.S.A.).

Sept. 8—East Riding: Driffield and Hornsea (under the Rev. H. Lawrance, M.A.).



AN ANCIENT CHEST FROM BRIGHOUSE.

This chest was disposed of at a recent sale at Rastrick House, Brighouse, where it had been for many years. It is of oak, 6 ft. 10 in. long, 3 ft. high, and 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and bears the inscription, "Jeremiah Baxter, March 26, 1685." Its particular interest lies in the knowledge extant of its original owner.

Jeremiah Baxter lived at Northowram, was a member of Oliver Heywood's congregation, and one of his most intimate friends, being frequently mentioned in his diaries, as is his son, likewise named Jeremiah. The former died in 1705, when his son became owner of the farm. See Pearson's *Northowram*, p. 259, for further information. H. T. C.

THE FOUNDATION OF CHANTRIES IN THE COUNTIES OF NOTTINGHAM AND YORK, 1350-1400.

By Marjorie A. Riley, B.A.

Part II.

II—Chantries Founded in Perpetuity (*continued*).

The foundations of chantries in the parish churches of York bear ample witness to the fact that the average layman in the fourteenth century preferred to have his name and memory perpetuated in the church in which he had habitually worshipped during his life, rather than in the great cathedral which stood apart in a little world of its own. As in the cathedral church, so in the city as a whole, York holds the record in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire for the greatest number of foundations made between 1350 and 1400. There is evidence for the foundation of twelve chantries in perpetuity, and letters patent were issued for nine more in the city for this period; but there are no exceptional features in their foundation, and the real interest of these chantries lies in the founders, for, as has been truly said, the real link between the municipality and the Church was the chantry priest; in the chantries the mayor and his brethren had a personal, vivid interest,[1] as they were so often the founders of the chantries.[2] Just as the little community of cathedral clergy made their benefactions to the places where their names were best known, so in the same way the mediæval citizens perpetuated their memory.

The earliest chantry for this period at York was founded in the church of S. Peter the Little, at the altar of S. John the Baptist, by Robert and William Swetemouth between 1350 and 1357.[3] Licence was granted for the alienation of two messuages in York on October 14th, 1350,[4] and an inquisition taken in September 1357[5] mentions John Cockeland, keeper of the chantry lately founded by Robert and William Swetemouth. In 1359 the chantry was

[1] *York Mem. Book*, ii, Introduction, p. lxiii.

[2] *Ibid.*, *passim*, shows that this was especially so at York.

[3] *Y.C.S.*, i, 49, gives the date of foundation as 1358.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 5.

[5] *Inq. ad quod damnum*, 30 Ed. III, No. 13 (Ed's note, *Y.C.S.*, i, 49).

augmented by John de Acomb, junior, who had licence to endow the chaplain with a plot of land near the church and 9/– of rent.[1]

In 1361 Robert Houom or Howom, a mercer and a citizen of York, had licence to found a chantry of one priest in the church of Holy Trinity in Gothrumgate, and endow it with six marcs of rent for the good estate of the founder and of Katharine his wife.[2] Not content with this provision for his soul's good, or perhaps because he became wealthier as time went on, Robert twice augmented his chantry; once in 1368 with 22/– of rent,[3] and again in 1395 when the chantry is called that of S. James.[4]

The executors of the wills of William Grantham, also a mercer and citizen of York, and of William Santon, obtained licence on February 5th, 1371,[5] to alienate four messuages in York to a chaplain to celebrate in S. Helen's, Stonegate, for the souls of William de Grantham, Maud, his late wife, and William Santon. Archbishop Thoresby's ordination of the chantry was made on June 2nd following.[6] It appears from this that Grantham had bequeathed lands and tenements to Santon, for him and his executors to found a chantry for the testator, but evidently Santon himself had died before this was done, and the executors of both undertook the task. The chantry was to be at the altar of the Blessed Virgin on the south side of the church, where William Grantham was buried. The presentation was to belong to his executors, and after their death to the rector of the church and the greater part of the parishioners, with fifteen days' lapse to the parishioners alone, and so to the archbishop.[7]

Another chantry was founded in this church, at the altar of S. Michael, for the soul of Ralph Hornby, a merchant of York, by his wife Joan, Thomas de Garton, chaplain, and William Savage of London, to whom Ralph had left certain rents to be used for this purpose. Royal licence was granted on July 18th, 1379,[8] and the confirmation of the foundation was made by Archbishop Neville in the following September.[9] Thomas de Garton was the chantry

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 240. Both Robert Swetemouth and John Acomb were connected with the building of Zouche's chapel in the cathedral. See *ante*, p. 156 [Pt. 130].

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 102—Nov. 5th, 1361.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1367–70, p. 47.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1391–96, p. 597. *Y.C.S.*, i, 52, gives this date as the date of foundation.

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 42.

[6] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 162–3.

[7] In the chantry certificate (i, 72) the founder is given as "Wylliam Sampton and others," and the date 1371.

[8] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 375.

[9] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 28d–29. The founder possessed a considerable amount of property in York, judging from the list of tenements given in Neville's register, out of which the endowment came.

priest in 1384, when the chantry was augmented by William Savage, Thomas de Briggenhale and Thomas de Abbay of York.[1]

The chantry which was founded for the soul of Richard Wateby, late citizen of York, in the church of S. John the Evangelist, is another instance of the foundation of a chantry after the death of the benefactor. His executors had licence dated February 19th, 1376,[2] to alienate nine marcs and 10/– of rent out of four messuages in York for the endowment. In September 1379 Thomas de Quixley, chaplain, was presented by Sir Richard Hebden and Joan, his wife, the daughter of Richard de Wateby, to the chantry, and on October 24th Quixley was sworn before the mayor, John Acastre, to fulfil all the requirements of the chantry ordinance.[3] This act of the chantry chaplain reveals a close connexion between the mayor and the chantries in the city, of which more hereafter.

A chantry was founded in the church of S. Mary in Castlegate by William Gray of York, between 1377 and 1380, in the chapel of S. John the Baptist in that church,[4] for the good estate of William and his wife Joan, and for the souls of John his father, Katharine his mother, John Womme his wife's father, her mother, and others. In 1380, William Gray having died in the meantime, his son Thomas[5] and others, the executors of William, further endowed the chantry with a yearly rent of 30/10, on condition that the chaplain paid 40*d*. of that sum every year to find a light in the common jakes (*latrinis*) at the end of Ousebridge.[6]

In the same church of S. Mary, Thomas Holme, a merchant of York, who had been mayor in the previous year,[7] intended to found a chantry at the altar of S. Mary as early as 1376, and to alienate in mortmain a messuage for the endowment of a chaplain there.[8] Apparently he did not make use of this licence as he had further letters patent in October 1383 to allow him to alienate two messuages to two chaplains in accordance with a similar licence which he had had from Edward III and had never been carried into effect.[9] In the previous April he had, however, procured licence to grant a garden in York to Robert del Hill, the chaplain

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 364.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 247.
[3] *York Mem. Book*, i, 37.
[4] Letters patent, August 7th, 1377 (*C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 21).
[5] A Thomas Gray was Member of Parliament for York at this time. He was one of the members of the commission appointed to investigate the administration in January 1380 (J. T. Tout: *Op. cit.*, iii, 352).
[6] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 435, February 15th. *Y.C.S.*, i, 44, calls this chantry that of "Our Lady." In 1385 the executors of the will of Laurence Gray had licence to grant a rent of 5/– to the chaplain of this chantry (*C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 517).
[7] *York Mem. Book*, i, 20.
[8] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 349—October 8th.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 315

of a chantry founded by Thomas Holme in S. Mary's, Castlegate, in aid of his maintenance,[1] so the chantry must have been founded before Thomas obtained the licences in 1383. In 1386 the founder augmented the chantry, here said to be in the Lady Chapel, by the grant of a further messuage in York to the two chaplains, Robert del Hill and Henry Barneby,[2] and in 1392 he again increased the endowment by the grant of a toft to the chaplains, at that time Henry Barneby and Robert de Yukflete.[3]

The church of All Saints, Pavement, has also two foundations during this period, both by prominent citizens of York. Robert Ampleford[4] had royal licence, November 23rd, 1378, to alienate a messuage to the dean and chapter, for them to find a chaplain to celebrate for Robert, his wife, and their relations; and the ordination of the chantry was made by Archbishop Neville on January 20th, 1378–9.[5] The chantry was to be at the altar of S. Peter and the chaplain was to receive £5 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly at Candlemas, May 3rd, Lammas, and All Saints. At the yearly obit he had to pay each of the ten chaplains[6] of the church who were present, 3*d.*; to the parish clerk, 3*d.*; and to the city bellman for ringing the bell, 2*d.* Also he was bound to pay 6*d.* for two wax tapers on the tomb of the founder at the obit. The presentation belonged to Robert during his lifetime, and after his death to the dean and chapter, a somewhat unusual provision in York, as the city merchants generally preferred to make their own lay friends trustees of their chantries. In 1385 the dean and chapter obtained the sum of 3/4 from a tenement "late of Robert Ampleford" to provide a light at the Elevation.[7]

The other chantry in the church of All Saints, Pavement, was founded by Isolde Acastre, the wife of John Acastre, a merchant of York and mayor in 1379,[8] for the soul of her late husband and his father, and for her good estate during her life and her soul after death, in pursuance of letters patent dated October 19th, 1383.[9] The chantry was at the altar of S. Thomas, and the endowment consisted of rents from numerous houses and shops in York.

Two chantries were founded in the church of Holy Trinity,

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 273.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1385–89, p. 205.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1391–86, p. 75.
[4] For Robert Ampleford see *York Mem. Book*, i, 30, 31, 35; ii, 17.
[5] Reg. Alex. Neville, ff. 34[d]–35.
[6] If these were all chantry priests, or even if only some were, their number throws a vivid light on the extent of chantry founding in York during the Middle Ages.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 607—July 10th.
[8] *York. Mem. Book*, i, 24.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 318. Date of foundation given in the chantry certificate (i, 59) as August 1st, 1386.

described variously as "the parisshe churche of the Trinytie, *alias* Chrischurch," and as Holy Trinity "curia Regis," within a few months, in 1378 and 1379. The chantry of S. John the Baptist was founded by the executors of John Langton—William Gray and Robert Wycliffe[1]—who had obtained letters patent on May 20th, 1378, to grant a yearly rent of £10 to a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of S. Katharine for the soul of John Langton.[2] The founder's father, Nicholas Langton, sometime mayor of York, had, in 1328, licence to found a chantry in this church at the altar of S. John the Apostle[3]; but as there is only one Langton chantry given in the chantry surveys of 1546[4] it may be presumed either that John Langton's chantry was merely an augmentation of the older chantry, and so was placed at the same altar of S. John the Evangelist, which the chantry commissioner confused with S. John the Baptist, or that Nicholas Langton's chantry did not come into existence at all; and the fact of the later chantry being transferred from the altar of S. Katharine, where it was originally intended to be, to an altar of S. John may be mere coincidence.

Richard Barneby of York founded the chantry of SS. Peter and Paul in Holy Trinity, "curia Regis," early in 1379. The dean and chapter were made trustees of this chantry, for which they were bound to find a chaplain after the death of the founder and Alice his wife, and pay him £6 a year at four terms. An obit was to be made once a year for Richard and Alice on the day of Richard's death, whenever it should occur, at which various payments were to be made by the Chapter out of the £6 allowed to the chaplain. Royal licence was obtained by several clerical and lay friends of Richard Barneby, for the alienation of seven messuages to the dean and chapter, on June 22nd, 1378,[5] and the foundation was confirmed by the archbishop on January 10th, 1378–9.[6]

The latest chantry to be founded in a parish church of York during this period was that of William and Isabel Frost in the church of S. Saviour "in the Marsh." Licence was granted for the chantry on April 1st, 1396,[7] and the foundation was probably completed in 1399.[8] The founder was three times mayor of York, in 1396, 1401 and 1404,[9] and thus his foundation provides the

[1] Robert Wycliffe, rector of S. Cross in York, and probably the nephew of the more famous John Wycliffe (H. B. Workman: *John Wycliffe*, p. 45).

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 216.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1327–30, p. 231.

[4] *Y.C.S.*, i, 77—"The Chaunterye of Seynt John Baptyst."

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 256.

[6] Reg. Alex. Neville, f. 27[d].

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 711.

[8] *Y.C.S.*, i, 65. Date of foundation given as June 4th, 1399.

[9] *York. Mem. Book*, i, 251; ii, 9, 14.

latest and the most notable instance of the connexion between the city chantries and the municipality for this period.

Apart from the evidence of the foundations themselves, of the personal interest of the leading citizens in the chantries, for which there is also evidence at Scarborough and at East Retford, there is direct proof as to this from the city records of York.[1] It appears that, on the death of a chantry priest or stipendiary in York, his rector or vicar claimed his best (*meliorem*) gown, with his hood, as a mortuary. In 1388 this claim was vigorously contested on behalf of the chantry priests by the mayor and citizens. The mayor, William de Selby, supported by twelve of the leading citizens (who included Robert Holme and Robert Ampleford), in the presence of the rectors of Holy Trinity, Gothrumgate, S. Wilfred's, All Saints', North Street, and S. Mary's, "super pontem castri," and of some of the chantry priests of the city churches (probably chosen as a committee by the rest), publicly declared on May 20th, 1388, that "all the chantries of this city have been and are founded by the citizens and notabilities of this city; therefore both the priests of this city and suburbs having chantries, and the stipendiary priests not having chantries, are the special officials and *oratores* of the citizens, their patrons and masters,"[2] who were, therefore, bound to see that they were not forced to submit to any exaction which might be burdensome to them. After a deliberation among themselves the rectors unanimously declared that they withdrew their claim, and the mayor ordered the decision to be entered on the city records.[3]

The very nature and extent of the chantries founded at York reveal the characteristic practicality of the average mediæval citizen. The chantries were none of them elaborate: most of them were for one priest only, and the endowment when first granted was not very extravagant, although some of the citizens augmented their chantries from time to time; and often the founder and his relations are the only persons who are to be prayed for by the chantry priest. The prosperous merchant desired both to save his soul from torment and to increase his worldly goods in this life by pious works, and the most natural way to him by which these ends could be served was the payment of a priest who should

[1] Printed in *York Mem. Book*, ii, 17–24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19. Editor's comment (Introduction, p. lx)—"The use of the word *magistri* in this claim of the mayor is unusual. It possibly has reference to the stipendiary priests, who only received annual stipends and could be dismissed at will: the word *patroni* would hardly cover this second class."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

pray for his present welfare while he himself pursued his worldly business, and continue to intercede for his soul after death.

No other town in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire can compare with York in the number of its parish churches and in the number of chantries founded in them. Such as there are may be mentioned briefly.

In the parish church of S. Mary at Scarborough there were two chantries, for both of which licence was granted on the same day—July 13th, 1380.[1] The chantry of S. James, in a chapel on the south side of the church, was founded by Robert Galland, or Galon, who was apparently a prosperous inhabitant of the town, in 1381.[2] The endowment consisted of numerous tenements in Scarborough, and in his will, dated January 22nd, 1390–91, the founder left to his wife, and after her death to his daughter, a gold ring containing a sapphire, which was to go to the chaplain of his chantry of S. James in the church of S. Mary after her death, "ita ut omnibus dicti annuli medecinam implorantibus subveniat."[3]

Robert Ryllington, who had licence the same day as Robert Galland, founded a chantry at the altar of S. Stephen, also on the south side of the church, in September 1381.[4] He was apparently a "shipman" of Scarborough, for in his will, dated September 21st, 1391, he left directions that two ships called "Saint Mary bote" and "le Katerine" should be sold and the money spent for the welfare of his soul.[5]

The chantry of Our Lady, which has already been referred to,[6] was founded in the same church in 1397 by the "bailiffs and commonalty of burgesses of the town" as a body, which shows that York was not alone in the direct interest taken by the leading citizens in the chantries of the town.

There was also in Scarborough, besides the parish church, a chapel dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene, called "le Charnell," in which a chantry was founded by Sir Richard Percy and Robert Neweby, a priest, in pursuance of letters patent dated May 29th, 1394.[7] In a memorandum to the Scarborough chantry certificates it is stated that the incumbent of the chantry had lands to the yearly value of 15/– and goods and plate worth 56/4, but that these had been taken into the hands of William Percy in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII, since which time there had been no incumbent; which proves that the chantry was actually founded

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 543.
[2] *Y.C.S.*, i, 137.
[3] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 158.
[4] *Y.C.S.*, i, 138.
[5] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 157.
[6] See *ante*, p. 143 [Pt. 130]. Reg. Waldby, ff. 6d–7.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 415.

after the acquisition of the licence, although no date is given in the chantry certificate.[1]

In the church of Holy Trinity, Hull, there was founded, by the same Richard Ravenser who was responsible in part for the foundation of two chantries at Beverley, a chantry at the altar of S. Anne, which was connected with a hospital founded by Richard Ravenser at the same time. He had licence, August 24th, 1375,[2] to alienate lands worth £10 yearly to the prior and convent of Guisborough, who were to find a canon regular of their house to celebrate at Hull, and also to support twelve poor men who were each to have a halfpenny a day. The chantry and hospital were established before 1380, for in that year Richard Ravenser, his brother Robert, and Robert's wife, Emma, had licence to endow the foundation further with lands and tenements,[3] which, however, was not done until 1392, when Roger Hill, chaplain, and William de Stittenham, having received a previous licence from the Bishop of Durham,[4] gave five messuages, two tofts and seven and a half acres of land, and 2/– rent in Lund (the amount of the augmentation given in the licence) to the prior and convent of Guisborough for the purpose.[5]

Adam de Tutbury and John de Denton had licence, March 15th, 1384,[6] to found a chantry in this church at the altar of Corpus Christi. The Gild had been founded in 1358,[7] and, although there is no evidence as to the fact, it is probable that Tutbury and Denton were themselves members of the Gild, and made this grant so that the Gild brethren would henceforth possess a chaplain of their own, instead of depending on a casual priest for any ministrations they required. According to the chantry certificate the priest's stipend was ten marcs a year, payable by the Corporation of Hull.[8]

Besides the collegiate church of S. Wilfred at Ripon there was in the town a chapel called "the Lady Churche in Stamergate" in which a chantry was founded by John Clynt and Robert Durham, both priests, sometime between 1377 and 1388, although the licence for the alienation of the endowment in mortmain was not acquired until February 1392.[9] The archbishop's ordination, the date of which does not appear to be known,[10] decreed that the patrons of the chantry were to be John Ingelby and his heirs,

[1] *Y.C.S.*, i, 138, 139.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1377–81, p. 561.
[4] *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 278.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii, 277–278.
[6] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 390.
[7] See also Chapter IV for this Gild.
[8] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 344. The rent had decreased by 1546 to £4 13*s.* 4*d.*
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 5.
[10] *Mem. Ripon*, iv, 137–141. There is no date attached to this document, but 1377–88 is printed in the margin on p. 137.

with lapse to the Chapter of Ripon after more than forty days' vacancy. If John died without heirs the presentation was to belong to the Chapter perpetually. The chaplain was forbidden to alienate anything belonging to the chantry and he was bound by oath at his institution to serve it according to the ordinances. If prevented from saying his daily offices he was to find a substitute.

The parish church of Tadcaster boasts one chantry for this period, founded by William Barker and his wife Agnes in the chapel of S. Nicholas. Letters patent of the Earl of Northumberland, of whom the lands intended for the chantry were held, were obtained on September 20th, 1394, and royal letters patent on December 22nd, 1395.[1] Archbishop Scrope's confirmation of the founder's grant dated January 5th, 1398–9, was made at Bishopthorpe in 1390.[2] The chantry was founded for William and Agnes during their lives and for their souls after death, and for their fathers, mothers, ancestors and all the faithful departed; and the chaplain had also to remember in his masses the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy, his son and heir, and the souls of Henry Barton, sometime canon of York, and of Thomas de Thorp. The presentation belonged to the founders or the survivor, and after the death of both to the Earl of Northumberland or to the archbishop if the Earl did not present within twenty days. The endowment consisted of seven messuages, fifteen acres of land and five of meadow and 20/– of rent in Tadcaster.

In 1322 Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was executed by order of Edward II on a hill in Pontefract. He was buried in the Priory church, near the high altar, and many miracles were said to have been wrought at his shrine. In 1359 blood was said to have been seen flowing from the tomb of the martyred Earl, and, perhaps in consequence of this, a chapel was built on the hill where the execution had taken place, in 1361.[3] Boothroyd[4] says a chantry was founded here in memory of the Earl in the same year as the chapel was built, to be served by a secular priest who was to be found by the prior and convent of Pontefract, and that this ordination was confirmed in May 1373 by Archbishop Thoresby. He also gives a list of chantry priests, of whom the first was instituted on December 7th, 1361. There is also a confirmation of May 24th, 1373,[5] of a chantry to be founded by one Simon Symeon in the Chapel on the Hill, of a monk of Pontefract Priory, but whether

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 656.
[2] Reg. Scrope, ff. 22–4.
[3] *V.C.H., Yorks.*, iii, 186, quoting Torre.
[4] *Pontefract*, p. 376.
[5] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 168d–9.

there is any connexion between the two it is impossible to say without further evidence. The probability is that there was no connexion, as the later chantry appears to be a new foundation and not merely an augmentation. Also, in 1418 a new ordination was made for the former chantry by which a monk of Pontefract Priory was to celebrate in future instead of a secular priest, and instead of £5 a year as hitherto he was only to receive 40/–.[1] Simon Symeon's charter for the foundation of his chantry was dated at Pontefract Priory on May 20th, 1373. The list of persons to be prayed for was long, and included Simon, his wife, the present Duke of Lancaster and Henry his father. For the endowment of the chantry he gave all his lands and tenements in Rothwell and Oulton, namely, one messuage and twenty acres in Oulton and one messuage and twenty-four acres in Rothwell; but the archbishop's ordinance says, because these were not sufficient to support the chantry, John, Duke of Lancaster, gave five messuages and sixteen bovates in Middleton-iuxta-Rothwell in augmentation.[2] However, John of Gaunt's charter, also bearing date of May 20th,[3] giving this property to the prior and convent, says that he had it by grant of Simon Symeon, and later in the year the prior and convent were pardoned for receiving the same messuages and land from the Duke without licence, because, as they said, they had only received three messuages, forty-four acres of land and fourteen of meadow[4] out of the endowment which had been promised to them by Simon Symeon two years before.[5] As the amount of lands and messuages which the Duke gave to the Priory, when added to what the Priory said they had already received, exactly made up the original amount promised by Simon, he, apparently (though for what reason does not seem quite clear) granted the five messuages and sixteen bovates of land to the Duke for the latter to grant them to the Priory. Anyway, the impression received from the archbishop's register that John of Gaunt was augmenting the chantry of Simon Symeon of his own wish seems false in the light of the foregoing transactions.

Such were the chantries which were founded in the towns. The founders were, for the most part, burgesses, merchants and mayors, who could afford to make this provision for their soul's welfare and did not hesitate to do so. Here and there are to be found a few founders who were priests, but these are here in a distinct minority, just as the layman was a rarity among the founders of cathedral chantries.

[1] Boothroyd: *Op. cit.*, p. 378.
[2] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 168–9.
[3] *John of Gaunt's Register*, i, 126.
[4] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 364.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 157—November 5th, 1371.

In the country districts also, in village churches and chapels of ease, were to be found chantry priests—in some places two or three together, and in some one only—offering the Holy Sacrifice for the welfare of their benefactors, who, more often than not, were men of some importance in the neighbourhood where they were born and lived and died—such men as Chaucer's Franklin, who perhaps acted as knights of the shire on several occasions during their lives, and meanwhile lived a comfortable life[1] in the manor-house near the church where their own chantry priests were constantly engaged in intercession for their spiritual welfare. Here again some of the founders were priests themselves—perhaps some cleric who had risen in the world and wished to be remembered in his native place, or, more rarely, a vicar or rector whose foundation was made after his death in the place where he had last ministered. But in any case the class of founder shows, what is indeed obvious, that the founding of a chantry in perpetuity was too expensive for the members of the lower orders, who were obliged either to leave a small legacy for masses to be celebrated after their deaths, or else to form an association which would be able, by reason of its numbers, to support a chaplain. The existence of countless gilds and stipendiary services, with no record of foundation, in village churches at the time of the suppression of the chantries[2] testifies to the widespread adoption of the latter alternative by the poorer members of society.

The county of Nottingham was not particularly rich in country chantries for this period. There is evidence for only eight foundations in the village churches between 1350 and 1400, and of these those of Tuxford and Annesley have already been mentioned.

The earliest was the Trinity chantry at Thorpe-by-Newark, which was founded by Sir William Thorpe sometime not long after 1350, in which year he obtained royal licence to alienate a messuage and three acres of land in Thorpe to a chaplain to celebrate for him in the church of S. Lawrence there.[3]

Of the two chantries founded in the churches of Caunton and Upton, both of which lay within the peculiar jurisdiction of Southwell Minster, there is little to relate. The former was founded by the executors of Robert Caunton, who granted the endowment of five marcs yearly out of the manor of Caunton and two caru-

[1] The Franklin—"it snewed in his hous of mete and drynke" (Chaucer: *The Prologue*, ed. Pollard, p. 13).

[2] See *Y.C.S.*, vols. i and ii, *passim*.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1348–50, p. 503. The chantry was in existence in the sixteenth century. The chantry certificate gives no date of foundation. *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 67.

cates of land there, without licence, for which they received pardon on November 2nd, 1351.[1] The chantry was founded between 1349 and 1351.[2] Upton chantry was another instance of monastic trusteeship of chantries. The founder, John Braye, usher of the exchequer, obtained licence on November 18th, 1349,[3] and the foundation was completed by 1359.[4] The abbot and convent of Rufford were made responsible for the yearly payment of six marcs to the chaplain.

The chantry of S. Katharine in Beeston church was founded by William de Bekeford of Beeston, who was rector of a mediety of Cotgrove. He obtained royal licence on March 3rd, 1354,[5] and his own deed bears the date of August 1st, 1355. The endowment consisted of various lands in Beeston and Lenton, and the founder stipulated that this was to be held by Sir John de Beeston, chaplain.[6] The founder was to present during his life, and the prior and convent of Lenton after his death. He gave a missal, a book of hours, a pair of vestments with towels, a strong-box for the books and ornaments, a chalice of two marcs weight, two oxen worth 24/–, and three horses worth 30/–, as permanent property of the chantry. If the chaplain died after the hay and wheat harvest between the Nativity of Our Lady and Christmas he was to demise a moiety of his hay and straw to his successor. The deed was confirmed by Archbishop Thoresby at Westminster, May 14th, 1356.[7]

The chantry of Our Lady, which was eventually in the parish church of Wollaton,[8] was originally founded in the chapel of Sutton Passeys by John de Colyer of Nottingham in 1345.[9] Probably the chantry fell into disuse as a result of the great pestilence of 1349, for a new licence was granted to Richard de Wyloughby, to grant 100/– rent out of tenements in Nottingham to a chaplain to celebrate for him, on November 20th, 1358.[10] The original founder and his wife were remembered in the new charter which was granted on August 3rd, 1360, among those for whom the two priests, Richard Stanford and Thomas de Epperstone in the chapel

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 180.
[2] Records of foundation in *Liber Albus* of Southwell, f. 63 (*Vis. & Mem.*, p. civ).
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1348–50, p. 429.
[4] *Liber Albus*, ff. 131 *seq.* (*Vis. & Mem.*, p. cv).
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 9.
[6] This John Beeston having resigned on January 7th, 1362, Archbishop Thoresby instituted William de Beeston as chaplain (Reg. Thoresby, f. 251).
[7] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 235[d]–236.
[8] "The Chaunterie of our Ladye founded within the parisshe church of Wollaton by oon Ric. Willoughbye to praye for his soule and all Cristian soules" (*Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 91).
[9] Reg. Zouche, ff. 113[d]–114.
[10] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 120.

of S. Mary, Sutton Passeys, were bound to pray.[1] The actual date at which Sutton Passeys chapel was abandoned for Wollaton church does not seem to be definitely known.[2]

Henry Coddington was, like the founder of the Beeston chantry, evidently a native of the place where he founded a chantry, although he himself lived elsewhere. He became prebendary of Oxton and Cropwell (whether of the first or second part is not quite clear) in Southwell in 1373, which dignity he retained until his death in 1404,[3] and in 1391 he was also rector of Bottesford in Leicestershire. The rather vague licence he obtained on July 13th of that year,[4] to alienate certain lands "to any ecclesiastics, regular or secular, for supporting certain charges in convenient places," was evidently used by him to found the chantry at the altar of S. Peter in the church of Coddington which existed there in his name at the time of the suppression.[5]

Despite the incompleteness of the material for the foundation of the Yorkshire chantries, the number of country foundations for this period is considerably larger than that of Nottinghamshire. The majority of these for which there is sufficient evidence of foundation may now be dealt with in roughly chronological order.

William de Broclesby, rector of Bainton in the East Riding, founded a chantry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in his own parish church at Bainton, a little before September 8th, 1350, on which day the first chaplain was instituted on his presentation,[6] although the licence to alienate the endowment of a messuage, a toft and seventeen acres of land in Bainton to his chaplain was not obtained until June of the following year.[7]

A chantry was founded by John de Clotherholme, lord of Clotherholme, in his chapel there, which was in the parish of Ripon, in 1356. Permission to found the chantry was given to John by the Chapter in 1351, on condition that he paid 2/– a year to them at Pentecost and Martinmas,[8] and in 1356 the founder acquired royal letters patent for the alienation of the endowment, which consisted of a messuage, three acres of meadow and 76/– of rent in Clotherholme and Ripon, to his chaplain.[9]

[1] Historical Manuscripts Commission—*Wollaton Hall*, pp. 98–99.

[2] Editor's note—*Notts. Chantry Certifs.*, p. 92. Sir Richard Willoughby presented his relation, Hugh de Willoughby, priest, on the death of one of the chaplains, Jan. 16th, 1362 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 251[d]).

[3] Reg. Thoresby, f. 76[d]. Le Neve, iii, p. 450.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 460.

[5] *Notts. Chan. Certifs.*, p. 68.

[6] Reg. Zouche, f. 205.

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 111.

[8] *Mem. Ripon*, iv, 35.

[9] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 481. *Y.C.S.* gives the date of foundation as 1356, and no further information.

The chantry of Marmaduke Constable at Flamborough was founded between 1359, when royal licence was obtained,[1] and 1376, in which year the chantry is mentioned in the founder's will. He bequeathed the sum of 40/– to the chaplain occupying his perpetual chantry at Flamborough.[2]

Walter Harpham, a chaplain, had licence to found a chantry in the chapel of Gransmoor in the parish of Burton Agnes (East Riding) on July 4th, 1360.[3] The ordination of the chantry of Our Lady was made by Archbishop Thoresby on April 13th, 1361,[4] but it was still said to be "newly ordained" when, at the presentation of the founder, at that time vicar of Gilling in Yorkshire, Sir John de Bempton was instituted as chantry priest on January 5th, 1362–3.[5]

A chantry was founded at the altar of Our Lady in the parish church of Stokesley in the North Riding, by William de Stokesley of Whitby, in 1362,[6] in pursuance of letters patent issued to him on November 12th, 1360, for the alienation of two messuages, eight tofts, nine bovates and one acre of land in Stokesley and Maltby.[7] In 1375 the founder wished to transfer the chantry to the chapel of S. Mary in Guisborough Priory, as its rents and possessions were not sufficient to support the chaplain. In an inquisition taken at Guisborough on June 25th of that year[8] it was stated that the chantry at Stokesley was worth only 46/8 a year. The prior and convent undertook to find a canon regular to celebrate daily at Guisborough for William de Stokesley if the rents were transferred to them; and on July 11th, 1376, licence was obtained to remove the chantry to Guisborough.[9] However, the projected transfer does not seem to have taken place for some reason, as William Stokesley's chantry was in existence at Stokesley in the sixteenth century.[10]

Thomas Heselarton, of Lowthorp in the East Riding, founded a chantry in the collegiate church there between 1369 and 1371. In the former year he had licence to alienate the manor of Lowthorp and a messuage there to John de Ingelby, rector of Lowthorp, for him to find a chaplain to celebrate in the church[11]; and in 1373 the chantry was augmented by Simon de Heselarton,[12] who had to

[1] *Ibid.*, 1358-61, p. 214.
[2] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 98.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 440.
[4] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 203–203[d].
[5] *Ibid.*, f. 208.
[6] *Y.C.S.*, i, 120—November 12th.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 477.
[8] *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 299–300.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 125.
[10] As shown by the chantry certificate (*Y.C.S.*, i, 120). The chantry was at that time worth £4 4*s.* 1½*d.* a year.
[11] *C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 435.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1370–74, p. 259.

obtain two sets of letters patent for the purpose, as John de Ingelby, the rector, died before the first letters, issued in 1371,[1] had taken effect. This chantry was the seventh in the church of Lowthorp; the other six were ordained when Lowthorp was made collegiate in 1333.[2]

In the parish of Sprotborough in South Yorkshire there was, in the fourteenth century, a hospital dedicated to S. Edmund,[3] in the chapel of which John Fitzwilliam designed to found a chantry, having received licence for this purpose on October 28th, 1364.[4] By the time of the survey of the chantries, although still retaining the name of hospital, it was called S. Edmund's Chapel, and had become an ordinary chantry chapel[5]; and by that time the chantry which John Fitzwilliam had founded in the hospital had been transferred to the parish church of Sprotborough, although at what date is not known.[6]

The parish church of Helmsley, near Rievaulx Abbey, possessed a chantry of the foundation of Robert and Emma Flamborough of Helmsley, which was attached to the altar of Our Lady. Licence was granted on June 28th, 1360,[7] for the alienation of twelve tofts and six bovates of land in Helmsley, but the foundation was apparently only completed ten years later.[8]

A chantry was founded in the chapel of S. Mary on the north side of the church of Thorpe Salvin in South Yorkshire in 1380, by William Sandford, Thomas Darnay, and William and Thomas Hornby, who endowed the chaplain with a messuage in Thorpe Salvin and £10 of rent from property in London.[9] The founders' deed was composed on June 18th, 1380, and received confirmation on the 26th of the same month. The list of persons, living and dead, for whom the priest was bound to pray is an exceptionally long one, and includes among the dead, Edward III; Sir Richard de la Pole; John Kirkby, late bishop of Carlisle; William Edington, late bishop of Winchester; and among the living, Richard II; John of Gaunt; Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham; and the abbot of S. Mary's, York. The advowson belonged to the prior of Worksop, or in default to the abbot of Welbeck.[10]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[2] *V.C.H., Yorks.*, iii, 365.
[3] It is not clear whether John Fitzwilliam founded the hospital or merely a chantry, or whether the Fitzwilliam referred to in the chantry certificates as the founder of the hospital were he or an ancestor.
[4] *C.P.R.*, 1364–68, p. 28.
[5] *Y.C.S.*, i, 155—"Thospitall of S. Edmund called S. Edmunde's Chappell in the parysshe of Sprotborough."
[6] *Y.C.S.*, i, 156.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 436.
[8] *Y.C.S.*, i, 126—December 28th, 1370.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 402.
[10] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, pp. 519–520.

The Trinity chantry in the church of Birstall in the West Riding is another instance of the foundation of a chantry by the incumbent in his own parish church. The founder, Robert Davy, was vicar of Birstall in 1390, in which year he had licence to found a chantry there, and to grant to the chaplain a messuage and a bovate of land in Birstall and rents from various sources to the value of 109/10.[1] The actual date at which the foundation was completed is not known to the writer, but the existence of the chantry is noted in the chantry certificates,[2] which is proof that the founder acted upon his licence, probably shortly after he received it.

The founder of the Lady Chantry at Thorne near Doncaster was, like Henry Coddington and William Bekeford, a priest who made his chantry in his native place. Richard de Thorne was the donor of the greater part of the endowment, which he had licence to alienate to a priest at Thorne on January 29th, 1390, an extra messuage being provided by John de Thorne, clerk, and Robert Lowthorp and John Weton, both vicars of Beverley, by the same licence.[3] The chantry is mentioned in the chantry certificates, but no date of foundation is given.[4] The founder became prebendary of the prebend of Holme Archiepiscopi in York Minster on October 22nd, 1360,[5] by exchange of Barton Underhill in the diocese of Lincoln with John de Welwick, the former holder of the prebend.[6]

The parish church of Bolton-on-Dearne in South Yorkshire possessed two chantries at altars dedicated to Our Lady, of which the one founded during this period was dedicated to " Our Lady of Grace " and stood in the nave of the church. The founders were Robert Bolton, clerk, and William del Breres, a layman, who had licence on July 14th, 1398, to assign 100/- of rent to the chaplain.[7] Their ordinance for the chantry was made on the feast of S. Matthew in the same year.[8]

Chantries were founded not only in cathedral and parish churches and chapels. They might be founded in the chapels of private persons, in a house, or more often in a castle, as for instance during this period in a house at Haldenby in the West Riding, and in John of Gaunt's castle at Pickering. Robert Haldenby had royal licence on July 4th, 1391, to found a chantry of Our Lady in his house,[9] but as this had not taken effect by 1398 he

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 298—July 12th.
[2] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 301.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 185.
[4] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 385.
[5] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 193.
[6] Reg. Thoresby, f. 47.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 383.
[8] *Y.C.S.*, i, 159. The founder is here called Robert Baxter.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 466.

obtained confirmation of the former licence on November 22nd, 1398.[1] The priest was bound to pray for John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, and the founder's father and mother, and, according to the chantry certificate, to celebrate mass not only for the founder and the persons named but also "for the ease of the inhabitants there."[2]

The date of the foundation of the chantry of S. Nicholas in the castle of the Duke of Lancaster at Pickering cannot be definitely determined. There appears to be no licence entered in the patent rolls, and the chantry certificate which ascribes the foundation to a Duke of Lancaster bears no date.[3] If, however, the certificate is correct in making the founder a *duke* of Lancaster, the foundation must have been made after 1351, in which year the dukedom of Lancaster was created. But the chantry was in existence by 1374, in which year it was granted to Roger de Berington, "la gard" of the hospital of S. Nicholas, Pickering, in augmentation of his estate, on condition that he maintained the chapel in the castle.[4] The chantry was thus founded between 1351 and 1374, and the founder was either Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, who died in 1361, or his son-in-law John of Gaunt, who succeeded to his title and estates.[5]

In the Middle Ages chapels were sometimes built on bridges, where the pious wayfarer could stop to hear mass before proceeding on his journey, or where the sick or their relatives might resort in time of plague when they could not go to the parish church for fear of spreading the infection. The priests who celebrated in these chapels were usually supported by the endowment of a chantry or by a religious gild. The chapel on the bridge at Wakefield in the West Riding, which still exists, was thus used for the sick and was served by two chantry priests. Licence was granted to two priests of Wakefield, William Cay and William Bull, on May 13th, 1356,[6] to grant rents worth £10 to two chaplains to celebrate in the chapel of Our Lady, at that time newly built on the bridge at Wakefield. Apparently nothing further was done in the matter, for in 1397 the king's uncle, Edmund, Duke of York, and his son the Earl of Rutland, and others, obtained licence (as the former licence had never been executed) to assign the rent of £10 which

[1] *Ibid.*, 1396–99, p. 449.

[2] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 293. The date of foundation is not given here. It may be presumed to be 1398 or shortly after.

[3] *Y.C.S.*, i, 59.

[4] *John of Gaunt's Register*, i, 241.

[5] Of course, if the chantry certificate is not correct, and the founder was one of the *earls* of Lancaster, the foundation can only be said to have been made before 1374.

[6] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 374.

had been acquired by them for the foundation of the chantry.[1] Archbishop Scrope's confirmation of the chantry was made at Cawood on September 20th, 1398. The presentation was in the gift of the Duke during his life, and of his heirs after his death, with a lapse of forty days to the archbishop.[2]

The custom of founding chantries was not as prevalent in the fourteenth century as it became in the later years of the Middle Ages; but this survey of the foundations made in two counties of England only, during the last fifty years of the fourteenth century, is sufficient to indicate that the belief in the efficacy of private masses and prayers, offered vicariously, was, despite the denunciations of Lollard preachers, firmly held by people of widely different professions and ways of life. The founders of the chantries which have here been recorded include among laymen, members of the royal family and of the great northern baronial families, humbler lords of the manor and prosperous merchants of the towns; and among the clergy, an archbishop, cathedral dignitaries, "king's clerks" and holders of country livings—and it is only when the fact of the many different interests and outlooks which are involved in such a company of people is taken into account that the significance of the chantry system of the Middle Ages can be realised. It is hardly too much to say that it illuminates mediæval religion and the mediæval outlook on life as a whole. The sense of the reality of the supernatural world, the ever-present apprehension of possible suffering in the life to come, and the belief in the power of the Sacrifice of the Mass to aid the living and the dead—these things form the basis of the chantry system and afford the reasons for its existence, and these things are inherent characteristics of mediæval religion. Practicality and piety, fervent devotion and perfunctory observance, all alike characteristic of the mediæval man and woman, are revealed in the chantry system. To some, the arrangement by which they were able to go about their daily business knowing that their present welfare and future happiness were being looked after continually by one especially appointed for that purpose, was obviously eminently satisfactory; but, on the other hand, there were some who, possessed of a "deep piety and a reverence for all things lovely," believed not only that their own particular welfare was being thus assured, but also that "thus it is that shines among all other works of charity in praise of our salvation, namely, to found and endow chantries in the Church, and in them to place worthy ministers who, provided with necessary

[1] *Ibid.*, 1396–99, p. 140. [2] Reg. Scrope, ff. 28d–30d.

nourishment . . . . may each one be able to return worthy service to God in memory of Our Lord's Passion, and to celebrate this Sacrament, above all most precious and sweet, for the salvation of many."[1]

III.

Chantries, Obits and Masses not Founded in Perpetuity.

The foundation of a chantry which was so endowed that, as the founder intended, it should last for ever, was a luxury which despite the actual number of such foundations could only have been indulged in by a small proportion of all those who might have wished to make provision for the good of their souls. On the other hand there were some who were able to afford it who were not willing to part with their worldly goods while they were on the earth, but delayed to take any measures for their souls' comfort until they were at the point of death. Whatever the reason, the wills of mediæval citizens and knights and of their wives, of priests as well as laymen, abound in bequests for the celebration of Masses for some period, perhaps of some years, or for an indefinite period, for as long as the money so bequeathed should last, or perhaps for only a fortnight or a month, after their deaths; and it is the nature and extent of these, for the period under review, that it is proposed to discuss in the present chapter.

The priests who sang these Masses were known as "stipendiaries"—that is to say, they were priests who were merely hired for a certain period by the executors of the will of the benefactor, and liable to dismissal by them at any time.

Many people left directions in their wills as to the exact church in which the Masses for their souls were to be celebrated, and for how long, and by how many priests; others merely left bequests for Masses without assigning the place of celebration, and sometimes also without fixing any time limit for them, Others relied on the prayers and Masses offered on their behalf by certain individuals to whom they left legacies of money or goods, or were content with a yearly celebration or a "month's mind," while there were some who made such elaborate preparations in their wills that they seem to have made provision of every kind for their future welfare except that of founding a chantry in perpetuity.

The directions in the will of Thomas de Hoton, rector of Kirby Misperton in the North Riding, provide an example of this extremely

[1] Taken from ordination of chantry at Elland, near Halifax, made by Archbishop Scrope (Reg. Scrope, ff. 17–18).

careful provision for the soul's good. The will was proved on December 24th, 1351.[1] The testator made many bequests to individuals. William Carter, chaplain, received 13/4 to pray for his soul; Thomas Foston received five marcs, an ox, a cow, a pig, six sheep, and a piece of silver for the same purpose, and in addition twenty marcs for him to pray for the soul of Thomas Hoton in the church of S. Mary Bishophill Senior, York, for three years; to Alan de Hoton, his kinsman, he left five marcs, two pieces of silver, a silken girdle, a good purse, a buckle, a ring and twelve marcs for celebrating for his soul; and to William, his chaplain, twelve marcs to celebrate for his soul and the soul of Peter Cheseman for two years. He also made two bequests of £20 and twenty marcs to be used for celebrating for the souls of various other people whom he named, and made the further provision that two thirds of the remainder of his goods should be used in the celebration of Masses for his soul and the souls for whom he was bound; and, not content with this, he left " to God and the Church of S. Mary, Senior " a new missal, a chalice and a good vestment so that the rectors of the church might have his soul in remembrance in their orisons.

William Leven, rector of Lockington in the East Riding, also made detailed provision for his soul's good in his will.[2] He left a hundred marcs on condition that at Mass in S. Mary's, Lockington, the priest should say the collect " omnipotens sempiterne deus cui nunquam " immediately after the chief collect. He also left £21, which was to be expended on two thousand five hundred Masses, to be celebrated at the rate of fifty a day for fifty days. Each celebrant was to celebrate five Masses of the Trinity, five of the Cross, five of the Holy Spirit, and five of Our Lady. Each was to say daily in addition placebo, dirige and commendation, and " omnipotens sempiterne." A trental of Masses was also to be sung by " each celebrant of annuals," consisting of three Masses of the Nativity and three simple Masses of each of the feasts of the Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, Trinity, Assumption, and Nativity of the Virgin, with the collect " deus qui es suma nostræ redemptionis," all of which were to be begun within a fortnight after his death.

Robert Morton, " bonæ memoriæ," of Bawtry, a knight of the shire and escheator for the county of Nottingham at one time,[3] of " an antient and worshipful " family, in his will dated August

[1] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 63 *et seq.*
[2] Reg. Thoresby, ff. 223[d]–224.
[3] *Test. Ebor.*, editor's note, p. 210.

25th, 1396,[1] also made various bequests for the good of his soul, although he did not enter into such minute detail as the rector of Lockington. He left £20 for his obit at Bawtry and 40*d.* to the chaplain of the parish. For Mass at Blyth and for distribution to the poor of that parish he left 100/–, 40*d.* to the parish chaplain and 2/– to any other priest there. Two torches were to be left at Blyth and two at Bawtry by the disposition of his executors and his wife. John, the rector of Barnborough, received ten marcs to celebrate for the testator for one year, and John, his fellow priest, to pray for his soul, five marcs.

Most wills were not as elaborate as these. The testators were generally willing merely to have Masses celebrated for them for a certain time by one or more chaplains without further directions.

The length of time during which Masses were celebrated varied considerably according to the wealth or munificence of the person on whose behalf they were done. William Ferriby, archdeacon of Cleveland, who had already founded a chantry in York Minster many years before,[2] left £20 in his will, dated June 30th, 1378, to John Bilton to celebrate at York for his soul for four years, if he wished; but if not, another chaplain chosen by his executors was to have the money and celebrate the Masses.[3] John de Leeds, the rector of Methley, left forty-eight marcs for a chaplain to celebrate at Methley for six years[4]; Sir Robert Hansard of Walworth, county Durham, left £10 to one chaplain to celebrate for two years in All Saints' North Street, York[5]; Richard Ferriby, mayor of Hull in 1379, left directions in his will, dated June 19th, 1381, that two bovates of land should be sold and the money thus obtained paid to certain secular chaplains or to one secular chaplain to celebrate for his soul as long as the money lasted.[6] Richard Colier, a merchant of Nottingham, in 1368 desired that a chaplain should be maintained for ten years by sixty marcs which were to be raised from his cattle and crops, if they were worth so much.[7]

This latter period of time is unusually long. The majority of benefactors made provision for one or two years, and especially for one year when the direction is rather vague and the place in which the chaplain is to pray is not specified. John de Whettlay, a "wolman" of York, left seven marcs in his will, dated March 31st, 1390,[8] to a suitable and honest chaplain to celebrate for his

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 213.
[2] See *ante*, p. 156 [Pt. 130].
[3] *Test. Ebor.*, p. 105. Proved December 23rd, 1379.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 106. May 12th, 1379.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 132. January 26th, 1390.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 134. Proved August 9th, 1390.

soul and for the souls of Matilda his mother and Margaret his wife for one year. Christiana Lister, of "Stanbrigate" in Ripon, left £4 6*s.* 8*d.* for a chaplain for one year[1] in 1379, while Elizabeth Wortelay, although wishing a chaplain to celebrate for her soul for one year, left no directions in her will either as to where he was to celebrate or as to how much money he was to receive for so doing.[2] Stephen Knight, a "tapeter" of York, also left seven marcs for a chaplain for one year for his soul and the souls for whom he was bound in 1393.[3] Robert Titlot, who was apparently a "shipman" of Hornsea, in his will dated April 18th, 1390, left three of his ships—the *Farcost,* with its cock-boat and all its appurtenances, to his wife that she might provide a chaplain to celebrate for his soul in the church of Hornsea for one year; the *Magdalen* to his brother William for him to find a chaplain, also for one year; and the *Garland* to John de Skelton to provide a chaplain in Hornsea church for the unusually short period of six months for the souls of the faithful departed.[4]

Other testators made no mention of the length of time during which Masses were to be said for them. Gilbert de Ayton, a member of an ancient and famous family, left one hundred marcs for chaplains who were to celebrate for his soul and for the poor, by his will, dated April 10th, 1350.[5] Similarly Sir John de Bolingbroke left £20 for the celebration of divine service for his soul and the souls of his father and mother, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters and wives, and all his benefactors.[6] Henry Blythe, a painter of York, who made his will on November 13th, 1365, bequeathed £12 to one honest chaplain for three years or to three chaplains for one year, who were to celebrate for his soul and the souls of others where his executors should decide.[7] Geoffrey Wandesford left to his brother Roger by his will dated October 2nd, 1400, his tenement in North Street, York, with £7 "which John his brother received in his name from Robert Leeds of Milford, from the legacy of John de Wandesford his father," of which sixteen marcs were to be given to priests for the celebration of Masses and for other pious works for the souls of the testator and of all the faithful departed.[8]

When neither the place where the Masses are to be celebrated, nor the individual priest who is to be responsible for them, nor

[1] *Mem. Ripon,* iv, 107.
[2] *Test. Ebor.,* p. 124. October 20th, 1382.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 191. Proved April 10th, 1394.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 139. Proved May 9th, 1390.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 62.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 66. May 10th, 1351.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 75.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 256.

the length of time is mentioned, it may be presumed that the executors paid the money which had been set apart for the purpose to the rector or vicar of the church in which the testator had worshipped during his life, or to an extra priest in that church, at the rate of so much a Mass for as long as the money lasted.

All were not content that their soul's welfare should rest with one priest only: some desired that Mass and prayer should be offered for them day by day simultaneously by two, three, or even more priests if they could afford it. William de Newport, who has been mentioned several times before in this essay, made his will on May 1st, 1366. In it he left £15 for *three* chaplains to celebrate for his soul for one year.[1] Sir Robert de Roos, a knight who served in most of the military expeditions of Edward III and stood as a deponent for Scrope in the Scrope-Grosvenor contest,[2] made many bequests in his will (dated Monday, January 27th, 1392), after which he willed that the remainder of his goods should be sold to pay his debts and to find *two* chaplains to celebrate in the chapel of Ingmanthorpe for as long as the money should last, and also to do other charitable works wherever his executors wished and they seemed needed and would be especially profitable for his soul—a typical mediæval ordinance in its double intention for the good of one's neighbour and of oneself.[3] Walter de Bruge, canon of York, an apparently wealthy ecclesiastic, made his will on the Monday before the Feast of S. Michael (September 25th), 1396. In it he left £40 to *six* "suitable and devout" chaplains, chosen and provided by his executors, to celebrate for one year (either in one place or in several, as his executors should decide) for his soul, the souls of his father and mother, Lionel the late Duke of Clarence and Edmund the late Earl of March, and all the faithful departed.[4] Even this bequest for six chaplains is, however, outdone by the provisions of the will of another dignitary of York, John Clifford, who held the Treasurership from September, 1375, until his death.[5] The treasurer was one of the chief dignitaries of the cathedral church of York. Large estates were attached to the office, and those exalted to it were generally persons of rank and family.[6] Hence it is not surprising that in his will, dated March 22nd, 1392, John Clifford made provision for the celebration of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 80. Proved May 9th, 1366.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 180—editor's note.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 180. Proved February 11th, 1392.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 207. Proved September 30th, 1396.
[5] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 161.
[6] It has not been possible to connect John with the noble house of Clifford, or with any of its branches, although it may be taken for granted he was related to that family.

Masses for his soul and the souls of his father and mother and others by *ten* chaplains, in addition to other works for the good of his soul. The ten chaplains were to celebrate for one year in six different places, all in Yorkshire—two at Alne, two at Wilton, two at Bramham (where the testator intended to found a perpetual chantry, having obtained licence for that purpose on February 15th of that year,[1] although he probably died before this could be put into execution), two at Sherburn, one at Acomb and one at Ripon. He also desired that two thousand Masses should be celebrated for his soul and the souls of his parents, parishioners and friends within a month after his death, with the prayer "Deus qui anima famuli." An obit was to be performed for him at York, and if there were sufficient goods he would like another obit at Ripon.[2] The testator died very soon after he had made his will, on May 29th, and was buried in York Cathedral as he desired.[3]

It has already been remarked that some testators did not mention the place where they were to be prayed for, but on the other hand others were very careful to do so. Henry Briggesle, a priest, who was either a native of Hull or else had spent some part of his life there, in his will dated September 11th, 1389, left exact directions as to this. He wished to be buried in the chapel of Holy Trinity, Hull, next to the grave of Walter Chiltenham, formerly vicar there, and he desired Thomas de Swinflet of Hull to provide a suitable chaplain out of the testator's goods, who should celebrate for his soul for five years after his death "at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the south side of the chapel of Holy Trinity." The chaplain was to have a vestment and a chalice belonging to Henry, and an old missal (at that time "in the chapel of Ellen Box"), and these were to remain at the Lady Altar for ever after the five years were over.[4]

It was natural that those who named the place for the celebration of their Masses should choose either the church in which they had worshipped (and in which, or in the churchyard of which, they wished to be buried), or, if they were ecclesiastics, a church in which they had ministered during their lives. Patrick Barton, rector of Catwick in Holderness, wished to be buried in his church, and to have divine service celebrated there for his soul by two chaplains, for whom he left £9 6*s.* 8*d.*[5] Robert Usher of East Retford, who made his will at Michaelmas, 1392, wished to be

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 22.
[2] *Test. Ebor.*, pp. 166–172.
[3] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 161.
[4] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 131. Proved November 3rd, 1389.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 154. August 11th, 1391.

buried in the church of S. Swithin at East Retford, at the high altar of which a priest, who was to be paid seven marcs a year, was to celebrate for his soul for five years.[1] John Wawan of Scarborough likewise wished to have his Masses sung in his own parish church of Scarborough,[2] and John de Syther, a potter of York, left £3 13*s.* 4*d.* in his will to a chaplain to celebrate for one year in the church of S. Peter the Little, York,[3] which he probably attended.

The will of John de Brampton, rector of Badsworth in South Yorkshire, is interesting in that the circumstances attending the bequests for souls are unique, at least for the wills for this period and area. The will was dated April 9th, 1367[4]; in it the testator left £20 to be expended in Masses to be celebrated in the chapel of Worsborough in South Yorkshire for the souls of Thomas del Hill and Robert de Derley, recently slain by Sir John Bosville. To compensate for the murder, Bosville himself, Thomas Bosville of Ardsley, and John Kent of Wakefield, bound themselves to Sir John Saville, Sir John Scot, and Robert de Rokeley, to pay to the rector of Badsworth (the testator) a hundred and sixty marcs to be expended at his discretion, of which this bequest is thirty.

Books and ornaments were left to parish churches by some testators, in return for which they hoped they would be remembered by the clergy in their prayers; while others named certain definite articles belonging to them which were to be sold and the money used for the celebration of divine service. The means by which the future welfare of a soul could be assured were divers; but always there was the one constant factor—vicarious intercession must be made for the departed, and the man who fulfilled the function of interceding for those souls must be maintained by the worldly goods of those for whom they performed this service.

Agnes Selby, of York, in addition to other bequests for her soul, left to her parish church (presumably S. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, as she wished to be buried in the cemetery of that church) a towel "eleven ells in length" to be used at the altar on Easter Day, in return for which the parish priest was to pray for her soul every Sunday.[5] John Pickering, rector of S. Mary Castlegate, York, in his will (dated September 20th, 1394) made no provision for his soul beyond the gift of a number of books and vestments to his church, "there to remain for ever to the service of God,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 177. Proved April 22nd, 1393.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 240. September 2nd, 1398.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 250. September 20th, 1398.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 70. April 30th, 1359.

Blessed Mary and All Saints, for the good of his soul and for the soul of Master John Pickering his uncle and for the souls of all his benefactors and all the faithful departed." He left to the altar of S. Anne there his smaller chalice and one vestment belonging to the altar; to the High Altar one set of vestments of gold cloth, for the servers in the church, also a set of red satin; and for use in the church generally a missal noted, containing in it the tropery, one breviary noted in two volumes, one great antiphonary noted, one legenda (also in two volumes), one new ordinal and two books noted for the service of boys (one for matins and vespers and the other for Mass in the choir[1])—thus ensuring that the articles by whose aid he had done his work during his lifetime should serve for the repose of his soul after death.

John Perotts, who was presumably an inhabitant of York as he wished to be buried in the cathedral church, enumerated in his will various of his personal possessions, which were to be sold, together with the remainder of his goods not bequeathed, and the money used for the celebration of Masses for his soul. The articles specially mentioned were John's silver decorated belt, his purse, his knives, his furred cloak, one furred gown, one double tabard of tawny, two pieces of silver, four silver spoons, and his white horse and two blankets, which reveal the testator as a fairly wealthy man and fond of comfort.[2] Joanna Colville, widow of Sir William Colville of Arncliffe in Cleveland,[3] by her will dated September 14th, 1390, bequeathed, in the same way and for the same purpose as John Perotts, all her vessels and cups (silver and gilt), and all her livestock not otherwise bequeathed, mares, oxen and cows, pigs and sows with their offspring.[4]

Thoughts of the next world and the possible suffering to be endured there must have been vividly present in the mind of every mediæval testator, and hence it is that there is scarcely a will in which the soul's future welfare is not mentioned, even although in many cases the testators do not make any definite provision for Masses or obits, but merely charge their executors with the distribution of money or the sale of goods "as should be best for the good of their souls."[5] Others, again, are not quite so vague, although nearly so. Sir Robert de Rouclyff in his will, dated May 13th, 1381, left five marcs to be distributed among his poor

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 86. May 1st, 1369.
[3] Editor's note, p. 136, *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 136. Proved September 16th, 1390.
[5] There are numerous examples of this in *Test. Ebor.*, vol. i—*e.g.*, pp. 68, 72, 74, 77, 123, 144, 191, 202, 205, 240, 250, 253, 256, 258, 259, 264, 265, 270.

and infirm tenants, according to the discretion of his executors, and as should be best for his soul. He also left 13/4 to S. Mary's, Scarborough, where he wished to be buried, so that his soul might be prayed for there.[1] Walter de Newton, vicar of Kirkby Moorside, wished that the remainder of his goods (after other bequests) should be sold and the money thus received given to suitable chaplains, of whom Thomas Goddard, to whom he left his breviary, was at all events to be one.[2] Matilda Marshall of York ordained that the residue of her goods, after many bequests, should be sold, together with the bequests made to any legatees who might have died before she did, and the money distributed in works of charity and in obits for her husband and herself and in celebrating in the church of S. Helen "juxta muros," York, for their souls.[3]

Bequests of money were often made to individual clergy, sometimes to the parish priest, sometimes to monks and friars, or sometimes to relations of the testator; and although in some cases the gift was made without condition, yet generally the legatee was required to pray for the soul of the donor. Such bequests occur in the will of Agnes Lockton, dated October 22nd, 1391: she left six marcs to brother William Chawmont, four marcs to dom Robert Whitlock, and 6/8 to William Darell, chaplain of Nether Hutton.[4] Likewise, Richard Brideshall, a merchant of York, left 20/– to be divided equally between Thomas Birkin and his fellow priests celebrating at Peaseholm for them to pray for his soul[5]; Richard Basy of Bilbrough left 13/4 to the vicar of S. Nicholas in Micklegate at York to pray for his soul and for forgotten oblations, if any—also 20/– each to John de Lutton, chaplain, Alan de Thornton and dom John de Foston, for them to pray for his soul[6]; John Barker of Thirsk left £4 to brother Robert Kirkby, his relation, for celebrating for his soul for one year,[7] and John Syther left 20/– to Richard de Knapton, chaplain, for him to pray for his soul during the whole of his life.[8]

Hitherto reference has been made only to those provisions for the soul's welfare which extended over a period, perhaps of one year or for an indefinite number of years, during which prayers and Masses were to be offered continually. Some testators, however, were content if their souls were remembered and pleaded for

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 153. August 15th, 1391.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 182. February 9th, 1392; proved March 10th, 1392.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 165. Proved October 30th, 1391.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 175. December 19th, 1392.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 192. March 29th, 1393.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 206. November 12th, 1395.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 250. September 20th, 1398.

once a year, or even on one occasion only, while others, although desiring the celebration of a great number of Masses, insisted that this should be done within a very short time after death, as for instance Humphrey de Cherleton, archdeacon of Richmond since 1359,[1] who made provision for eight thousand Masses in his will dated February 12th, 1376, which were to be celebrated as quickly as possible after his death.[2] Sir John Bigod left £100 for the celebration of Masses with haste after his death, as should be best for his soul.[3] Sir Ralph Hastings, a retainer of the Duke of Lancaster and twice (in 1377 and 1380) Sheriff of York, made many bequests in his will for his soul's good and for the souls of others, including provision for two priests for three years after his death and for two other priests in the chapel of Knowsley for one year; and he also directed that two thousand Masses should be celebrated as soon as possible after his death, and at least within a year of his death.[4]

Other persons, less opulent than these, or less anxious about their future state, made much smaller bequests which provided for merely one or a few Masses. Alice, the widow of John Tavener of Ripon, left 20/– in her will to the vicars and ministers of the church of Ripon for placebo and dirige and for celebrating her Mass in choir.[5] John Preston, a "bukelermaker" of York, wished one obit to be made on his anniversary for his soul and the soul of his late wife Alice, in the church of S. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, for the making of which 13/4 was to be spent[6]; John Quenby, a "parchmener," also of York, likewise left 13/4 for the celebration of his anniversary, which was to consist of fifteen Masses[7]; while several left bequests for the celebration of trentals—that is of one or several series of thirty Masses in which the anniversary day was included. John de Richmond, of Staynbrygate in Ripon, left £10 for this purpose in addition to a bequest of £23 for six secular chaplains to celebrate for his soul for one year.[8] Richard Bridesall, who has been mentioned before, in addition to his other bequest left 15/– for the celebration of one trental of Masses in his parish church of S. John at Ousebridge End in York[9]; Richard Dalton, a barber of York, left 10/– for the celebration of two trentals[10]; and Walter Bruge, canon of York, in addition to his

[1] Le Neve: *Op. cit.*, iii, 138.
[2] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 95.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 129. September 25th, 1388.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 218.
[5] *Mem. Ripon*, iv, 109.
[6] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 269. 1400.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 197. April 5th, 1394.
[8] *Mem. Ripon*, iv, 169. September 9th, 1399.
[9] *Test. Ebor.*, p. 175. December 19th, 1392.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184. October 29th, 1392.

other bequests already mentioned, left ten marcs for the celebration of ten trentals of S. Gregory, all of which were to be done as quickly after his death as priests could be found.[1] The latter bequest shows that wealthy people also wished to have trentals celebrated for them as a further safeguard for their future well-being in addition to other provisions, but it is obvious that to many who, perhaps, had a wife and family to provide for, a bequest of some shillings[2] for the celebration of an anniversary or a "month's mind" was the utmost that was possible.

The chantries which were thus founded for a few years, or the Masses which were sung for a few days, reveal the same fixed belief in the alleviation of the sufferings which the soul was destined to bear in Purgatory by the prayers, and more especially by the offering of the Sacrifice of the Mass by those on earth, as do those foundations of a similar kind which were intended to last for ever; and the instructions given for their performance reveal the mediæval mind, generally at a time when it was face to face with death, seeking to ensure the welfare of the soul after death by every means provided by the Church "militant here on earth."

IV.

Gilds and Hospitals.[3]

(A) Gilds or Fraternities:

"An Haberdasshere and a Carpenter
A Webbe, a Dyere and a Tapycer—
And they were clothed alle in o lyveree
Of a solempne and greet fraternitee;
Ful fressh and newe hir geere apiked was;
Hir knyves were chaped noght with bras,
But al with silver, wrought ful clene and weel,
Hire girdles and hir pouches everydeel.
Wel semed ech of hem a fair burgeys
To sitten in a yeldehalle, on a deys,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[2] It must be remembered that even apparently small bequests of 6/8 and 13/4 represent a considerable amount in modern money.

[3] Neither religious gilds nor hospitals can be termed "chantries" in the true sense of the word, yet such was their intimate connexion with the welfare of those departed this life in one aspect of their activities that both appear in the sixteenth-century chantry certificates as being probably devoted to superstitious practices, and therefore as liable to suppression. The religious gilds and hospitals which were founded between 1350 and 1400 in the counties of Nottingham and York are therefore included in this survey of chantry founding during that period and in those counties.

Everich for the wisdom that he kan
Was shaply for to been an alderman,
For catel hadde they ynogh and rente.
And eek hir wyves wolde it wel assente,
And elles certeyn were they to blame;
It is ful fair to been y-cleped *Madame*,
And goon to vigilies al before,
And have a mantel roialliche y-bore.[1]

Such were the five gildsmen whom Chaucer chose to portray, representative of thousands of their fellow-men, who in the fourteenth century had bonded themselves together, irrespective of trade or craft, in a brotherhood or fraternity which had for its objects the provision of the welfare of the members in this world and the next. The two kinds of gilds, craft and social or religious, existed side by side; the former (although religion had played some, if not a great part in its origin, and religious observances such as the performance of plays were retained[2]) by the fourteenth century had become an association primarily intended for the regulation of the trade of the particular craft in which its members were engaged; whereas the bond which united the members of the religious fraternity was primarily a devotion to common religious observances which they undertook to perform corporately. The objects of the religious gilds were many, and varied with the circumstances of the people who formed them. For instance, the numerous country gilds which existed at the time of the suppression, and which rarely, if ever, had any record of foundation to show, often had for their object nothing more ambitious than the maintenance of a light before an image or the furnishing of a side-chapel in the parish church,[3] although where the parishioners were wealthy enough an extra priest was sometimes provided for the parish by the contributions of the gildsmen. In the towns, where the increase of trade had brought prosperity to a greater number of people than heretofore by the fourteenth century, the members of the religious gilds were of the type described by Chaucer—wealthy enough to carry silver-mounted knives and fitted for the position of mayor or bailiff of the town; and the objects of their fraternities were naturally more ambitious than those of the village gilds. They might include the repairing of churches and bridges, the teaching

[1] Chaucer: *The Prologue* (ed. Pollard), lines 361–378.

[2] See W. J. Ashley: *Economic Organisation of England*, pp. 30, 31.

[3] H. F. Westlake: *Parish Gilds of Mediæval England*, p. 60.

of children, the relief of poor or sick brethren, or the annual performance of a religious play—all of which, to the mediæval mind, were definitely religious duties; and in addition to these activities, or rather the central point from which all the others were derived and took their meaning, was the offering of the Mass by the gild chaplain, either daily and continually, or else annually on the feast day of the patron saint of the gild, for the welfare of the members living and dead.

It is of such gilds of townsmen that we have the record of foundation for this period, chiefly from the gild returns of 1389, from which the objects of the founders and many of the social and religious habits of the latter part of the fourteenth century can be gathered. A writ was sent out to the Sheriffs of the different counties, dated November 1st, 1388,[1] by authority of a Parliament held at Cambridge in the preceding September, which required all masters and wardens of gilds and brotherhoods to return into Chancery before the feast of the Purification, 1389, a declaration "as to the manner and form and authority of foundation and beginning and continuance and governance of the gilds aforesaid. And as to the manner and form of oaths, gatherings, feasts and general meetings..... Also as to liberties, privileges, statutes, ordinances, usages and customs of the same; and as to all lands, tenements, rents and possessions whether held in mortmain or not....." It is not quite apparent for what reason this inquiry was made, but it is quite probable that the rapid formation of so many gilds at a time when there was a strong undercurrent of discontent prevalent in the country caused them to be regarded with suspicion as having been formed for seditious purposes under the guise of religion, more especially as the king's licence was not necessary for the foundation of a gild, but only when the gild wished to acquire lands and tenements[2] which would thus pass into mortmain. Whatever the cause, no action seems to have been taken against the religious fraternities, and the chief result of the writ is a valuable mine of information, on which it is proposed to draw to describe the gilds which were founded during the latter half of the fourteenth century in Yorkshire.[3]

[1] *C.C.R.*, 1385–89, p. 624.

[2] The second Statute of Mortmain (*Stat. Realm*, ii, 80, 15 Ric. II, cap. VI) made it obligatory for gilds or fraternities to take out licences for the alienation of lands. This may have been a result of the returns made in pursuance of the writ of 1388, although no direct action was taken against the gilds as a result of the writ.

[3] Westlake (*Op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 222) gives the date of the foundation of the Corpus Christi Gild at Newark, whose chaplains acted as chantry priests for two chantries

The Gild of the Holy Cross at Rotherham, which was founded in 1356, had for its sole object the maintenance of a priest to sing Mass for the members, and hence the title of "co-operative chantry," which has been applied to all these religious fraternities, can be applied to this gild without reservation. Once a year all the brethren and sisters[1] met in church and agreed to find a chaplain for the year to sing Mass and other services before the Cross for them. On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14th) all lights were renewed and carried in procession to the church. These torches and candles were used at the funerals of the members, at which, according to all gild rules, all were bound to attend.[2]

There were two great religious gilds in Hull (one founded in 1357 and the other in 1358), returned in 1389, whose ordinances show the other side of the gild activities; the details of actual religious observances are very few in proportion to the rules for the governance and membership of the gild and the relief of the poorer brethren.[3] Both have much in common in general characteristics, but differ widely in details. The Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded on July 23rd, 1357,[4] by ten men and twelve women, nine of the latter being wives of the founders. They agreed to pay yearly to the gild, from each married couple and from each single man and woman 2/2. Newcomers were to pay the same, and if payment was in arrears the warden was empowered to distrain upon the goods of the defaulters if they lived within the town. Defaulters in payment living outside the town were liable to a fine of a pound of wax the first time and two pounds the second, and to expulsion from the gild for the third offence. The governance of the gild was vested in an alderman and steward, who were chosen annually, and two other members of the gild, and the rest of the gild was "to abide by what the alderman and steward and their two helpmen shall do in the name of the gild." The four were to endeavour to settle quarrels among the members

founded at the Corpus Christi altar in 1351 (*vid. sup.*, p. 152 [Pt. 130]), as 1351. Apart from this there are no known foundations of gilds in Nottinghamshire for this period. The chantry founded by Simon de Surflete and others, which is given in Westlake as a gild (*Ibid.*), has already been mentioned among the Newark chantries (*vid. supra*, pp. 153 and 154).

[1] Religious gilds always included members of both sexes, the women not necessarily being wives of the men members. This does not apply, however, to certain gilds which were composed entirely of priests.

[2] Gild Return of 1389. Printed in Westlake (*Op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 234).

[3] The returns from Hull are different in one respect from other returns. They give copies of the original deed of foundation instead of a copy of ordinances and other particulars asked for in the writ (Toulmin Smith: *English Gilds*, note, p. 155).

[4] Gild Return of 1389. Printed in *English Gilds*, pp. 155–160.

" inasmuch as the gild was founded to cherish kindness and love." If the quarrellers would not obey the officers or settle their quarrel, then the one most in fault had to pay four pounds of wax. Also, if the officers were unable to agree in such a matter or in any other matter touching the welfare of the gild, the matter was to be referred to the whole gild for settlement.

Provision was made for the poor and sick brethren and sisters. If anyone who was young and able to work became so poor " through mishap " that he was in much need of help, he was to have 10/– as a free grant for one year " to enable him to follow his own calling in such manner as he thinks best." If he were unable to pay it back at the end of the first year he might keep it for another year, and if he still could not make enough profit at his work at the end of the third year to pay back the 10/– he was to be relieved of payment.

If any of the gild became " infirm, bowed, blind, dumb, deaf, maimed or sick, whether with some lasting or only temporary sickness, and whether in old age or in youth.....that he has not the means of living, then for kindness' sake and for the souls' sake of the founders " he was to have *7d.* a week for life out of the goods of the gild—but with this stipulation, that if he were unable to pay his annual subscription of 2/2 to the gild it was to be deducted from his weekly payment of *7d.* The only case in which payment of the yearly subscription was relaxed was if any of the members went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and then it was so done " in order that all the gild may share in his pilgrimage." If any member were " foulmouthed or rebel " at a gild-meeting he was to pay one pound of wax, and if anyone cheated the warden in any matter of payment or fine he was to pay two pounds of wax. If he were convicted of more heinous crimes such as robbery, murder, rape, arson, treason, sorcery or heresy, he was to be expelled from the gild without delay.

All the brothers and sisters of the gild met on the feast of the Assumption (August 15th) in the chapel of S. Mary, to make offerings, under penalty of the payment of a pound of wax; and under the same penalty for absence all were to be present at the burial and other services on the death of a brother or sister. The members of this gild were evidently satisfied with the celebration of an annual Mass, as there is no mention of the maintenance of a permanent chaplain, but the references to the souls of the founders in the ordinances and the numerous instances of the payment of wax for fines, which could only have been used

for candles and torches in religious processions or services or at funerals of brethren, point to the true religious feeling which in the first instance bound the members together.

The Gild of Corpus Christi at Hull was founded on Thursday, May 31st, 1358, by eighteen women and twenty-five men.[1] The founders charged themselves with a payment of 10/– a year for five years, and after this of 1¼*d.* a week. The government of the gild was in the hands of an alderman and steward, and eight men whom they chose to help them. All the members met on the festival of Corpus Christi in the chapel of Holy Trinity, where, sometime after 1384, a permanent chaplain was established to pray for the brethren and sisters of the gild[2]; the funeral of a dead member was likewise attended by all. A brother in misfortune was granted 20/– to help him to recover his trade, with the same conditions as were imposed on the members of the Gild of Our Lady, and in the event of sickness 14*d.* was given every week. The Gild of Corpus Christi evidently boasted richer members than its fellow Gild of S. Mary, as both the annual subscription and the payments to poor and sick brethren were higher in the former gild.

The two gilds at Beverley, of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin and of S. Helen, which are known to have been founded during this period, both made the presentation of a religious pageant on their respective feast days an important part of their corporate life. The Gild of S. Mary was founded in 1355.[3] Every year, on the feast of the Purification, all the members met together in an appointed place away from the church,[4] where one of the gild was "clad in comely fashion as a queen, like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms"; two others were clad like Joseph and Simeon, and two went as angels, carrying a candle bearer, on which were twenty-four thick wax lights. "With these and other great lights borne before them, and with much music and gladness, the pageant Virgin with her Son and Joseph and Simeon" went in procession to the church. All the sisters of the gild followed the Virgin, and after them came the brethren, two by two, each carrying a wax light weighing half a pound. When they reached the church the Virgin offered her Son to Simeon at the High Altar, and all the members of the gild offered their wax lights with a penny each, after which they went home again. On the same day after dinner they all met together

[1] *English Gilds*, pp. 160–161.

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 390. See also *ante*, p. 244.

[3] Toulmin Smith: *Op. cit.*, pp. 149–150.

[4] *I.e.* the chapel of S. Mary in Beverley.

" rejoicing in the Lord, and in praise of the Glorious Virgin Mary," and there they chose the alderman and stewards for the coming year, and offered prayers and gifts for the dead.

The officers were to visit the poor and sick brethren and sisters and give them *8d.*, *6d.*, or at least *4d.* a week to help them, and if any of these poor brethren died they were buried at the expense of the gild. This fraternity obtained formal incorporation by letters patent on November 18th, 1400; licence was at the same time given to them to grant houses and lands in Beverley to the chaplain they maintained.[1]

The Gild of S. Helen at Beverley, which was founded on May 2nd, 1378,[2] had a similar procession on the feast of S. Helen. They chose the fairest youth they could find and dressed him as a queen to represent S. Helen. An old man carrying a cross, and another old man carrying a shovel in token of the finding of the Holy Cross, went before this youth, and after him the brethren and sisters of the gild, two by two, and after all the two stewards and the alderman; and so they went in procession to the church of the Friars Minor, where solemn Mass was celebrated at the altar of S. Helen and every member of the gild made an offering of a penny. They, also, met after dinner and chose the alderman and stewards for the year, after eating bread and cheese and drinking " as much ale as is good for them." The alderman and stewards were bound to maintain two, three or four bedridden poor folks while they lived, and to bury them when they died, and choose others in their places. Three wax lights were kept burning every Sunday and feast day in honour of S. Helen, and at morning Mass on Christmas Day thirteen wax lights were burnt; there were also services for the dead, and offerings made by the gild members.

These two gilds at Beverley reveal that dual solicitude for the body and the soul as exemplified in the outward visible signs of corporate piety and corporate charity which is characteristic of the whole body of religious fraternities.

Another aspect of gild activity is illustrated by the Gild of Our Lady, S. Wilfred and All Saints, which was founded at Ripon about 1379[3] in honour of God and the saints, and " for the love they had to a holy chapel of S. Mary built in the time of S. Wilfred and now become weak and ruinous, and for the souls of themselves and all Christians." They, therefore, subscribed for the repairing of the chapel and also for a chaplain to sing daily Mass.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, p. 396.
[2] Toulmin Smith: *Op. cit.*, p. 148.
[3] Gild Return of 1389. Printed in Westlake: *Op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 234.

In 1389 they had "of treasure in money" none, "nor land nor tenement nor chalice, but only a set of vestments given by the parson of Bedale."[1]

There was another fraternity at Ripon (which does not appear to have adopted a patron saint[2]), which was founded solely for the benefit of the souls of the members and of all Christians. The members each contributed towards the maintenance of a chaplain "to sing Mass daily at an altar in the High Church." This gild is a perfect illustration of the term "co-operative chantry," for, by the joining of a number of people in a common object a priest was supported who pleaded for the souls of a community of people just as the private chantry priest's duty was to intercede for the welfare of the founder of the chantry to which he was attached.

A Gild dedicated to S. Christopher was founded at York after the returns of 1389 had been sent in. It received formal incorporation in 1396, although it may have been founded some years before. Licence was given to Robert del Hay and eight others on March 13th, 1396,[3] for them to found a Gild of S. Christopher, of themselves and other men and women, in the cathedral church at York. They were to choose a yearly master for its governance and the keeping of its possessions, and they were empowered to form a commonalty with a common seal. Sixteen days later the gild had licence to acquire lands to the value of £20 yearly to find two chaplains to celebrate in the cathedral church for the King, the Archbishop, the Earl of Northumberland, and for the brethren and sisters of the gild.[4] The first licence was evidently acquired so that the brethren might be able to alienate lands to their chaplains, whom it is allowable to suppose they maintained before 1396, in the same way as the Gild of S. Mary at Beverley, by contributions out of the gild coffers.[5]

The religious gilds of mediæval England were thus not merely the forerunners of the burial clubs and benefit societies of later days, although the activities of some fraternities in providing for the burial of the poorer members and in helping the sick might warrant the application of such a title to them. On the other hand some gilds, as for instance those at Ripon, were founded with a purely religious motive, and even where other services were performed by the gildsmen, such as the teaching of children or the

[1] Yorks. Arch. Soc., vol. xxvii, p. lxvi.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 716.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 711.
[5] This Gild was afterwards apparently merged into a Gild of S. George, founded in the reign of Henry VI (see *Y.C.S.* Memorandum 1, p. 82). One of their objects was stated to be the repairing of certain highroads near the city.

support of the poor in addition to the provision of Masses for the living and the dead, these were all regarded as a part of religious duty, and it is evident that the strongest bond which united the members of a religious fraternity was the belief in the efficacy of Masses and prayers and of deeds of Christian charity for their souls' welfare. The religious gild was but a further expression of that "corporate consciousness" characteristic of the Middle Ages.

(B) Hospitals:

The hospitals of the Middle Ages were not merely the temporary homes of the sick, who were removed when cured and their places taken by others. Some houses did indeed afford temporary shelter for wayfarers, and a few were built for that very purpose, while others distributed alms at the door to the beggars who roved about the country,[1] but the majority of hospitals in the later Middle Ages "occupied the place now filled by almshouses, union houses and homes for chronic invalids or incurables."[2] They were permanent homes for the aged and infirm, maintained by the piety and munificence of individual benefactors.

Various motives contributed to the foundation and endowment of these *maisons Dieu*. The Church continued to teach the imperative duty of alms-giving, which was in this way represented in a most noble form, and there were always some with a genuine desire to help their less fortunate brethren and sisters; but the greatest incentive to hospital founding in the later Middle Ages was, without doubt, the growth of the chantry system, for not only was the donor fulfilling his duty as a Christian by such provision for the poor and weak, but he could also make sure of the prayers of a number of people for his welfare both in his lifetime and in the generations to come, in this way. Furthermore, the presence of a chaplain, or of a master and several chaplains, to minister to the spiritual needs of the inmates, ensured that Masses and prayers would likewise be offered for the benefactor, who, indeed, in his foundation deed definitely laid down the rules of religious observance both for his bede-folk and for the clergy who were attached to the foundation. Sometimes, as at Pontefract

[1] Although the legislation of the later fourteenth century concerning vagrancy stopped this practice to a great extent.

[2] R. M. Clay: *Mediæval Hospitals*, p. 15. In the earlier Middle Ages, when leprosy was more prevalent in England than in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, alms were given and leper houses were built for the lepers; but with the decline of the disease such alms were transferred to other necessitous persons, and some leper houses became retreats for the poor and aged (*Ibid.*, p. 29).

in Sir Robert Knolles' foundation, there was a college of priests attached to the almshouse, but in every case the master of the hospital was a priest who could fulfil the double duty of prêparing his charges for the life to come and of praying for the founder's soul.

The life of a hospital was essentially a religious life; the soul was cared for as much, if not more than, the body, for the founder did indeed desire the welfare of his poor people, now and for ever, and wished them so to live that "aftyr the state of this dedely (mortal) lyf, they mowe come and inhabit the house of the kyngdome of heven, the which with oure Lordes mouth is promysed to all men which bene pore in spirit."[1]

The hospital for which there is the fullest information and evidence of this double care for the body and soul of the inmates for this period in the two counties under review is Sir Robert Knolles' foundation of a college of priests and almshouses combined, at Pontefract.[2] Licence was granted to the founder and his wife on April 20th, 1385,[3] to found a college of seven chaplains in a messuage at Pontefract and to alienate the messuage to the chaplains for their habitation and the habitation of thirteen poor persons, two clerks, and one or two servants. Licence had already been obtained from John of Gaunt, of whom the messuage in Pontefract was held, on December 13th, 1384, and Archbishop Neville's licence for the foundation was given in the following July. The founder's ordinances were dated October 4th of the same year,[4] and royal confirmation of the ordinances, which were contained in a bull of Pope Urban VI, which itself confirmed the aforementioned licences and ordinances, was given on March 17th, 1390.[5] In 1397 Sir Robert obtained licence to alienate to the master and chaplains of his chantry inns, shops and houses belonging to him in London of the annual value of £42,[6] and in 1406 and 1407[7] the founder made further additions to the possessions of the hospital. The founder's ordinances were revised in 1398 and in 1403; these were confirmed by the archbishop in October, 1404,[8] and a yet further ordinance relating to the almshouses received archiepiscopal confirmation in January, 1418–19.[9]

[1] R. M. Clay: *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

[2] Leland (*Itinerary*, Pt. I, p. 39) says that Knolles was once minded to have made this college at his manor of Sculthorp, three miles from Walsingham, but at the desire of his wife Constance, he turned his purpose, and made it in the very place of Pontefract where his wife was born.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 516.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 232.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 148. May 25th.

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1405–1408, p. 182, and *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[8] Reg. Scrope, ff. 45–46^{d}.

[9] Reg. Bowet, ff. 128^{d}–129^{d}.

The first ordinances, dated October 4th, 1385,[1] made provision both for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the bede-folk and for the sustenance of the chantry priests. They decreed that the college in honour of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary was to be commonly known as the "Knolles Almshouses," and the thirteen poor people were to be especially such as misfortune had overtaken. The master received twenty marcs a year, each chaplain ten marcs and each clerk five marcs with all necessaries, and two servants for the poor 25/8 a year each. £34 4*s.* 3½*d.* a year was devoted to the maintenance of the poor, besides which each received on the feasts of Holy Trinity, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and the five feasts of Our Lady, 2*d.* extra. A further ten marcs a year were to be divided amongst the poor for clothing and other necessaries; and after the founders' death their obits were to be kept yearly "with note and principal vestments," at which the master, chaplains, clerks, poor persons and servants were each to receive 6/8. Such was the provision for the material welfare of the inmates both clerical and lay. An elaborate routine of Masses and offices for the founder was prescribed for the chantry chaplains,[2] at some of which no doubt the almspeople were expected to be present, both for their own spiritual welfare and to remember the founder. At the beginning of an ordinary day each poor person was to say the Paternoster thrice in honour of the Holy Trinity.

The presentation of the master belonged to the Prior of S. Oswald's, Nostell, or, failing him, to the Archbishop. The chaplains were appointed by the master, and they had to dine in the hall and pay 60/– for food and drink.[3] The prior of S. Oswald's was to supervise the house after the founder's death and correct abuses and examine accounts annually, for which he was to have 40/– from the master. There were other directions for the governance of the house, and also for the dress of the chaplains in choir, when they had each to wear a white almuce on which, in memory of the founder, was a red rose on which was an image of the Holy Trinity. The whole ordinance points to a careful thought, both for the benefit and comfort of the poor and for the welfare of the founder's soul, and in this respect it is a thoroughly typical

[1] Reg. Neville, f. 97 (printed in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 318, 319).

[2] See *ante*, p. 133 [Pt. 130].

[3] When Boothroyd wrote *Pontefract* (1807, p. 386) the place called the "galleries," formerly the residence of the master and chaplains, remained. "Each had his separate chamber.....and like other religious houses probably a common refectory or dining room where all met together."

document.[1] The founder was one of the most eminent soldiers of his age—scarcely less renowned than Sir John Hawkwood. He acquired much wealth in the French Wars and his munificence was notable. He frequently assisted Richard II with loans, and besides his foundation at Pontefract he was a liberal benefactor to the house of Whitefriars in London and rebuilt the churches of Sculthorp and Harpley in Norfolk. He died in 1407.[2]

The "Maison Dieu" on Monkbridge in York is an example of a leper house which later was refounded as an ordinary hospital. The "hospital of lepers of S. Leonard on Monkbrig" was in existence in 1350, in which year Edward III granted protection to the master and brethren, who had not sufficient to live on unless they were relieved by alms.[3] The house was evidently refounded by Robert Howom, the founder of a chantry in Holy Trinity in Gothrumgate,[4] who died in 1396, and in his will desired that his son Robert and all into whose hands certain of his lands should come should "uphold a house near Monk Bridge in Monkgate.....which I have made into a hospital (*ad hospitandum*) for poor invalids of both sexes there, for the poor of which sort I have constructed twenty beds in the same for the health of my soul, and the souls of all the faithful departed."[5] The hospital was apparently re-founded before 1391, for in that year there is entered in the city records a bequest of twenty marcs in gold which was made to "le Mesendu super pontem" at York by the executors of the will of Richard de Wardeby, a former citizen of York.[6]

The hospital in North Street, York, may have been founded by Isolde Acastre, the foundress of a chantry in the church of All Saints, Pavement,[7] York. It was called "the hospital of Isolda Akaster in North Street" in the will of Richard Houme, who left 40/– to the poor of the house.[8] The hospital was ascribed to John Acastre, the husband of Isolde, in the will of Margaret of Knaresborough, 1398.[9] However, in 1401 William de Salley, sheriff of York 1397–8, occurs as founder or patron, and in his will, 1408, he bequeathed to his wife a tenement in North Street "facing the king's highway with six houses in the lane beside the Maison Dieu on the south side of the lane,"[10] so presumably William de

[1] In 1546 the annual value of the College and Hospital was £200 5*s*. 8*d*. The date of foundation is given as 1390. The number of poor persons and of clergy was at that time the same as in the beginning (*Y.C.S.*, ii, 326).

[2] *D.N.B.* Article—"Sir Robert Knolles" (C. L. Kingsford).

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1348–1350, p. 542.

[4] See *ante*, p. 238.

[5] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 352.

[6] *York Mem. Book*, ii, 33.

[7] See *ante*, p. 240.

[8] *V.C.H.*, iii, 352.

[9] *Test. Ebor.*, i, 220.

[10] *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, p. 238 (note).

Salley had in the meantime become patron of the hospital founded by John or Isolde Acastre.

On March 20th, 1357,[1] certain citizens of York obtained royal licence to found a gild in honour of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, and to acquire in mortmain lands or rent worth £10 yearly, to find chaplains to celebrate in the church of S. Cross, York. But in 1371 John Rouclyf and other members of the gild had licence to change it into a hospital,[2] and, as only 16/8 of the £10 which they had had licence to acquire before had been acquired, they had licence to assign that and the rent when they got it for the sustenance of the brethren and sisters of the hospital and of chaplains who were to celebrate there for the good estate of the brethren and sisters, and for the souls of the King and the late Queen Philippa. In 1397 the lands worth £10 had not yet been acquired, for in that year licence was given to two priests and five citizens of York to grant the lands required.[3] According to the chantry certificate of 1546[4] John Rouclyff only purchased one house and 26/– of rent during his lifetime, and no further addition was made to the endowment until the Merchant Gild of York[5] entered into the endowments already acquired and supported the hospital by their augmentation in the reign of Henry VI.[6] The archbishop's ordinances for the hospital were dated August 27th, 1373.[7] There was to be a chaplain to govern the hospital, who was to receive ten marcs yearly for his stipend,[8] and if, after the other necessary payments had been made, there remained six marcs over, another chaplain was to be provided and receive that sum for his stipend. The *custos* and chaplain were to celebrate Mass daily in the hospital chapel for the King, the brothers, sisters and benefactors of the hospital, and say the suffrages of the dead, and the seven penitential psalms and the litany, weekly. Thirteen poor and infirm persons were to be supported, each of whom was to receive $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ every week, while in addition some provision was made for the education of children by the payment of $4d.$ a week each to two poor clerks "scholas exercentes," a

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 518.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 47.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 67.
[4] *Y.C.S.*, i, 76.
[5] Gild incorporated July 12th, 1430 (*C.P.R.*, 1429–1430, p. 51).
[6] But the foundation consisted of a master, two chaplains, two clerks and thirty sick poor in 1411, in which year Archbishop Bowet licensed a new chapel of the hospital for Mass (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 350), so the endowment must have received additions not known to the compilers of the chantry certificates, before the hospital came into the hands of the Merchant Adventurers.
[7] Dugdale: *Monasticon*, vii, 737.
[8] This was the sum actually paid to him by the Merchant Gild at the time of the suppression (*Y.C.S.*, i, 76).

further example of that connexion between the chantry system and mediæval education which has been touched upon before.

Several other hospitals about which not much is known were founded in York, probably during this period. The hospital of S. Thomas the Martyr, outside Micklegate Bar, was founded before 1391[1] for the maintenance of poor persons of either sex dwelling in the neighbourhood of "Mykyllythbar," and especially for hospitality by day and night to all poor travellers and sick poor passing through York.[2] The Hestergate or Castle Hill *Maison Dieu* was founded by Thomas Howom, brother of Robert Howom the founder of the Monk Bridge *Maison Dieu*, before 1390, in which year a bequest was made to it. In his will, 1406, the founder bequeathed 30/– "pauperibus in domo mea super le Castelhill."[3] Nothing is known of the S. Andrewgate *Maison Dieu* and the Peter Lane Hospital except that both were founded by 1390 and that the founder of the latter was a certain John de Derthyngton[4]; or of the Fishergate Spital beyond that it was a leper-house and founded about 1399.[5]

Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk and Chancellor of England from 1383 to 1386, founded just outside the town of Kingston-on-Hull (which had risen to prominence in the reign of Edward III through the activities of his family) a Carthusian monastery and a hospital.[6] In the licence which he received on May 20th, 1377, to found the monastery, provision was made for the inclusion of thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women in the scheme, who might either be a part of the monastery or distinct from it as the founder pleased.[7] Presumably the monks and poor brethren occupied the same set of buildings in the already existing *Maison Dieu* in the manor of Myton outside Hull,[8] but in 1383 the two foundations were separated. Michael de la Pole had licence, dated August 3rd of that year, to grant two messuages called "le Maison-dieu" in Myton, on the east of the Carthusian priory (which had apparently been built in the interval), five messuages in Hull, and other lands and pasture in Cottingham and Willerby, to the master and poor persons of the "Maisondieu" founded by him.[9]

[1] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 392.

[2] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 349. The hospital was transferred to the Corpus Christi Gild May 12th, 1478 (*Reg. Corpus Christi Gild*, p. 271).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 351, 352. R. M. Clay: *Op. cit.*, Appendix B.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 351. R. M. Clay: *Op. cit.*, Appendix B.

[6] "The charter house of the de la Poles' foundation, and a hospital of their foundation standing by it is without the North Gate" (Leland: *Op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 50).

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 470.

[8] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 318. February 3rd, 1379.

[9] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 305.

The founder's charter was dated March 1st, 1384.[1] As usual the master of the hospital was a priest, the first to be appointed being a certain Richard Killam, who was to have £10 yearly and live near the hospital. He had to celebrate Mass daily in the hospital chapel, whither the twenty-six poor folk were to resort daily "before dinner" to hear divine service and say their own prayers, remembering especially King Richard and the founder and other persons named. In the afternoon they were to betake themselves to some honest occupation. They were each to receive 40/– yearly, at the rate of 8*d.* a week and the remainder at Michaelmas, Christmas, Easter, and Midsummer. The founder had the right of filling up a vacancy among the poor folks or of the mastership, which passed to his heirs if they were of full age after his death.[2] These ordinances provide one more example of the double concern of the hospital founder for the welfare of his poor people and of his own soul.[3]

Trinity Hospital at Beverley was founded for the maintenance of twenty-four inmates by John de Ake, a merchant of Beverley. In 1397 the chapel was already built and licence was obtained by Henry Maupas and Robert de Garton, acting for the founder, for the alienation of two messuages and a vacant plot of land in Beverley to the twelve "governors" of the town for finding a chaplain to celebrate daily in the chapel and to support twelve poor men in houses to be built on the plot of ground.[4] In his will, dated September 23rd, 1398, John de Ake bequeathed all his lands and tenements to his wife Ellen during her life; after her death they were to be applied to the further erecting and endowing of the chapel and hospital, which by now had been increased to support twenty-four inmates and two priests, of whom the first to be appointed were Henry Maupas and Robert Garton.[5] The hospital was thus evidently founded by John de Ake before his death, although the exact date does not appear to be known, and endowed further by his will. In 1399 two additions were made to the endowment of the hospital. The two priests were allowed to give a tenement in Keldgate, Beverley, to the twelve governors of the town (who were the

[1] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 310: date here given as 1394. *Y.C.S.*, ii, 338, gives the date of foundation as March 12th, 1384.

[2] A considerable addition was made to the endowment of the hospital in 1408 by Michael de la Pole, Edmund de la Pole and Robert Bolton (*C.P.R.*, 1408–1413, p. 57).

[3] Another hospital for twelve poor men, who each received ½*d.* a day, was founded in Hull by Richard Ravenser between 1376 and 1380. This has already been referred to in connexion with the chantry of S. Anne in Holy Trinity Church, Hull (see *ante*, p. 244).

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 162.

[5] Poulson: *Op. cit.*, p. 785.

trustees of the hospital) for its support, by Archbishop Scrope,[1] and on the same day Robert Croull, prebendary of Fridaythorpe in York Minster, allowed tenements in Cross Garths, Beverley, which John de Ake had held of the prebend, to be applied to the purpose of the hospital.[2]

It may appear as if the men who founded the hospitals of the Middle Ages were actuated by purely selfish motives, and that to ensure their welfare during their lives and their souls' good after death was the sole motive which induced them to provide for the poor and infirm. It was not so; it was because, as has been said, the threefold aim of these founders was to fulfil at once their duty towards God, their neighbour and themselves that such houses, of which a few examples have here been given, with their double provision for the souls and bodies of the inmates and for the remembrance of the founder in prayers and Masses, were erected and endowed.

The foundation of chantries may appear at first sight a subject which is utterly divorced from the general course of history, but in the Middle Ages, when the system flourished, any system which formed part of the organisation of the Church was necessarily intimately bound up with the lives of the people at large. This survey of chantry founding for the short period of fifty years, and in two counties of England only, brings us into contact with every class of person (except the peasant, who could not afford to pay for services for his soul's good) and takes us into the select clerical world of the cathedral community; into the town with its prosperous merchants and its many churches; and into the country districts, where the parish is " wyde " and the houses " fer asonder " and the chantry priest serves more purposes than one—so that a light is thrown on the daily life and habits and beliefs of a community of men and women who lived in an age so far removed and so different from our own.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 786.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 787. R. M. Clay (*Mediæval Hospitals*, Appendix B) gives also a hospital at Beverley without Keldgate Bar, founded in 1392, of which the town was patron; also a hospital at Ripon dedicated to S. Nicholas and founded in 1350.

APPENDIX.

Chantries which were, or possibly were, founded between 1350 and 1400 in the counties of Nottingham and Yorkshire and not mentioned in the text.

York—Cathedral Church of S. Peter.

1. September 3rd, 1359.[1] Founder—Archbishop Thoresby, for an anniversary of Archbishop Melton.
2. August 20th, 1376.[2] Founders—John Albetarwe and Richard Greynham, priests, for John Branketre, late treasurer of York.
3. December 7th, 1390.[3] Founders—John de Broddesworth, Thomas de Birkyn, Robert de Masan, priests, for Adam de Thorpe, late canon of York.
4. July 8th, 1392.[4] Anniversary of Joan, Margaret and John Beverley. Licence obtained by William de Cave, Richard de Horneby and Nicholas de Newerk, priests.

Beverley—Collegiate Church of S. John.

5. September 11th, 1392.[5] Founders—Robert de Lowthorpe, Thomas de Gemelyng, William de Sutton, John de Bedall.
6. September 13th, 1392.[6] Founder—John de Burton, canon of Beverley.

Southwell—Collegiate Church of S. Mary.

7. February 9th, 1395.[7] Founders—Thomas Hardwyk, clerk, Thomas de Annesley of Kynalton, Thomas Hunte and others, for Hugh de Annesley and John de Bella Aqua.

York—Holy Trinity curia Regis.

8. May 12th, 1359.[8] Founder—Roger de Hovyngham of York, at the altar of S. Thomas the Martyr.

S. John at Ousebridge End.

9. February 28th, 1365.[9] Founder—John de Bryghale, priest, at the altar of S. John Baptist, for Juliana Allerton and others.

S. Martin in Micklegate.

10. February 7th, 1367.[10] Founder—John de Sevenhous, for Nicholas Fouke and his two wives, all of York, at S. Mary's altar. Augmented—November 24th, 1385, by John Ferriby and John Bilton.[11]

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1356–61, p. 268. Documents of foundation given in *Historians of the Church of York*, iii, 275–280—date 1359.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 350.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 337.
[4] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 114.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 665.
[8] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 200.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1364–67, p. 98.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 383.
[11] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 486.

S. Mary Bishophill Senior.

11. August 4th, 1373.[1] A Lamp at the Elevation—founded by Richard Basy of Bilbrough for S. Katharine's Chantry.

S. Martin, Coney Street.

12. May 26th, 1375.[2] Founders—Roger Nessyngwyk and Adam de Fournays, chaplains at S. Mary's altar.

S. George in Fishergate.

13. May 12th, 1377.[3] Founder—William Tunder of York, for Hugh Sutton and Matilda his wife and Nicholas, son of Hugh, at S. Mary's altar.

S. Sampson.

14. May 4th, 1379.[4] Founders—John Waltham and William Lovell, clerks, for Nicholas Burton, clerk, and others.

S. Martin's, Micklegate.

15. September 6th, 1392.[5] Founder—William Sparowe, priest, for Ellen and John Gisburn—for two chaplains.

S. Martin's, Micklegate.

16. November 20th, 1394.[6] Founder—John Askham of York at the altar of the Holy Trinity.

S. Peter in the Willows.

17. April 4th, 1395.[7] Founders—Nicholas Swanland and Robert Halton, priests.

Pontefract—Chapel of S. Helen.

18. February 18th, 1359.[8] Livery granted by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, to anchorites in house of S. Helen for them to find a chaplain.

Beverley—Chapel at Thearne.

19. February 14th, 1378.[9] Founder—Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York.

Chapel of S. Mary.

20. September 11th, 1392.[10] Founders—John Beryngholme and John Folkerthorp, chaplains.

Tadcaster—Parish Church.

21. December 7th, 1384.[11] Founders—Henry Barton, William Aldbergh, William Pullowe, clerks, and four laymen.

Knaresborough—Parish Church.

22. November 4th, 1399.[12] Founder—John Robertson of Knaresborough, in the chapel of S. Edmund.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 332.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 108.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 462.
[4] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 345.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 145.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 529.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 692.
[8] *C.P.R.*, 1358–61, p. 246.
[9] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 122.
[10] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 150.
[11] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 486.
[12] *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, p. 63.

SCARBOROUGH—Parish Church of S. Mary.

23. July 13th, 1380.[1] Founders—Henry Bendbowe, vicar of Scarborough, and John Moressone.

24. March 26th, 1390.[2] Founder—Agnes Bain, at altar of S. Nicholas.

Chapel called "le Charnell."

25. June 16th, 1396.[3] Founder—King Richard II, endowed by John, Duke of Lancaster and Aquitaine. June 30th, 1396.[4]

HIGH MELTON—Chapel of S. James (West Riding).

26. November 12th, 1350.[5] William de Ferriby, founder, for two chaplains. Founded before 1374.[6]

Parish Church.

27. July 1st, 1400.[7] Founder—John Melton, priest, at the altar of S. Mary.

KILHAM IN HOLDERNESS—Parish Church.

28. September 3rd, 1351.[8] Founder—Alan de Kilham, king's clerk, at the altar of S. Mary.

CHAPEL OF NABURN (East Riding).

29. May 26th, 1353.[9] Founder—John de Barton, king's yeoman. Chantry united with Chantry at Stillingfleet, 1402.[10]

CHAPEL OF BRIGHAM, in parish of Foston.

30. July 1st, 1354.[11] Founders—John and Elizabeth Hay.

LINTON BY BALKHOLME—Chapel of S. Mary.

31. December 4th, 1361.[12] Founder—Richard de Aske.

AMOTHERBY (North Riding)—Chapel of S. Helen.

32. July 3rd, 1364.[13] Founders—John de Aymunderby and Thomas de Swynton.

WEST TANFIELD (North Riding)—Parish Church.

33. July 2nd, 1365.[14] Founders—Alice de Astre and John de Astre—chaplain.

NORTH BURTON (East Riding)—Parish Church.

34. April 27th, 1366.[15] Founders—Robert de Beverlaco, canon of Beverley, John Burton, John Bourge, Richard Santon and Fulk Constable.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 543.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 234.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 721.
[4] *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, p. 2.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 318.
[6] *C.P.R.*, 1374–77, p. 18.
[7] *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, p. 317.
Y.C.S., i, 160.
[8] *C.P.R.*, 1350–54, p. 133.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 442.
[10] Reg. Scrope, ff. 50[d]–51.
[11] *C.P.R.*, 1354–58, p. 48.
[12] *C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 126.
[13] *C.P.R.*, 1364–67, p. 2.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

PRESTON IN HOLDERNESS—Parish Church.

35. March 10th, 1371.[1] Founder—Willian Clerc of Hedon, for Hugh de Nuttle, late rector of Halsham, at S. Mary's altar.

WHELDRAKE (East Riding)—Parish Church.

36. May 28th, 1381.[2] Founder—Adam de Thorp, canon of York, at the altar of S. Mary.

AYTON IN "PICKERING LITHE"—Chapel of S. John Baptist.

37. September 20th, 1383.[3] Founder—William de Aton, knight.

GOXHILL IN HOLDERNESS—Church of S. Giles.

38. November 26th, 1388.[4] Founder—John Folk, vicar of Scarborough.

CLAYWORTH (co. Nottingham)—Parish Church.

39. May 5th, 1391.[5] Founder—Nicholas Daubeny, rector of Clayworth.

HEDON IN HOLDERNESS—Chapel of S. Augustine.

40. July 20th, 1392.[6] Founders—John Burton and Henry Maupas, king's clerks, at the altar of S. Mary.[7]

41. July 5th, 1392.[8] A light to burn before the High Cross every feast day, provided by the same two priests.

WANSFORD (East Riding)—Chapel of S. Nicholas.

42. September 7th, 1392.[9] Founder—Richard Brown, chaplain.

WELL (North Riding)—Parish Church.

43. October 25th, 1399.[10] Founders—Robert de Coverham and John de Notyngham.

BLYTH (co. Nottingham)—Hospital of S. John.

44. September 8th, 1363.[11] Founder—Richard de Blyth, priest.

WELL—Hospital of.

45. January 20th, 1365.[12] Founder—Ralph de Neville.

BEVERLEY—S. Nicholas' Hospital.

46. July 3rd, 1378.[13] Founder—Richard Ravenser.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 63.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1381–85, p. 19.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[4] *C.P.R.*, 1385–89, p. 531.
[5] *C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 409.
[6] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 118.
[7] *Y.C.S.*, ii, 558. Editor's note says chantry in existence 26 Hen. VIII.
[8] *C.P.R.*, 1391–96, p. 113.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[10] *C.P.R.*, 1399–1401, p. 31.
[11] *C.P.R.*, 1361–64, p. 397.
[12] *C.P.R.*, 1364–67, p. 60.
[13] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 259.

York—S. Leonard's Hospital.

47. February 5th, 1374.[1] Anniversary for mother and father of Thomas Heslarton. Founded by Walter de Nafferton, Thomas Kirkeby, John Brawley and John Allerthorp, priests.

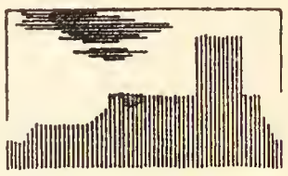
48. October 15th, 1380.[2] Obits for Richard Ravenser, Edward III, Queens Isabella and Philippa, by grant of John Ravenser and John Waltham.

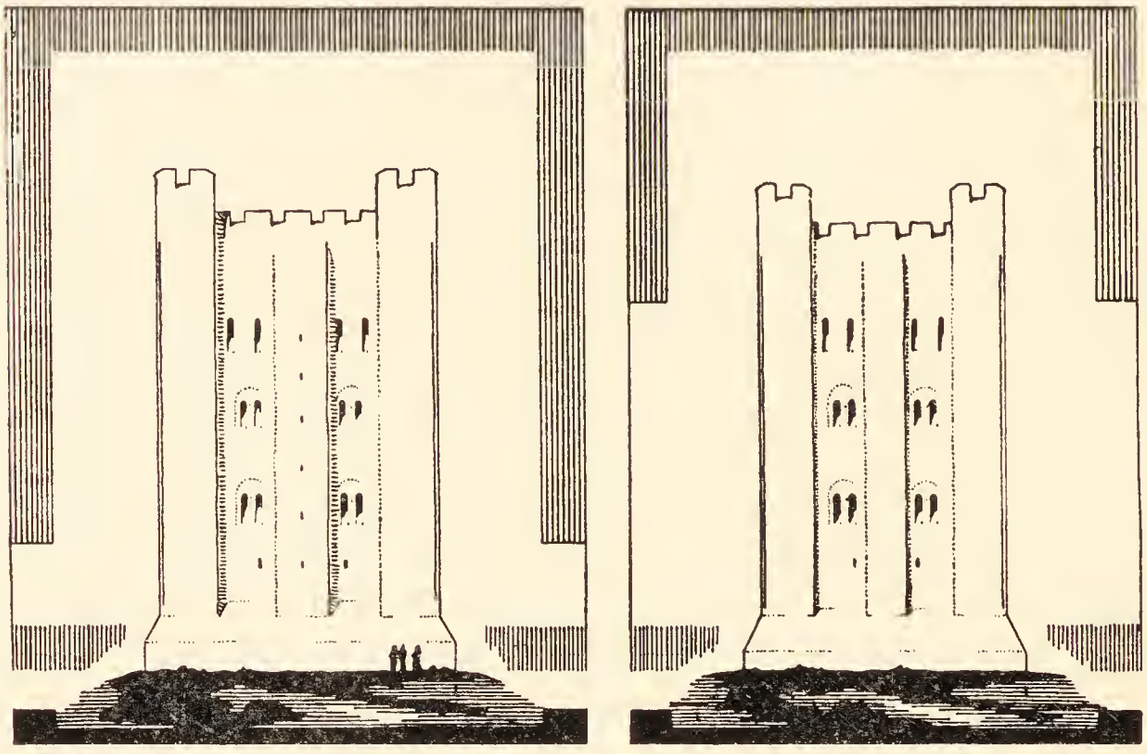
49. October 20th, 1380.[3] Founder—Richard de Brygenhale of York, at altar of S. John Baptist.

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1370–74, p. 409.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, p. 548.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 550.

Comparison of the Keeps of Bungay and Scarborough

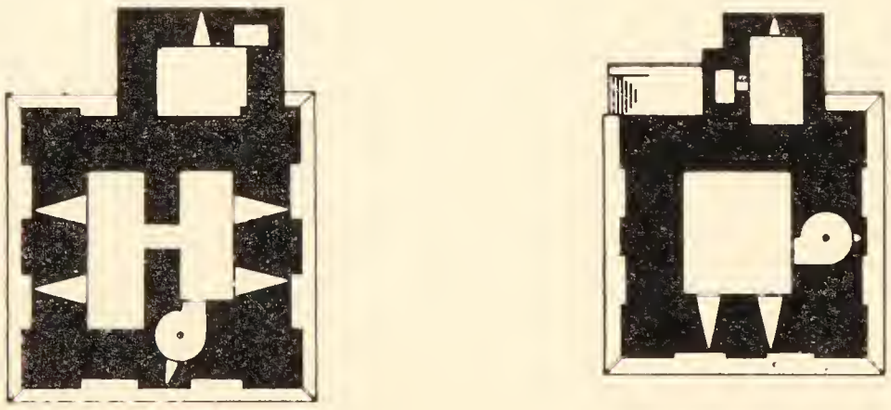
Upper Parts Restored in each case.





Bungay

Scarborough



Scale of Feet.

0 50 100

Hugh Braun.

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology)

SCARBOROUGH AND BUNGAY.

By Hugh Braun, F.S.A.

A few years ago I had the pleasure of contributing a paper, with the assistance of my friend the late Harold Sands, F.S.A., on the architectural affinities of the Yorkshire castle of Conisborough and its Norman prototype at Mortemer. Recent exploration, undertaken by the Town Reeve and Feoffees of the ancient Suffolk town of Bungay, to recover the plan of their twelfth-century castle,[1] has resulted in the discovery that its keep bears such a remarkable resemblance to the great tower of Scarborough as to leave little doubt that the Suffolk keep was modelled on the designs of its Yorkshire cousin.

Probably the most remarkable feature of Scarborough keep is the position of its staircase, which is not in the usual situation in an angle of the tower, but in the middle of one of its walls. The tower has always been supposed to have been unique in this respect, but the keep at Bungay is now seen to have had a similarly placed stair, the discovery of which gave the first clue to the probable origin of the plan of the Suffolk tower.

Although only the solid, sand-filled " anti-mine " base of Bungay keep and part of its basement storey remain, enough has been recovered of the plan of the tower and its forebuilding (of which the pit-prison in the basement remains) to show that it was very similar in design to the well-known keep at Scarborough, although somewhat larger on plan, the solid base of Bungay being seventy feet square to the sixty-three of Scarborough.

In both keeps the foundations are eighteen feet thick, and the plinth-stones discovered at Bungay show that this was of the same angle of batter (nine vertical to five horizontal) as the plinth of Scarborough keep, leaving the main walls in each case about thirteen feet thick. Bungay has the same arrangement of wide pilaster strips as Scarborough, although the latter are proportionately smaller. The large Suffolk tower has a solid crosswall, apparently unnecessary to the Yorkshire example, in the basement storey, but there are indications that the main floor of the former was spanned by a great arch similar to that which forms such a magnifi-

[1] See fully illustrated papers in vol. xxii of *Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archæology*.

cent feature at Scarborough. The drawing appended shows the comparative plans of the two keeps drawn to the same scale, and the improvements made to facilitate the accommodation of the staircase may be seen in the Bungay plan.

The affinity between the two plans is even more remarkably seen in the design of the forebuildings. Both have their basement storey sunk to form a pit-prison, each of which has a latrine and a vaulted cesspit adjoining it. The Scarborough forebuilding, however, is on the old-fashioned plan, with the long axis at right-angles to the tower wall, seen in the earlier hall type of keep. At Bungay, however, the unusually large forebuilding is arranged along the tower wall. The skewing of the keep out of alignment with the axis of the castle plan (not shown in the illustration) has turned the tower so that the long axis of the forebuilding runs east and west, which suggests that the floor over its entrance porch was a chapel. (I believe there is some slight indication of a chapel in a similar position at Scarborough.)

No traces have been yet discovered at Bungay of the great stair, but it is to be hoped that further exploration will expose this.

The drawing shows an attempt to restore the Bungay tower by analogy with the keep of Scarborough. Shafted quoin-stones similar to those of the latter keep were discovered in some quantities during the excavations at Bungay.

The most startling feature of the exploration of the keep was the discovery that the stones which were used for the rubble casing of the flint core of its walls came from the Scarborough district, being similar to the Aislaby stone used for some of the Yorkshire abbeys.

Some of this stone is undoubtedly re-used material from a stone hall which preceded the erection of the keep at Bungay and was in all probability pulled down to make way for this.

Bungay keep is believed to have been begun about the year 1164, and the earlier stone hall was probably built some time during the Anarchy. At this time Hugh Bigod, Bungay's dreaded castellan, was lording it as uncrowned King of East Anglia, and being, apparently, well seconded in his exploits by William d'Aumale, Earl of York and lord of the (then keepless) castle of Scarborough.

It may thus have been at this time that Bigod obtained his building stone from his fellow conspirator in Yorkshire. He could hardly have done so after Henry II's accession in 1154, as D'Aumale was thereupon turned out of Scarborough and its fine keep begun

by the king—possibly, among other reasons, to stop the supply of building stone to the rebellious East Anglian. Bigod seems, however, to have followed and improved upon the design of the royal engineers when he pulled down the stone hall at Bungay and built its great tower.

It may have been the possession of this great keep of Bungay which so raised the spirit of its creator and owner that he gave voice to his pride in the well-known " Bigod's Boast "—

> " Were I in my Castle of Bungaye
> Above the Water of Waveney,
> I would ne care for the King of Cockneye
> And all his meiny ! "

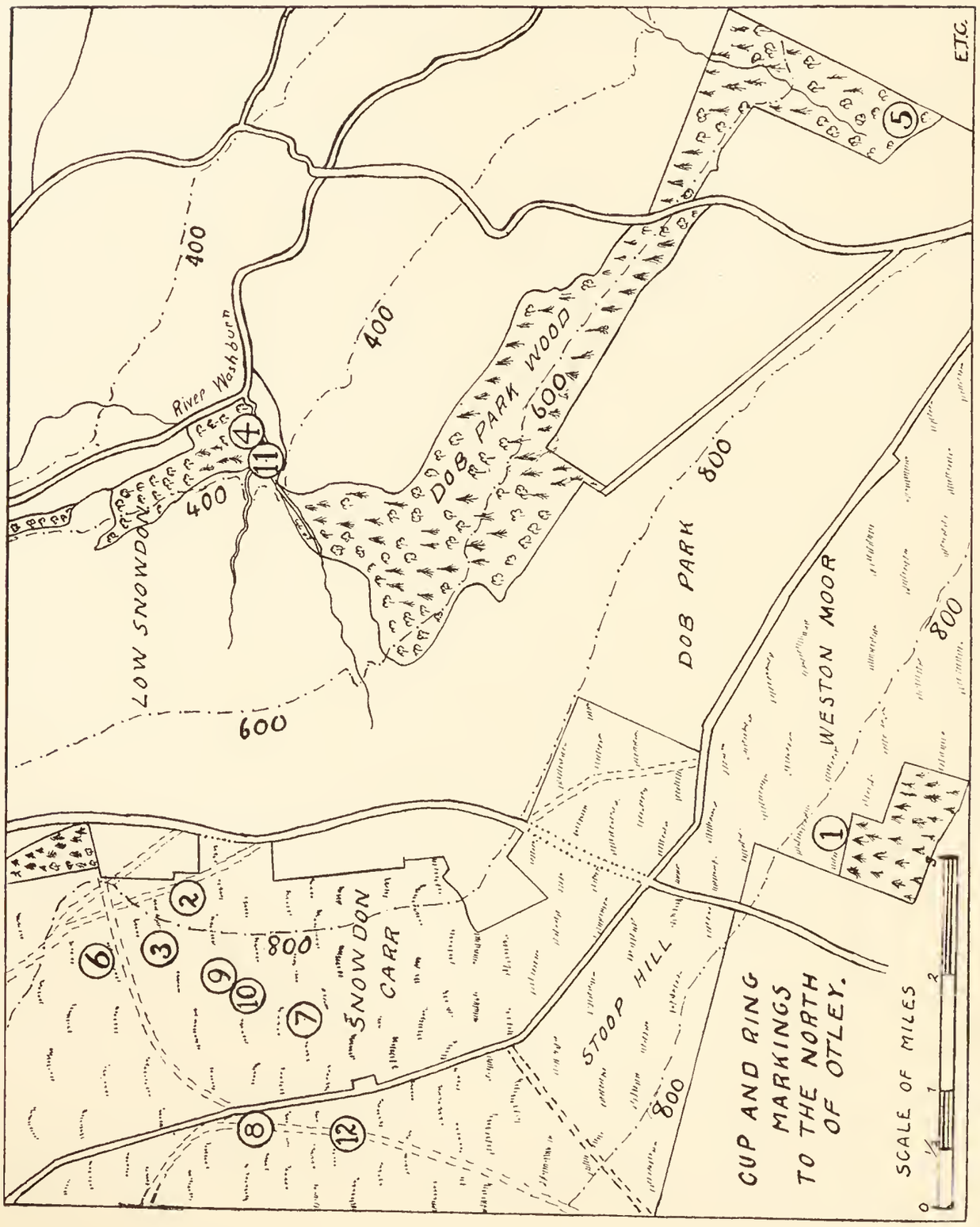

ETC.
400
400
400
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800
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800
River Washburn
LOW SNOWDON
DOB PARK WOOD
DOB PARK
WESTON MOOR
SNOWDON CARR
STOOP HILL
CUP AND RING MARKINGS TO THE NORTH OF OTLEY.
SCALE OF MILES
0
1
2
1
2
3
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11
12

FIG. 1

CUP AND RING MARKINGS TO THE NORTH OF OTLEY.

By E. T. Cowling.

The " cup and ring " stones of Rumbalds Moor have been often illustrated and discussed,[1] but it is not known that a smaller but equally interesting group is to be found on the adjacent moorland area to the north of Otley. This area is comprised of Askwith, Weston and Snowdon Moors, and with three exceptions all the marked rocks are found on uncultivated moorland. The remaining three are found in the woods which fringe this area (Fig. I).[2]

This area forms a portion of the watershed of the river Wharfe and its tributary the Washburn, and has numerous evidences of ancient occupation. Barrows, enclosures and flint sites are numerous.

The markings themselves are cut on the living rock or large boulders of the local millstone grit, and vary considerably from intricate designs to groups of scattered cups. The writer has always found it convenient to classify the local markings according to the maximum number of concentric rings found, and those of this group have been arranged under that classification. In order to avoid lengthy descriptions it should be noted that the majority of cups do not exceed two inches across and one inch in depth, whilst the grooves are usually one inch across and do not exceed a depth of half an inch.

No. 1. This marking is on the surface of a rock situated midway along and a few yards outside the most northerly boundary wall of Greystone Plantation, Weston Moor. The stone is about a yard high, and the carved surface slopes away to the east.

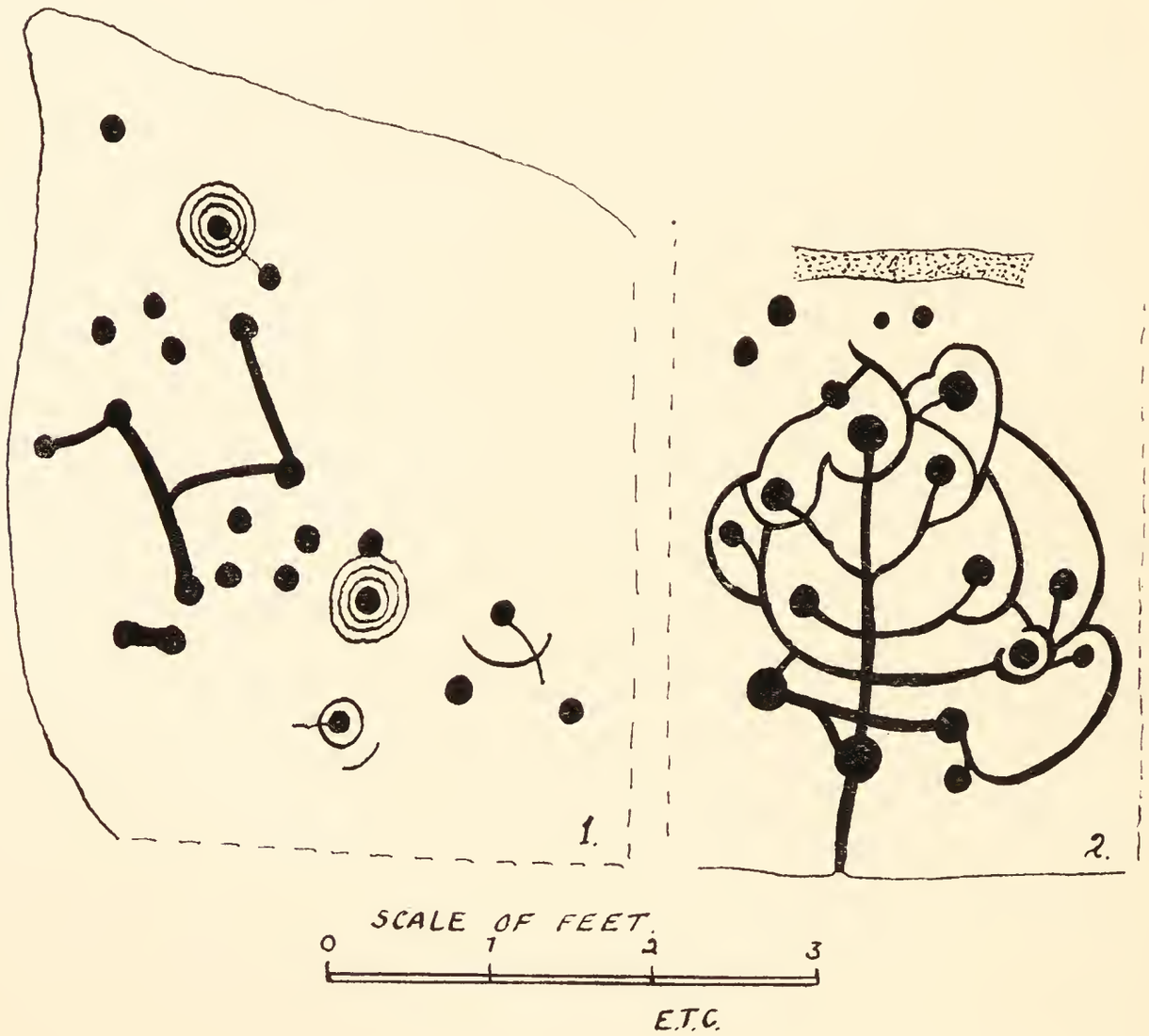
Two cups have each three concentric rings. From one of the central cups a groove cuts through the rings to terminate in another cup. A third cup has two rings, and a fourth has a portion of a single ring. These concentric rings are each a continuous line of circular punctures with overlapping margins, and they greatly resemble some of the figures on the rock outside St. Margaret's Church,

[1] " Cup and Ring Marked Rocks of West Yorkshire "—Raistrick—*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, Part 125, p. 33.

[2] Since this article was written I find that some of these markings were noted in a survey of the Snowdon Moor area in 1909 by Storey and Briggs.

Ilkley. The group of five cups on the highest part of the stone are linked by broad shallow grooves, which show no trace of the method of working. Several scattered cups are without any apparent arrangement. This is the only marking found in this area which has as many as three concentric rings to a cup.

No. 2. This fine marking is the only one which appears to be known to the people of the district. The writer has heard it called the "Tree of Life" Stone. No reason is offered, but the design itself has a decidedly tree-like appearance.



This stone lies alongside the bridle path which skirts the south-west corner of the enclosed moorland above the hamlet of Low Snowdon. A large flat rock surface at ground level has a number of cups joined together by a series of curved grooves, which in their turn are connected to a central straight groove.

Immediately above the design a broad groove has been cut across a raised central area as though to isolate the markings from several scattered cups which are to be found on the remaining surface. A small coped stone to the east has several scattered cups.

No. 3. On an isolated table stone, situated at the upper end

of the shallow valley which drains Snowdon Carr, the writer found a marking having a strangely skull-like appearance, but which is really a group of three large cups which are linked by inter-turning curved grooves.

This marking appears to be an attempt to reproduce the three-legged symbol so common in the Bronze and Iron Ages. It should be noted that the swastika or four-legged symbol is carved on Woodhouse Cragg, on the nearby Ilkley Moor.

No. 4. On a flat rock on the top of a bank which borders the lower footpath in Ellars Wood, Dob Park, is the marking shown in No. 4. Here we have three cups linked to a common groove within a panel: two adjoining panels each have two cups. These features are both suggested in No. 2.

No. 5. The plantation at Dob Park, marked Rough Plantation, is known locally as Bishop's Wood. From alongside the cart-track, thirty yards from the southern corner, we have a large boulder with the surface covered with markings—numerous cups—only one of which has a concentric ring and radial groove, surrounding two circular pocked areas. These pocked areas are depressed in the centre and resemble saucers in appearance. Their whole surface is formed of continuous small cup-like hollows. Three cups are joined by thin lines of similar small hollows, but the remaining markings show no signs of working.[1]

The writer has attempted to reproduce similar markings, using local stone and flint, but without success. Similar markings were made by holding a six-inch nail at right angles to the rock surface and striking it with a heavy stone.

When this stone was moved some years ago to avoid destruction, no sign of disturbance of the surrounding soil was noticed.

No. 6. The spur of hill separating Snowdon Carr from Snowdon Craggs is surmounted by a D-shaped enclosure which has a small level area in the highest corner. Here, on a triangular table stone amongst the heather, is a well-cut cup, ring and radial groove running to the margin of the surface. Four other cups appear to have no definite arrangement. Many of the boulders which surround this table are marked with cups.

No. 7. In the central area of Snowdon Carr is a barrow group, which occupies a slight ridge running from the edge of the bog to the east, almost to the moor road on the west. The ridge is almost

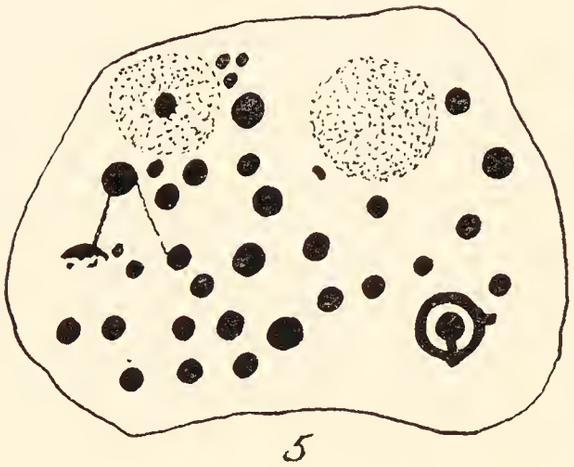
[1] I am indebted to Dr. Raistrick for the information that markings of this type are common on the rocks of the Lordenshaws area, near Rothbury, Northumberland.



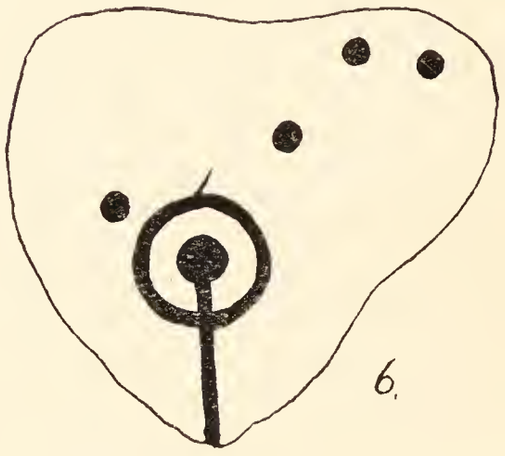
3.



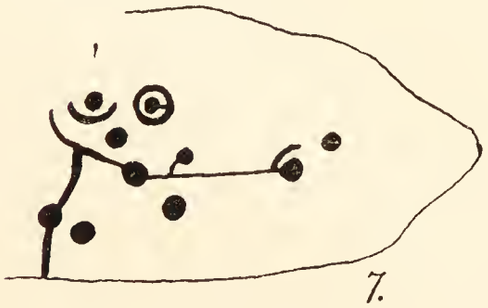
4.



5



6.



7.



8.

SCALE OF FEET.

0 1 2 3

E.T.C.

devoid of vegetation except at the higher end. Here, on a heather-covered boulder, is marking No. 2.

The cups are smaller than usual, and only one ring completely surrounds a cup. The lines linking the cups are only lightly incised, and the whole marking has a delicate appearance.

No. 8. On Askwith Moor the long, low ridge which runs alongside the moor road to the west is marked by a row of butts. In a small depression alongside the butt which lies on the line from the gateway on Stoop Hill to the Askwith Moor shooting hut is a flat-topped stone. On one side the rock slopes steeply to the ground, whilst at the other end the top is hidden by rising ground. At each end of the sharp ridge where the front and top meet is a cup and ring marking with a radial groove which runs to ground level.

One or two rocks in the vicinity have been broken up and may have had more intricate symbols.

No. 9. At the eastern and lower end of the barrow group on Snowdon Carr is a cluster of angular boulders, one of which has several markings cut on the upper surface. There is a cup and ring on the highest part, and alongside two rings are joined together and enclose separate cups. One corner of the area is isolated by a groove running from edge to edge, and within this enclosure are three cups.

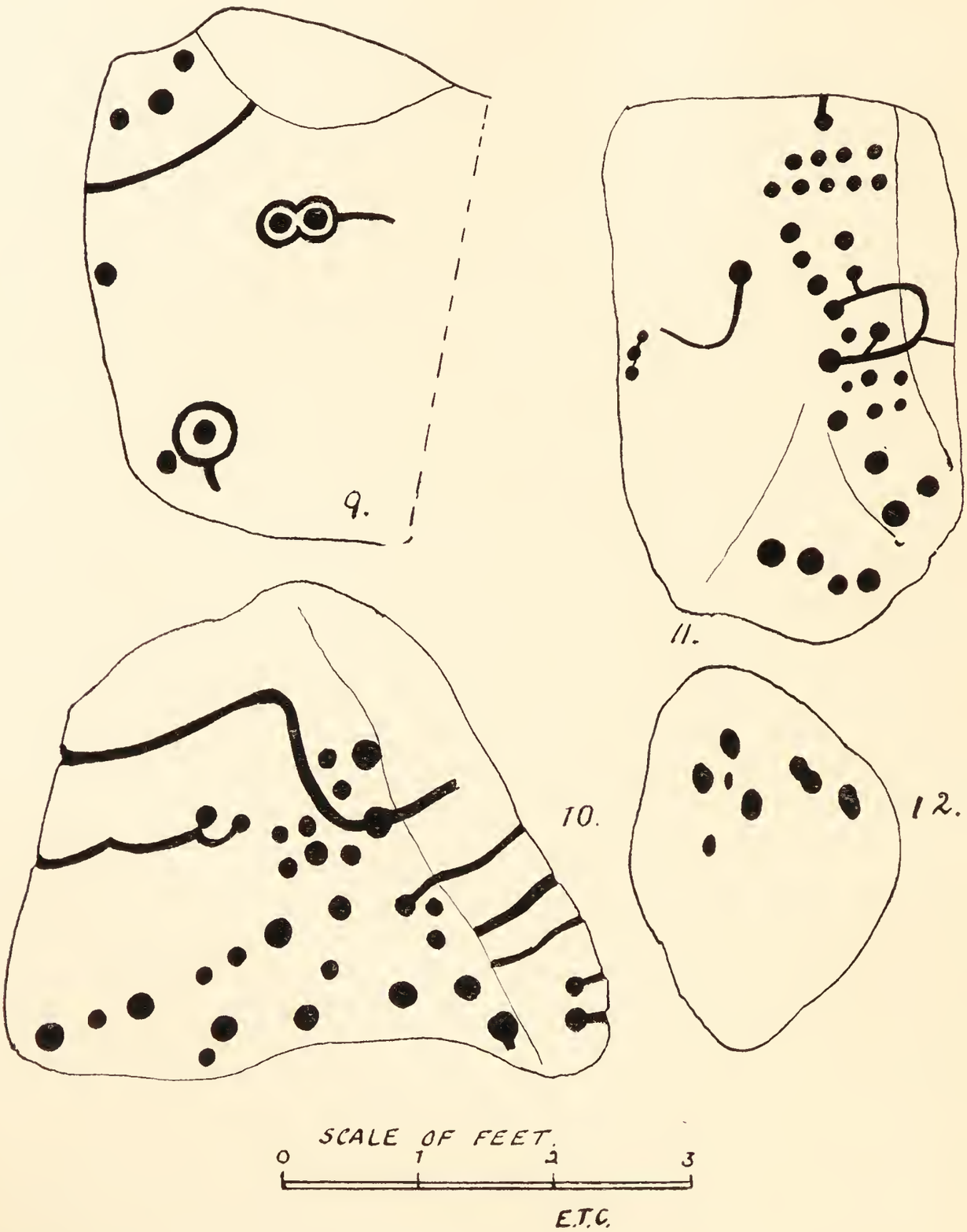
No. 10. On the rise above No. 9 is a cope-shaped boulder which is almost covered with cup markings and winding grooves. One broad groove winds from the ridge, rising from a cup, and is continued to the margin. Two cups are linked by a curve which is continued to the same edge. The eastern side of the stone is almost upright and bears two cups with grooves running to ground level.

No. 11. In the centre of the southern portion of Ellars Wood is a hog-backed stone which has a very similar design to No. 10. Here we have two pairs of linked cups, each joined to a central groove. On the top of the stone are two rows of four and five cups arranged in parallel lines.

No. 12. At the southern end of the ridge that runs alongside the road to the west of Snowdon Carr is a flat-topped boulder which has a group of simple cup markings, two of which are joined together.

Taken as a group, it will be seen that No. 1 is unique in being the only marking with three concentric rings to a cup and showing the method of working those symbols.

Nos. 2, 3 and 4 all appear to be designs of similar and related types, and are far more definite in appearance and better executed


9.
11.
10.
12.
SCALE OF FEET.
0 1 2 3
E.T.C.

than any others of this area. The writer is of opinion that, just as the swastika-marked stone of Woodhouse Cragg, Ilkley Moor, reproduces a symbol common in the Mediterranean area in Bronze Age times, so these markings have similar origins.

A cast of markings on a stone of Ilkley Moor is preserved in Leeds Museum and shows a marked similarity in type. There are a series of compartments enclosed by curved lines and containing cups.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 are all markings which have the cup and single enclosing ring as the most intricate feature. No. 5 is more elaborate than the rest and is the only one to have circular pocked areas.

Nos. 10 and 11 are greatly alike and have the common feature of cups linked in pairs. It appears that the sculptor of these two markings regarded it as essential that the grooves rising in cups should be continued to the margin of the design. This appears to result from a desire to divide the surface into compartments as was done in No. 9.

No. 12 is the only marking of this kind found in the area, but represents the largest class amongst those of the adjacent group on Rumbalds Moor.

It has been noted that markings of similar type are not found together. In Ellars Wood we have the well-cut marking No. 4 accompanied by the much simpler one, No. 11. From Snowdon Carr we have Nos. 9 and 10 with different features, whilst Nos. 2 and 6 are both surrounded by rocks with simple cup markings.

This grouping of simpler markings round a more intricate sculpture is a feature found on Rumbalds Moor, and from the widely differing designs it seems that numbers of each group would be cut at intervals of some time.

The presence of the two cup and ring marked stones in Ellars Wood is unusual. This site is in the valley bottom, almost on the bank of the river Washburn. Whenever the stones were cut it appears that the lowest inhabitable portions of the valley were occupied.

NEW RECORDS OF THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

By A. G. Dickens.

The originals of the four letters printed below are among the miscellaneous sixteenth-century papers of the Corporation of Hull and preserved in the Guildhall of that city.[1] They form a small but interesting addition to that vast collection of evidence regarding the Pilgrimage of Grace so ably summarised in Gairdner's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*

From the bulk of the material represented in the latter the Hull letters are distinct in one particular. Nearly all our main sources for these highly crucial months of English history are drawn from the archives of central government—from reports sent to the King and his minister Cromwell. The active side of governmental policy is, on the other hand, much less often directly illustrated. Students of the period must often have wished to encounter more examples of orders despatched by King and Council to those local authorities, who, in default of a standing army, must inevitably form the backbone of resistance to revolt. The letters printed below are such orders. They provide a welcome glimpse of that unceasing vigilance and activity of the government which carried it through the severest crisis of the age.

With the possible exception of no. IV,[2] all these letters are the originals. Each occupies one page; no. I has its seal intact, while no. II fills a page of double size and preserves a portion of its seal. The left margin of no. IV has perished badly, and one or two of my emendations remain conjectural, though the sense is never in doubt.

The events of the Pilgrimage of Grace have elsewhere been accorded full treatment,[3] and it is intended to supply here only the necessary connecting links, together with a few notes on less obvious points.

The town of Hull, disliked by the rebels of the East Riding, who were jealous of its advancing trade,[4] had little in common

[1] I am indebted to the Town Clerk for kind permission to print these documents, and to Mr. Stanewell for facilitating my access to them.

[2] It is in a rougher hand and may be a rather later copy made by the municipality.

[3] M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy* (1915).

[4] *Ibid.*, i, 161. *Cf.* especially *L. & P.*, xii (1), 392, p. 188.

with the Pilgrimage. Nevertheless, on Oct. 20, 1536, it had perforce to admit the rebel leaders, with the sole condition that none in the town should be compelled to take the Pilgrim's oath.[1]

Under Sir Robert Constable, appointed its 'ruler' by Aske,[2] the town was held and fortified against the King[3] until the dispersal of the first rising early in December. Along with other shires and towns of the North, Hull received the conditional royal pardon of Dec. 9, a copy of which, in excellent condition and with the Great Seal attached, remains at the Hull Guildhall.[4]

The first of our four letters is dated three days after the pardon.

Letter I.

Henry R. By the King

Trusty and welbiloved we grete youe wel. Lating you wit that having in the tyme of the late rebellion attempted in those parties furnished certain shippes of warre to the Sees, forasmoche as we understande that our said shippes have apprehended and taken certain shippes of merchandise belonging to that towne and to other townes theraboutes,[5] remembring howe that our towne of Hull hath specially in the said tyme of rebellion been kept and fortified against us, to thentent we may perfitely see whither you will in dedes performe that promyse that was lately made to our counsail at Dancaster,[6] and soo leaving all force and warlike facion

[1] Dodds, *Op. cit.*, i, 164–166. *Cf. L. & P.*, xii (1), 392, p. 190; xi, 1285. Ironically enough, the King wrote on Oct. 21 to the mayor and inhabitants, thanking them for their defence of the town and promising aid (*L. & P.*, xi, 819).

[2] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 6, p. 6. Sir Robert, however, signs his name *after* the mayor in a letter of the town to Norfolk dated Nov. 6 (*L. & P.*, xi, 996).

[3] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 6, p. 6; xi, 990.

[4] A draft of this is in the Public Record Office (*L. & P.*, xi, 1276 (1)). The Hull archives contain two other pardons, in similar condition, with Great Seals—(1) The pardon of 24 July, 29 Hen. VIII (1537), similar to a draft in the Public Record Office (*L. & P.*, xii (2), 329 (2)), but having attached a schedule of those rebels excepted (*cf.* the list in *L. & P.*, xii (2), 291 (2)); (2) A Latin pardon dated 20 Oct., 37 Hen. VIII (1545), covering a wide range of offences and not specifically referring to the Pilgrimage. Unlike the others this last is addressed exclusively to the mayor and burgesses of Hull and is not recorded in *L. & P.*

[5] During November, 1536, the movements of ships in connection with the revolt are of interest. On these arrangements of the royalists to take ships of Hull *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 998, 1169. Crayers of York and Hull captured by the royalists at Grimsby on Nov. 11 were set free on Nov. 17, as they were found to be laden only with salt (*Ibid.*, xi, 1078, 1095). The King also despatched ships from London with ordnance and ammunitions for his forces in the North (*Ibid.*, xi, 1128, 1143 (p. 458), 1239, 1408). On the other hand, Sir Robert Constable at Hull arrested ships coming down the Humber (*Ibid.*, xi, 1059), and a ship coming to Scarborough with help for Evers was taken by the rebels (*Ibid.*, xi, 1115, 1116, 1128, 1175 (p. 415)).

[6] Refers apparently to the undertaking to disband made by the rebel leaders at the Doncaster conference

use yourselfes like our true faithfull and obidient subgiettes, like as we have caused the said shippes to be stayed. Soo if you shall by your lettres humbly advertise us that your said forces be dissolved and that according to the said promyse you wil fromhensforth against al men kepe and defende our said towne to our use and behoufe as becometh you and as of duetie you be bounde, we shall cause the said shippes and gooddes to be delyvered and put to the libertie of the owners accordingly. Yeven under our signet at our Manor of Richmontt the xijth daye of December the xxviijth yere of our reigne.

Endorsed: (1) To our trusty and welbiloved the Maior and his brethren of our towne of Hull.

(2) *In a later hand*: Letter from Hen. VIII to release ships.

An undated and unsigned letter in the Record Office, from the Corporation to the King, is almost certainly the reply to the above, as a glance at its contents will show. The writers have received by John Candishe the King's letter concerning ships and goods stayed for rebellions supposed in 'us poor merchants in your Grace's town of Hull.' They excuse their late surrender by mention of the outcry of the poor people of the town, who feared starvation if resistance were continued. They were informed that the rebels intended to fire the town,[1] and let them in 'by appointment' without giving up the town to prevent this disaster. Once in, the rebels kept the town forcibly against the minds of the writers, who daily feared to be spoiled and destroyed. Thanks are given for the pardon. The captains have dissolved their forces according to the order taken at Doncaster, and the town is now in the King's hands. The writers, who will hence spend their lives in defending it, ask for men, ordnance and munitions. They desire credence for Candishe regarding the state of the town, and ask to know the King's pleasure by William Knowles, the bearer.[2]

The royal distrust, natural if by no means altogether justified, was allayed by the men of Hull in the next month, when their

of Dec. 6. The terms were never committed to writing (*cf.* Dodds, *Op. cit.*, ii, 18). A 'promise' was also made to put the King's farmers in possession of the monasteries, but no one dared attempt this even in February (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 337). 'Our counsail' may mean either the council with Norfolk at Doncaster or the King's Council itself.

[1] *Cf.* the plot to burn 'all the ships in Hull haven and all that part of the town' (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 392, p. 188).

[2] *L. & P.*, xi, 1285. Knowles, along with his brother-alderman, John Elland, later played a leading part in the capture of Hallam (*cf. L. & P.*, xii (1), 141, 142, and below). Knowles had been mayor in 1534 (Gent, *History of Hull*, p. 109), and was afterwards, like Elland, knighted.

loyal conduct above all else sealed the fate of the rising of Hallam and Bigod. With this rising our remaining three letters are concerned.[1]

On Tuesday, Jan. 16, 1537, John Hallam of Calkhill, with a handful of followers, made his desperate attempt upon Hull. The civic authorities, put on their guard by the informer Fowberry, repelled the attempt and captured the rebels.[2] On the previous day the King had written to the mayor and aldermen warning them that he was sending the Duke of Norfolk to administer justice in the North,[3] and that Sir Ralph Ellerker the younger was already on his way to prepare for the Duke's coming and to declare the royal mind in certain matters. This letter, like the four here printed, was originally preserved in the Hull archives. The local historian Tickell fortunately printed it before its disappearance sometime during the last century.[4] On Thursday, January 18, the mayor of Hull wrote to the King in the name of the Corporation informing him of the failure and capture of Hallam and reporting a preliminary examination of the latter's accomplices.[5] Yet the next of our remaining letters at Hull is clearly dated January 19, and shows the King then already in possession of the news of Hallam's capture and of the fact that a letter incriminating Bigod had been found on him. Nor can this date, January 19, be a clerical error, because the letter was taken to Hull by John Aprice, whom we know to have been there examining the prisoners by January 23.[6] So the Corporation must, immediately after the disorders of the 16th, have sent the King a first report, which arrived on the 19th and has subsequently been lost.

The King's letter of January 19 holds, it will be admitted, considerable general interest as forecasting the later attitude of Henry VIII towards the North. Its frank advocacy of torture, and the order to carry out public executions even in the face of popular unrest, shows Henry confident in a strong policy of searching investigation and implacable vengeance. At the same time the town is assured that Norfolk should 'reside amonges you' to administer justice. Severe as long as the warlike North appealed to force, yet anxious to remedy the lack of governance complained

[1] Dodds (*Op. cit.*, chap. xvii) gives a full account.

[2] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 141, 142.

[3] He was actually despatched on the 16th (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 96).

[4] Tickell, *History of Hull* (1798), pp. 166–7. *Cf. L. & P.*, xii (1), 90. A letter from the Earl of Northumberland (Oct. 11), urging the town to send men to his aid, appears also to have been in the town's archives and long since lost. Tickell (*Op. cit.*, pp. 164–5) prints it in full.

[5] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 141.

[6] *Ibid.*, xii (1), 201.

of by the Northerners, the King was preparing a new and statesmanlike policy for the North—the policy of a strong local Council, independent of the Percies and of territorial influence.

Letter II.

Henry R. By the King

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you wel. And where as our trusty and welbiloved subgiettes the Mayre and other thinhabitantes of our towne of Hull have lately like our moost true and faithfull subgiettes apprehended and taken that ranke and arrant traitor Halom who hathe contynually labored sithens the publicacion of our pardon[1] eftsones to trayne our people in to the most detestable synne and offence of rebellion, to thintent the said Halom maye be duely examyned uppon suche articles and interrogatories[2] as this berer John Aprice our servaunt[3] shall delyver and shewe unto you, whom we have purposely sent thither to ioyne with you in his examynacion, knowing your trouthes and fidelities to be suche towardes us, as setting apart all respectes woll endevor yourselfes soo to serve us as may be to our contentacion and the commen weale and quiet of our realme, we have appointed youe with the said John Aprice as our Commissioners to examyn the said Halom and his servauntes[4] being captyve with him. And therfor we woll and commaunde you and every of you not only with all diligence duely to intende to this examynacion using all the meanes you canne devise by all kindes of tortures and otherwise to enforce them to declare the hole and plain truth of all thinges wherof they shalbe examyned, but also to signifie the same again unto us under your seales with like spede and celeritie, having ever that regarde and vigilancy to thapprehencion of all suche as you shall perceyve have been of his conspiracye, as by litle and litle they may be weded out and commytted to sure prison that they worke no further mischief amonges our good subgiettes. And forasmoche as by a lettre taken uppon the said Halom at his apprehencion it apperethe

[1] The Pardons of Dec. 2 and Dec. 9, 1536, covering the first rising (*L. & P.*, xi, 1227; 1276 (1)).

[2] For a good illustration of the method of examining by articles and interrogatories see Aske's examination printed in *E.H.R.*, v, 550 *seqq.*

[3] The well-known lawyer, author, monastic visitor, and agent of Cromwell; knighted in 1547 (*Cf. D.N.B.* 'Price, Sir John'). He was a practised expert in the art of taking examinations, many of which survive in his hand (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 201, 202, 369, 389, 393, 914, etc., etc.). See below for his part at Hull. He assisted later in London when other examinations regarding Bigod's rebellion were taken by Cromwell and Drs. Tregonwell, Legh and Layton (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 369).

[4] See *L. & P.*, xii (1), 141, and 201 (p. 93), for lists of them. *L. & P.*, xii (1), 201, has the examinations of the main accomplices of Hallam.

that Sir Fraunces Bigott hath been oon of the principal procurers of this last entended rebellion,[1] our pleasure is that you togither and every of you shall devise for his apprehencion putting the same in ure with suche wisedom, dexteritie, secrecye and diligence as by oon meane or other you maye have him in sure prisonne with asmoche spede as canne be possible after the receipt hereof, wherin you shall doo us highe service and suche as we shall never put in oblivion, nothing doubting but every of you for your parties wilbe soo circumspecte and vigilant as our good subgiettes maye remayn in goddes peax and ours, and as malefactors maye be punished accordingly, willing you also to make a like certificat of the particularities of the said examynacions to our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsailor the Duke of Norff[olk] our lieutenant for those parties, whom we have nowe dispeched thitherwardes for thadmistracon of Justice to reside amonges you.[2] And forasmoche as this offence of rebellion whiche the said Halom entended is soo heynous and detestable that it requireth the more sharper and spedy punishment for the terror of others specially in the personne of suche a ringleader, the tyme being also daungerous, to thintent after you have by all meanes examyned the said Halom and his servauntes and compelled them to confesse all they canne, you may immediatly procede against them in forme of our lawes, and soo cause them to be executed according to their demerities, we have sent you herwith by our said servaunt a Commission of Oyer det[e]rmyner[3] for that purpose,

[1] A letter from Bigod had been found on Hallam, urging him by policy or device to take Hull, as he was one whom the commons trusted, while Bigod himself would 'enterprise' Scarborough (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 104). This was evidently the letter which on Jan. 15 two of Bigod's servants unfolded to various inmates of Watton Priory while awaiting the arrival of Hallam (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 201, pp. 88, 99). The informer Fowberry had told the mayor and aldermen that others were in league with Hallam by means of Bigod, as would be shown if he were taken by a letter in his purse (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 141). Bigod had written another incriminating letter to the bailiffs of Scarborough (printed in Dodds: *Op. cit.*, ii, 97–98), while others of his papers were seized at his lodging at Beverley and sent to the King (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 174).

[2] Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, had taken a leading part in the repression of the first rising. For his mission after the failure of Hallam's revolt see Dodds, *Op. cit.*, chap. xviii, and R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 148 *seqq.* Note especially *L. & P.*, xii (1), 98.

[3] More commonly 'Oyer and Terminer': a commission addressed to certain of the King's justices and others, directing them or any two or three of them to enquire concerning certain crimes committed in certain counties *eaque omnia audiendum et terminandum*. These commissions might be either general, to enquire into all crimes committed within the area of the commission, or special, to enquire into a particular case, or in a particular place, or into certain specified crimes (Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, i, 274. *Cf.* also *Ibid.*, p. 277).

willing you by force of the same to procede against them, and whenne they shalbe condempned to cause them to be hanged in cheynes in suche open places near our said towne as for exemple they maye be moost in sight of the people, in no wise differring thexecution unles you shal perceyve that the stey therof maye disclose the hole conventicle of thinsurrection and not thenne nother except the cuntrey be in perfecte quiet and out of all daunger of further commotion. And if you shall any thing doubte insurrection or restines if they shuld thus be executed abrode thenne we woll you shal in despite of those traitors that wold malign at the same, cause them in chaynes to be hanged and over the walles in suche open places as they may be best seen with lest annoyance to our said towne.[1] Yeven under our Signet at our Manor of Grenwiche the xixth of January the xxviijth year of our reign.

Endorsed: (1) To our trusty and welbiloved servauntes and subgiettes William Rogers Mayor of our towne of Hull,[2] Sir Rauf Ellerker the yonger knight, Sir John Constable of Holdernes, Sir William Constable and Sir Christopher Hilliarde knightes, and Richarde Smetheleye esquier and to every of them.[3]

[1] Hallam and two others, probably Nicholson and Kitchen, were executed at Hull before Feb. 4. After these executions, it was reported to Cromwell from Hull, the country was much quieter. The people seemed loyal and glad of the pardon; in token of their loyalty to the King many men and children of the town were wearing red crosses (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 338, and below, no. IV). Henry later ordered Sir Robert Constable to be hanged in chains at Hull, as befitted his offence (*L. & P.*, xii (2), 156).

[2] He had been sheriff in 1524 when Elland was mayor (Gent, *History of Hull*, p. 109).

[3] These local gentlemen who had come to safeguard the town naturally formed the bulk of the commission. The several parts played by them in the Pilgrimage may be followed through the indexes to *L. & P.*, xi, xii. On Sir C. Hildyard see also N. J. Miller, *Winestead and its Lords*, p. 97 *seq.* On this family, and on the various branches of the Constables, Poulson's *Seigniory of Holderness* gives much information. Richard Smetheley (Smytheley) and his son Anthony, successively lords of the manor of Brantingham, were prominent in the public life of the East Riding during the greater part of the century, but have been neglected by local antiquaries. Both were members of Lincoln's Inn, Richard admitted in 1506 and Anthony in 1536 (*Records.....of Lincoln's Inn*, i, *Admissions*, pp. 32, 49). Richard was on many commissions of the peace for the East Riding between 1525 and 1545 (*L. & P.*, iv, 1610 (11), 5243 (28), 6803 (12); v, 838 (30), 1694, p. 702; x, 777 (10); xiii (1), 1519 (38); xiv (1), 1192 (26); xvi, 580 (15); xx (1), p. 323) and other local commissions *post mortem*, for subsidies, of sewers, etc., from 1518 to 1551 (*L. & P.*, ii (2), 4250; v, p. 429; xiii, 1519 (19); xx (1), pp. 314, 324; *Cal. Pat. Edward VI*, v, 353, 361). He is referred to in Stapleton's confession as 'Smytheley, a man of law at Brantingham' (*L. & P.*, xii (1), p. 185). The rebels thought his adherence feigned, and were only dissuaded with difficulty from bringing him, though sick, on a cart. In 1541 he received 20/– for acting as counsel at the sessions which condemned the West Riding plotters (*Ibid.*, xvi, 875 (7)). He held leases of monastic lands (*Ibid.*, xvii, p. 699; xix (1), 1035 (97)). Other mentions of Richard occur in *L. & P.*, xiii (1),

(2) *In later hand*: King H.: letter [of thankes for *struck out*] upon apprehending the traitor Halam to certaine Commissioners.

(3) *In seventeenth-century hand*: This writing was shewed to Thomas Wilkinson who was examined as a witnes thereupon the tenth day of August 1635 at Kingston upon Hull before us Commissioners [unto them *eras.*] Richard Franklyn, Nicholas Hamerton, James Downay, Andrew Marvell.[1]

A group of examinations in ap Rice's hand, now at the Public Record Office, are noted as taken at Hull on January 23 by these same six commissioners in presence of ' John Aprice, notary public.' On the next day, and on the 26th, they examined Hallam himself upon articles sent from the King and Council.[2] Others were examined on January 25.[3] Meanwhile on the 24th Cromwell, by Henry's command, had written to Alderman John Elland a letter

384 (2) (grant of a wardship); *Ibid.*, xiv (1), p. 310 (his following at the musters); *Ibid.*, xxi (1), p. 634 (debts to the King, 1546). Judging by the above dates and by the evidence of the *Yorkshire Fines* (Y.A.S. Record Series, ii, 106, 197, 280, etc.), where Anthony supplants him from 1556, Richard Smetheley died shortly after the middle of the century. On the marriages of his daughters see *Visitations of Yorks., 1584–5 and 1612*, ed. J. Foster, pp. 110, 125, 170, and Surtees Soc., cxxxiii, 207. On Anthony see also *Trans. E. Riding Antiq. Soc.*, xxiv, 60, 61; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1547–1580, p. 296; Yorks. Par. Reg. Soc., *Brantingham*, Introd.; M. Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses*, p. 544. A John Smetheley sometimes occurs contemporaneously with Richard—*e.g.*, as East Riding Commissioner for a Subsidy in 1523 (*L. & P.*, iii (2), p. 1367).

[1] It will be observed that a similar endorsement appears on Letter IV below. Others appear on various documents in possession of the Corporation—*e.g.* on f. 258 of Bench Book V, where it affects items concerning the removal of ordnance, etc., from the town in 1589. These commissioners appear to have been appointed in connection with the suit of the Crown against the Corporation for the latter's failure to maintain the Castle and Blockhouses in accordance with the Charter of 6 Edw. VI. The suit had been begun by Elizabeth in 1599. The local historians note its revival in 1637, but as early as Jan. 13, 1636, ' an order made in Thexchequer concerning the Castle & Blockhouses ' was reported to the Corporation by Sir John Lister (Bench Book V, f. 198), who was asked to go to London in May, 1635, ' about the suit against the towne in Thexchequer Chamber ' (*Ibid.*, f. 186). Late in 1634, and in May, 1635, two batches of documents regarding the relations of Crown and Corporation and the maintenance of Castle and Blockhouses had been sent to London to be used by Lister and others ' for the townes affaires ' (*Ibid.*, ff. 182, 185v.). In the May list is included ' Kinges Lettres of thankes for service done by the towne '—*i.e.* probably some or all of the letters here presented. It would appear that a commission of local notables was appointed, which examined local officials in August, 1635. Thomas Wilkinson held various local offices, including that of market-keeper (*Ibid.*, f. 179), and was also in some way responsible in connection with the maintenance of the town's defences, as drafts of munitions and ordnance in the Castle and Blockhouses drawn up by him were sent to London both in 1634 and in May, 1635 (*Ibid.*, ff. 182, 185v.). Andrew Marvell is the father of the poet and lecturer at Holy Trinity, Hull, 1624–1640.

[2] These were, of course, the articles mentioned in no. II, as sent by Aprice.

[3] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 201.

of thanks, with a reward of £20, for his personal efforts in capturing Hallam.[1] This letter of thanks was perhaps conveyed to Hull by Sir Anthony Browne along with the following—

Letter III.

Henry R. By the Kinge

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you well. Lating you wit that sending nowe into those parties for matiers of greate weight and importance this berer our trusty and right welbiloved servaunt and counsailor Sir Anthony Browne knight son of the gentleman of our privie chamber,[2] to thentent you shall knowe in howe thankfull parte we take your service in the time of the late commotion in those parties even unto us, we have not only thought convenient by these our lettres to give unto you our right harty thankes for the same, but have also more at lenght (*sic*) declared our favourable inclinacion towardes you, to whome we desire and pray you to give ferme and undoubted credence in that behaulf. Yeven under our Signet at our manor of Grenewiche the xxvth of January the xxviijth yere of our Regne.

Endorsed: (1) The R: H: lettres of thankes for service don in the laite rebellion tyme in the north. Dat. 25. Januar. Anno 28^{o} regni sui.

(2) To our trusty and welbiloved the Maior and Aldermen of our town of Hull and all other the inhabitantes of the [same].[3]

Meanwhile Sir Francis Bigod, having been hunted from Beverley on Thursday, January 15, by Sir Ralph Ellerker the elder,[4] fled

[1] We learn this from Elland's reply written on the 29th (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 279). Elland had previously sent to the King a personal account of his exploits: 'The very truth of the taking of that traitor Halom' (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 142). Elland was shortly afterwards knighted, and is said to have been voted mayor by Henry VIII on his second visit to Hull, Oct. 1, 1541 (Gent, *History of Hull*, pp. 112–113; *cf. L. & P.*, xvi, 1227). Elland had founded a stipend or service in Trinity Church, Hull, 'to praye for the sowle of the founder and all Cristien Sowles, and to helpe to do devyne service in the saide churche' (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, Surtees Soc., xcii, 342).

[2] See *D.N.B.* for general account of his career. He had done useful work under Norfolk and Suffolk in the earlier stages of the Pilgrimage (*L. & P.*, xi, 800, 803, 1075, 1095, 1128, 1234, etc.). He was now on his way to the Borders on a highly important mission (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 225, 291, 319–20; and *cf.* Dodds, *Op. cit.*, ii, 229–34).

[3] Further endorsements—" (1): K: H: lettres of thankes; (2) This lettre was shewed to the persons hereundernamed being examined as witnesses thereupon at Kingston upon Hull, the tenth day of August: 1635 before us Comissioners viz^{t} to Michaell Besby, John Crispin, Thomas Wilkinson, George Osborne. [*Signed*] Richard Francklyn, James Downay, Nicholas Hamerton, Andrew Marvell." On this see *ante*, p. 305, note 1.

[4] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 174.

north. For some time no one knew of his whereabouts, though he was supposed to be stirring up rebellion in Richmondshire.[1] Judging by the letter which follows, the government on February 4 remained in the dark as to his actions. On February 10 he was taken in Cumberland by Sir John Lamplough and a party sent out by Norfolk on information received from Sir Thomas Curwen, sheriff of the county.[2]

Letter IV.

Henry R. By the King

[Trusty] and welbiloved we grete youe wel. Lating you wit that having [receiv]ed your lettres whereby we perceyve howe that according to our former [comman]dement addressed unto youe ye have not only duely examyned [? the trait]or Halom and other his complices thenne in warde within that our [town] of Hull and therupon by vertue of our commission sent unto you for [that] purpose caused the said Halom and two others of his conspiracye [to be] put to execution, but also howe discreately you have proceded to [the] apprehencon of suche other traitors as by them were detected, lik[ing well your] truthe diligenc circumspection and dexteritie used therin we [? give un]to youe our right harty thankes.

Soo for answer we have [? considered] mete only to signifie unto you that we desire and praye [? you may perse]ver and contynue in suche vigilancye as you maye from tyme [to tyme] bothe trye out the principal ringleaders and procurers of [? this las]t entended commotion and semblably devise for their spedye [exe]cucion. And amonges all other we require you to use all the [? spede] to you possible for the taking of Bygode, for the better [? and more] spedye finishing wherof we be content to give unto him [? that sh]al[l] a[ppr]ehende him and bring him alyve unto us the some [of.....mar]kes,[3] [? and] we woll you shall cause to be proclamed [? in all par]tes theraboutes accordingly. And wheras by the relacion of [? Mr. John] Apric who arryved here this forenone we perceyve you have [not only u]sed greate diligence in the forsaid examynacions but also [? for our] sake you have right honestly entertaeyned him, ['right honestly' *repeated and struck out*] [we give] unto you eftsones for bothe parties as herty thankes as we [? may us]e assuring you we shall not faile to have your pro-

[1] Christopher Ayscoght to Sir John Alleyn, 20 Jan. (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 179).

[2] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 401.

[3] Norfolk early in February proclaimed a reward of £40 for the capture of Bigod (*L. & P.*, xii (1), 322).

cedinges [? in our]e good remembranc to your comfortes herafter. Yeven [under our] Signet at our Manor of Grenwiche the iiijth of February.

Endorsed: (1) To our trusty and welbiloved servantes William Rogers Mayor of our towne of Hull, Sir Rauf Ellerker the yonger, Sir John Constable, Sir William Constable, Sir Christopher Hilliarde, knightes and Richard Smetheley esquier.[1]

(2) K.H. the 8 letter of thanks.

The good relations of the town with the monarchy, thus renewed, were consolidated not only by the building of the castle and block-houses, which Henry ordained on his second visit in 1541,[2] but also by the extensive grants of Edward VI[3] and Elizabeth.[4] With the growing importance of sea-power Hull became the key of the North.[5] As its prosperous and Protestant future was to demonstrate, the town had allied itself not with the North proper, which still looked to religious reaction and feudal loyalties, but with the centralising, commercialist and Erastian influences of the new age—influences which its activities and geographical position so eminently fitted it to receive.[6]

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 304, notes 2 and 3.

[2] For the works at Hull see *L. & P.*, xvi, xvii, indexes under Hull, and note especially xvi, 1232; xvii, 75, 130, 140, 358. For plans, engravings, etc., of the fortifications see J. H. Hirst, *The Blockhouses of Hull* (1913) and Hadley, *History of Hull* (1788), p. 682 *seqq.*

[3] *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI*, iv, 334. A full translation from the Corporation original is given in Boyle, *Charters and Letters Patent granted to Kingston-upon-Hull* (1905), pp. 69–77.

[4] Boyle, *Op. cit.*, pp. 84–130; from Bench Book III (Liber Albus), f. 208, and original patents in the Corporation Records.

[5] As instanced by its help in suppressing the Rising of the Northern Earls, referred to with gratitude in the Letters Patent of 19 Eliz. (Boyle, *Op. cit.*, p. 85), and, of course, by its crucial importance to the campaigns of 1642 and 1643. On the position of Hull in 1569, the excellent article on the Rising in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (1906) has a misleading passage on p. 189. In the letter on p. 76 of Sharp's *Memorials of the Rebellion* there is no mention of a possible easy capture of Hull by the rebels. The East Riding gentlemen too, it is clearly implied, were more actively loyal than those of the rest of Yorkshire. On p. 151 of Sharp the market towns of Cleveland and Allertonshire, not those of the East Riding as suggested, are described as rebellious.

[6] The close and amicable relations of the town with the Elizabethan Council of the North and Archbishops of York are a most noticeable feature of Bench Book IV (1555–1609).

A DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE COLLECTION IN YORKSHIRE OF A SUBSIDY UNDER THE ACT OF 1601.

By C. T. Clay, F.S.A.

By the act of 43 Elizabeth, *c.* 18, passed in 1601, a grant was made of "Fower entire Subsidies and Eighte Fifteenes and Tenthes graunted by the Temporaltie." The motives of the grant, set forth in flowery language, included the rebellion in Ireland and its invasion by Spain.

Under the Tudors the old system of tenths and fifteenths had been reinforced by the grants of subsidies. These were taxes on lands and goods, which came to be standardized at 4*s.* in the pound on land and 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound on goods. The acts of Parliament laid down detailed machinery for their assessment and collection; but in practice a subsidy became "a sum of money of about the same amount as the yield of the last preceding subsidy," there being practically no re-assessment. "A subsidy in the later years of Elizabeth meant, effectively, a sum of about 80,000*l.* to be levied after the manner of former subsidies, just as a fifteenth and tenth meant a sum of about 30,000*l.* to be levied in the accustomed manner."[1]

By the act of 1601 the four subsidies on personalty were due from all possessing goods worth 3*l.* and upwards. The first subsidy was to be paid in a single payment of 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound, and the three others in two payments of 1*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.* Similarly, for the four subsidies on lands, 4*s.* each, the first was to be paid entire, and the three others in two payments of 2*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.* 4*d.* The dates for payment were laid down as follows: first subsidy before 31 Dec. 1601; second subsidy, first payment 31 March 1602, second payment 31 Oct. 1602; third subsidy, first payment 31 March 1603, second payment 31 Oct. 1603; fourth subsidy, first payment 31 March 1604, second payment 31 Oct. 1604. Following precedent,

[1] S. Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 2nd ed., i, 154, 155, where there is a detailed summary of the Subsidy acts in Tudor times.

commissioners for making assessments were to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor and at least one of the other great officers of the Crown; and the commissioners were to appoint high collectors and collectors in their several districts.

The following document[1] relates to the collection of the second payment of the second subsidy, which, under the act, was to become due on 31 Oct. 1602:

Mensis Martii Anno Domini 1602 et 1603[2]

Edward Carpenter one of the messengers of her majesties chamber humbly prayeth allowance for his charges and travell in ridinge in her majesties service att the comaundement of the right ho: the lo: high Treasurer of England with lettres unto divers collectors for the speedie paiement of the last parte of the 2 subsedie graunted unto her late soveraigne lady the Queene majestie[3] and her sucessors in the last parliament holden in the xliij[th] yere of her highnes reigne vizt one lettre to Thomas Procter att Cowpercott one lettre to Marmaduke Hardcastle att Buerby[4] one lettre to Robert Viccard[5] att Scausby one lettre to John Folkingham att Leeds one lettre to Lynell Rowlston att Gonthwaite and one lettre to Stephen Boynton att Bockliff[6] all of them beinge collectors within the Westriddinge of the countie of York. one lettre to Richard Hodgson att Cheryburton one lettre to Richard Rosse att Preston and one lettre to Tristram Carliell att Seuerby beinge collectors within the Eastriddinge in the said countie. one lettre to William Best att Hornby one lettre to William Greene at Filey[7] one lettre to Thomas Bullock att Southelme one lettre to James Mud and Lawrence Wade att the cittie of York all of them beinge collectors of the Northriddinge within the said countie of Yorke. And thereto them and every of them att their severall dwellinge houses in the said countie delivered lettres for her majesties service. And so retorned to London with certeficate for which said service the said Edward Carpenter craveth allowance for his charges and paines to be rated by the right wor[ll] Vincent

[1] Now in the possession of Mr. C. Chubb of Ben Rhydding, with whose permission it is here printed.

[2] In the margin: *York*; and at the bottom: 13 *lettres*.

[3] Queen Elizabeth died on 24 March 1602–3.

[4] *Recte*, Buerley.

[5] *Recte*, Viccars.

[6] *Recte*, Rockliff.

[7] *Filen*, as written.

Skynner[1] Esq[re] and paied by one the tellors of the receipt of exchequer

[*Signature*] T Buchurst[2]

[*In another hand*] M[r] Tayllor I praye you paie nyne pounds in discharg hereof

Vin: Skynner

[*In another hand*] Irr[otulatur] in Pell' Exitus[3] xviij[o] die Aprilis 1603.

The following brief notes relate to the Yorkshire collectors named in the petition:

West Riding.

1. Thomas Proctor of Cowper Cote,[4] par. Gargrave. In 1609 Thomas Proctor, of Cowpercote in the lordship of Winterborne, gent., made a sale of pasture in Gargrave, the deed mentioning his father, John Proctor.[5] John Proctor, of Cowpercote in Craven, gent., occurs in 1566.[6] Of an earlier generation a Thomas Proctor of Cowper Cotes was in possession of the manor of Appletreewick in 1545, when he sold it to Sir Arthur Darcy.[7]

2. Marmaduke Hardcastle of Bewerley, near Pateley Bridge.[8] Perhaps the son of Marmaduke Hardcastle of Bewerley mentioned

[1] Auditor of the Receipt (Hilary Jenkinson, *Manual of Archive Administration*, p. 217); knighted 7 May 1603, as of Enfield, Middlesex (W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England*, ii, 104). For a pedigree and details see *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, Harleian Soc., iii, 888, where he is described as of Thornton College, son of John Skinner of Thorpe by Wainfleet, his second wife being the widow of Edward Middlemore of Enfield, and his burial at St. Andrew's, Holborn, being given as 29 Feb. 1615–6. In 1602 he purchased Thornton Abbey, co. Lincoln, being described as of the city of Westminster (*ex inf.* Rev. H. Lawrance, to whom the Lincolnshire reference is due).

[2] Thomas Sackville, cr. Lord Buckhurst 1567, and Earl of Dorset in March 1603–4; Lord High Treasurer 1599 till his death (at the council table at Whitehall "of dropsy on the brain") in 1608 (*Complete Peerage*, new ed., iv, 423).

[3] *I.e.* enrolled on the Pell of Issue. "The *Issue Rolls, Pelles Exitus* or *Pells of Issue*, contain the entries of all payments made out of the Revenues of the Crown by the Lord High Treasurer and the Chamberlains of the Exchequer . . . ." (M. S. Giuseppi, *Guide to the Public Records*, 1923, i, 184). The Pell of Issue had been discontinued in the reign of Edward IV, but was finally restored in 1597, and continued until the ancient constitution of the Receipt of the Exchequer was abolished in 1834 (*Ibid.*, pp. 179–81). From the word *pellis*, meaning a skin or roll of parchment, were derived the two pells, of receipt and issue, and the Clerk of the Pells, who made the entries thereon. See further in H. Jenkinson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 206 *et seq.*

[4] A mile west of Winterburn, par. Gargrave; now a farm.

[5] *Yorks. Deeds*, i, no. 198.

[6] *Ibid.*, no. 125, a Thomas Proctor being also mentioned.

[7] H. Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 368.

[8] Hardcastle is a hamlet in the township of Dacre-cum-Bewerley.

in a fine of 1593 as then dead.[1] The younger Marmaduke, of Bewerley, made his will 7 June 1607; pr. 1 Oct. 1607; bur. at Pateley Bridge.[2]

3. Robert Viccars of Scawsby, par. Brodsworth. "In later times [*i.e.* after 4 Henry VIII] Scawsby became the residence of a family of lesser gentry, named Vicars, or Cartwright *alias* Vicars; but whether they had the manor I cannot say. They did not appear at any of the visitations. One of them, Thomas Cartwright, *alias* Vicars, left a benefaction, 1597, of which the poor of many neighbouring towns are still enjoying the benefit."[3] This Thomas was evidently the predecessor of Robert the collector.

4. John Folkingham of Leeds. He occurs in the Visitation of 1612; bur. at Leeds 16 Nov. 1621. Son of Thomas Folkingham of Northall *juxta* Leeds, who occurs in the Visitation of 1584 and was bur. at Leeds 15 June 1593, by his wife Jane, dau. and coheir of Thomas Pigott of Melmerby, and widow of Sir Giles Hussey.[4]

5. Lionel Rolleston of Gunthwaite; son of James Rolleston of Tanshelf; mar. Dorothy, dau. of Avery Copley of Batley, widow of Francis Bosvile of Gunthwaite.[5] He lived many years at Gunthwaite, the Bosvile estates having been settled on Dorothy for life, and was a J.P. in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth.[6]

6. Stephen Boynton of Rawcliffe, par. Snaith; son of Leonard Boynton who was bur. at Snaith in 1587; he was bur. at Snaith 10 March 1628–9; grandfather of Sir John Boynton of Rawcliffe, whose pedigree was entered at Dugdale's Visitation in 1665.[7]

East Riding.

7. Richard Hodgson of Cherry Burton. As Richard Hodgson, gent., he was plaintiff in fines relating to a messuage and lands in Northburton *alias* Cheryburton in 1598 and 1601.[8] Will as Richard Hodgson, esq., of Cherrie Burton, dated 17 June 1608; pr. 15 June 1612.[9]

[1] *Yorks. Fines, Tudor*, iii, 197.
[2] Reg. Test., xxx, 395.
[3] Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i, 322. Thomas Cartwright, *als.* Vicars, of Scawsby, gent., made his will 10 June 1597; pr. 18 April 1600 (Reg. Test., xxviii, 109).
[4] *Glover's Visitation*, ed. Foster, p. 225; and J. W. Clay's MS. additions. For North Hall, which had belonged successively to the Ledes and Pigot families, see Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 105; and for their descent see *Y.A.J.*, xvii, 57.
[5] *Visitation of* 1612, ed. Foster, p. 569. Marr. licence of Lionel Rolleston, gent., and Dorothy Bosville, widow, in 1592 (*Y.A.J.*, vii, 301).
[6] Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 346, 348.
[7] Ed. J. W. Clay, ii, 152.
[8] *Yorks. Fines, Tudor*, iv, 97, 163.
[9] Reg. Test., xxxii, 75.

8. Richard Rosse of Preston in Holderness. Will, as Richard Rosse, gent., of that place, dated 2 Oct. 1618; pr. 7 Aug. 1621.[1]

9. Tristram Carliel of Sewerby nr. Bridlington; son of John Carliel, whose inq. p.m. was taken in 1597, when it was found that he died seised of the manor of Sewerby, Tristram his son and heir being then aged 50 years and upwards[2]; Tristram died in 1618; bur. at Bridlington 13 Sept.[3]; will dated 5 Sept. 1618.[4]

North Riding.

10. William Best of Hornby. No details about him appear to be available.

11. William Greene of Filey. Will, as William Greene, gent., of that place, dated 1 June 1605; pr. 10 Sept. 1605.[5]

12. Thomas Bullock of South Holme, par. Hovingham; son of Lancelot Bullock of the same, whom he succeeded in 1576[6]; he occurs in the Visitation of 1612.[7]

13. James Mud of York. Presumably the James Mudd of York, gent., who made his will 7 April 1611; pr. 12 April 1611.[8]

14. Lawrence Wade of York. In 1599 with George Rosse was plaintiff in a fine of the house and site of the late priory of Clementhorpe and other premises in and near York.[9] Will, as Laurence Wade of York, merchant, dated 14 Aug. 1607; pr. 10 Oct. 1608.[10]

[1] Reg. Test., xxxvi, 499.
[2] *Yorks. Deeds*, iv, no. 479.
[3] *Dugdale's Visitation*, ed. J. W. Clay, iii, 307.
[4] Pd. in *Yorks. Deeds*, iv, no. 481. Pr. 18 Nov. 1618 (Reg. Test., xxxv, 239).
[5] Reg. Test., xxix, ff. 657, 675.
[6] *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 509.
[7] Ed. Foster, p. 498.
[8] Reg. Test., xxxi, 582.
[9] *Yorks. Fines, Tudor*, iv, 126.
[10] Reg. Test., xxx, 732.

THE KELLINGTON SERPENT-STONE.

By Canon Egbert C. Hudson, M.A.

[Kellington, seven miles south of Selby, is mentioned in Domesday. The church dates back to Norman times and has an interesting historical connection with the Templars and Hospitallers, from whom the advowson passed to Trinity College, Cambridge.]

What is known as the Kellington Serpent-stone is a curious carved stone, some 6 ft. × 3 ft., with a large cross in the form of a sword down the centre lengthwise. A grotesque figure is carved on the dexter side, and on the sinister side a finely-carved human figure, probably a priest in vestments, with some animal at his feet and further carving at the head. There is no epitaph or inscription on the stone. The sword is carved in unusually high relief, with the head richly cusped.

The original position of the stone was a recess in the north wall of the Chantry Chapel. Mr. W. D. Caroë thinks that this would "most probably be a founder's tomb, and may have been made for the Serpent-stone, which it formerly contained."[1]

The stone probably dates from about 1350, or not later than the time of Richard II: Mr. Caroë thinks "a little before 1400, so far as can be ascertained from the weathered remains."

Certain marks at the top of the stone have caused some speculation as to another head-stone.

At some time, probably in 1548 by commissioners under the king's authority, the stone was removed to the SE. corner of the churchyard.

The carving on the stone had so obviously deteriorated from the effects of rain and weather that its return to a position within the church was imperative. "The sooner this interesting relic," wrote Mr. W. D. Caroë in December, 1919, "is placed in security inside the church the better. The water is wearing deceptive holes in its surface at present." This was done in 1920, after due arrangements had been made. Members of the Yorkshire Archæological Society were present when the removal took place, though nothing of special interest was discovered. The stone now lies on the floor of the nave against the south wall and close to the chancel arch.

[1] Letter to Vicar of Kellington, 1919.



Photo. by Chas. H. Maud & Co., Pontefract

THE KELLINGTON SERPENT STONE.

The Rev. Joseph Mann (Vicar 1840–92, Fellow of Trinity) recorded the discovery, at the restoration of the church in 1869, of a niche in the wall of the north chapel which exactly held the stone. His opinion was that the stone originally lay in the recess, and that the deceased person was a member of the family, Squires of Roall, to whom the chapel belonged.

The Rev. John Lowthian (Vicar 1818–40, Fellow of Trinity) mentioned a similar cross upon another detached perpendicular stone (now placed at the entrance to the Lady Chapel) which he considered was the cover of a coffin. As this stone, however, is of quite different texture to the larger stone, it is probable that the two were not originally connected. Mr. Lowthian added that on each side of the top of the cross were what appeared to be two embossed circles. These do not seem otherwise to have been traced.

Various theories have been adduced to explain the stone and its carving. The earliest extant is that of Roger Dodsworth, who visited Kellington Church in July, 1621. He described the carving as representing a man and a dog on the one side, while the beast he took to be a flying serpent—hence the name by which the stone is known. He gave the story, current locally, that the carving commemorated a shepherd and his dog who slew a noisome serpent, but died as the result of the struggle.

According to Dodsworth, the shepherd's name was Bird and the scene of the struggle a close called Hermit Rode. But as this explanation would seem to be merely the usual sort of legend that would naturally gather round such an object, it is unnecessary to go into further details of the story. It may be mentioned, however, that Mr. Lowthian, in relating the traditionary account, gave the name of the shepherd as Armroyd, and the scene of the struggle as Armroyd Close, which was given to Armroyd's descendants (by whom the rectorial tithes were bequeathed to the Vicar of Kellington).

The next theory as to the stone is that of a Mr. Tetlow in 1779, in the *Modern Universal British Traveller*.[1] He took the engraved figure to be that of a certain engine or rake, with an aperture at the head of the rake through which the monstrous serpent might put his head and tail and be more easily entangled and destroyed!

This fantastic explanation is followed by Mr. Lowthian's scholarly account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1831. He regarded the figure as that of a man with clasped hands, and

[1] Cap. iv, p. 560.

a dog at his feet. The carving at the head he could not easily decipher. The beast seemed to him to be a serpent. He relates the traditional account of the curious antiquarian relic.

Mr. Mann, next in order, thought the stone was intended for a person of some distinction—the figure that of a man lying on his back, with a dog at his feet, and the carving overhead that of an angel. He regarded the beast not as a serpent, but as the fish—the emblem used by Christian sculptors to represent the Person of our Lord. He did not think there was any foundation for the story of the shepherd and serpent fight.

A writer in *The Antiquary*, 1878, agreed with Mr. Mann's description as in the main correct, and thought the cross with a lozengy hole at the intersection of the arms might easily be mistaken by an ignorant person for a certain engine or rake. He mentioned the dog as a common emblem of fidelity, but did not consider the beast could be the mystic fish described by Mr. Mann since such use was confined to the earliest ages of Christianity.

J.B.K.K., in the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*, 29th August, 1896, was of opinion that the stone is in memory of some priest or prominent person noted for his kindness and piety, and the serpent and dog illustrate the character, "Wise as a serpent and faithful as a dog."

After referring to the finding in the Chantry Chapel of the empty vault of the founder of a church, and the appearance of an altar tomb having at some time been placed there, but now removed, Dr. George Dodds, 1891,[1] says the Shepherd-Serpent story is a myth and that the serpent is a keeling or stock-fish, and the dog a lion: that the shepherd is probably the founder of the church and called Keeling (hence "Kellington"), not Armroyd, the figure above him representing the Angel carrying Keeling's soul into Paradise. But, it has been pointed out, the creature has forelegs and could not have been meant for a fish; whilst it is an anachronism to deduce the Saxon name of the manor from the post-mediæval name of Keeling.

Mr. Holmes (*Yorkshire Weekly Post*, 12th Sept., 1896)[2] took the figure to be that of a female, wrapped in the usual fourteenth-century mantle with wide sleeves. The hands are clasped upon the breast in the attitude of devotion, and the head rests upon the usual oblong pillow of the period and is supported from above by an angel. The dog, he thought, might have been a dragon; and the

[1] Smith's *Old Yorkshire*, New Series, iii, 55 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Y.A.J., xi, 434–5.

monuments at Tickhill and Dewsbury complete the idea which at Kellington he considered to be that of the dragon, that old serpent, looking up venomously at the Cross but powerless to injure; and that the three represent successive stages in the attempt of the serpent to war against and attack the Cross.

(Comparisons have also been made with a monument in the south choir aisle of Ely Cathedral and with others mentioned in Methuen's *Little Guide to the West Riding*.)

Lastly, Mr. W. D. Caroë, in 1919,[1] regarded the figure as that of a priest, with a dog at his feet and another at his head. He drew attention to the pecularity of the design in the large scale of the dog in relation to the figure. He considered that the stone at one time had clamped to it an upright piece, which was not original.

[1] *Cf.* communication to Vicar of Kellington.

GIANTS' GRAVES, PENYGENT.

By W. Bennett, M.A.

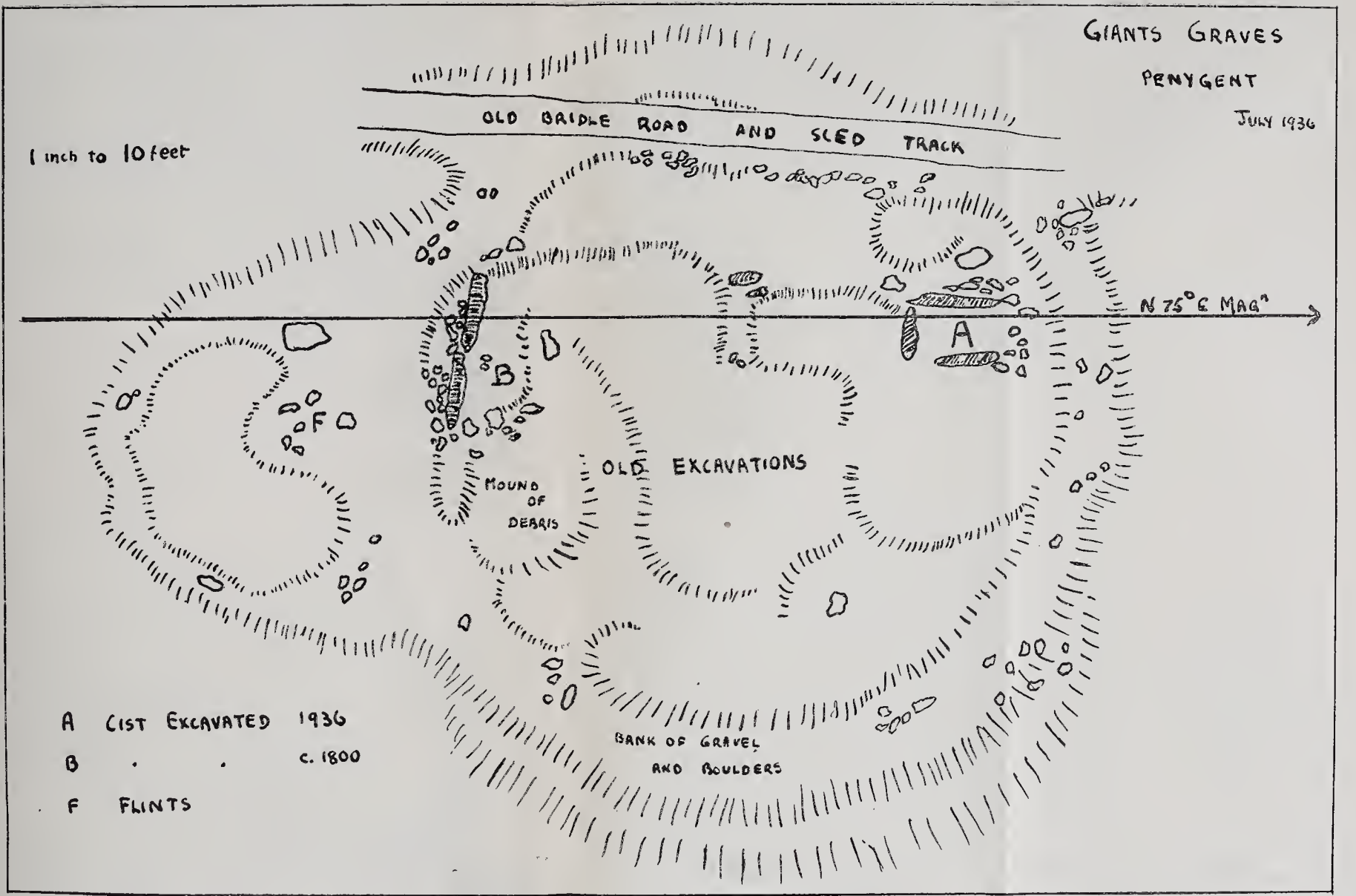
A preliminary examination of this earthwork was made on June 20th, 1936, and on June 27th some digging was done. A survey of the area was made later, by the writer and Dr. Raistrick.

The site consists of a nearly circular bank, about eight feet wide, and in parts two feet high, surrounding a much disturbed area. Within the area are the remains of two cists, and a number of hollows that certainly represent other similar structures. The farmer tells of the removal of more than twenty large stones from these hollows, for use as gateposts, wall throughs, and drain covers. The bank encloses an area fifty-four feet east to west (measured from the crest of the bank) and fifty feet north to south. At the west end there is a smaller bank, roughly in form of a circular apse, extending a further thirty feet. Many large boulders and vast quantities of smaller stone are incorporated in the bank.

Near the east end, with its axis bearing N75E, is a cist—three stones in position. This was cleared to a depth of eighteen inches, and though no floor stone was present, among the sifted soil were found (i) broken bones, including parts of humerus, axis, vertebræ, ulna, ribs, and cranium, all human; (ii) five teeth—two molars, one wisdom tooth, and two incisors, which appear to represent two individuals. Sir Arthur Keith reports that the bones submitted to his examination may represent more than one adult person, and there is also a fragment of a child's tibia. Most of the limb bones belong to a man of medium stature. The fragment of the lower jaw is small in its cultural parts. He suggests from the condition of the bones a person of the Iron Age. While this is possible with a secondary interment in the area, it is rather unlikely, as all the bones came from within the built cists, and not from the earthen part of the mound, where secondary burials would be expected.

At the west end are two large stones, the side stones of cists or of a chamber. The ground in front of them has been excavated many years ago (probably the excavations mentioned by Whittaker[1]) and partially refilled with boulders. Among these, recent re-examination proved many fragments of human bone. Within the small extension

[1] Whittaker, *Hist. Craven*, Ed. 2, 1812, p. 492.


GIANTS GRAVES
PENYGENT
JULY 1936
1 inch to 10 feet
OLD BRIDLE ROAD AND SLED TRACK
N 75° E MAG"
A
B
F
OLD EXCAVATIONS
MOUND OF DEBRIS
BANK OF GRAVEL AND BOULDERS
A CIST EXCAVATED 1936
B . . c. 1800
F FLINTS

on the west a trial excavation showed eighteen inches to two feet of random boulders, and beneath them, on the old sub-soil surface, two inches of fine grey sand, with two small flints—one of them a well worked blade. These probably predate the construction of the circle.

The whole site is suggestive of a multiple cist burial mound, or even a " passage grave " type. The obvious hollows, from which many of the larger stones have been lifted, are aligned in a parallel series, along an axis N75E, directed towards the two remaining large stones at the west, which may be part of a chamber wall, and not part of a cist. The site is too much disturbed to allow of greater precision in its description.

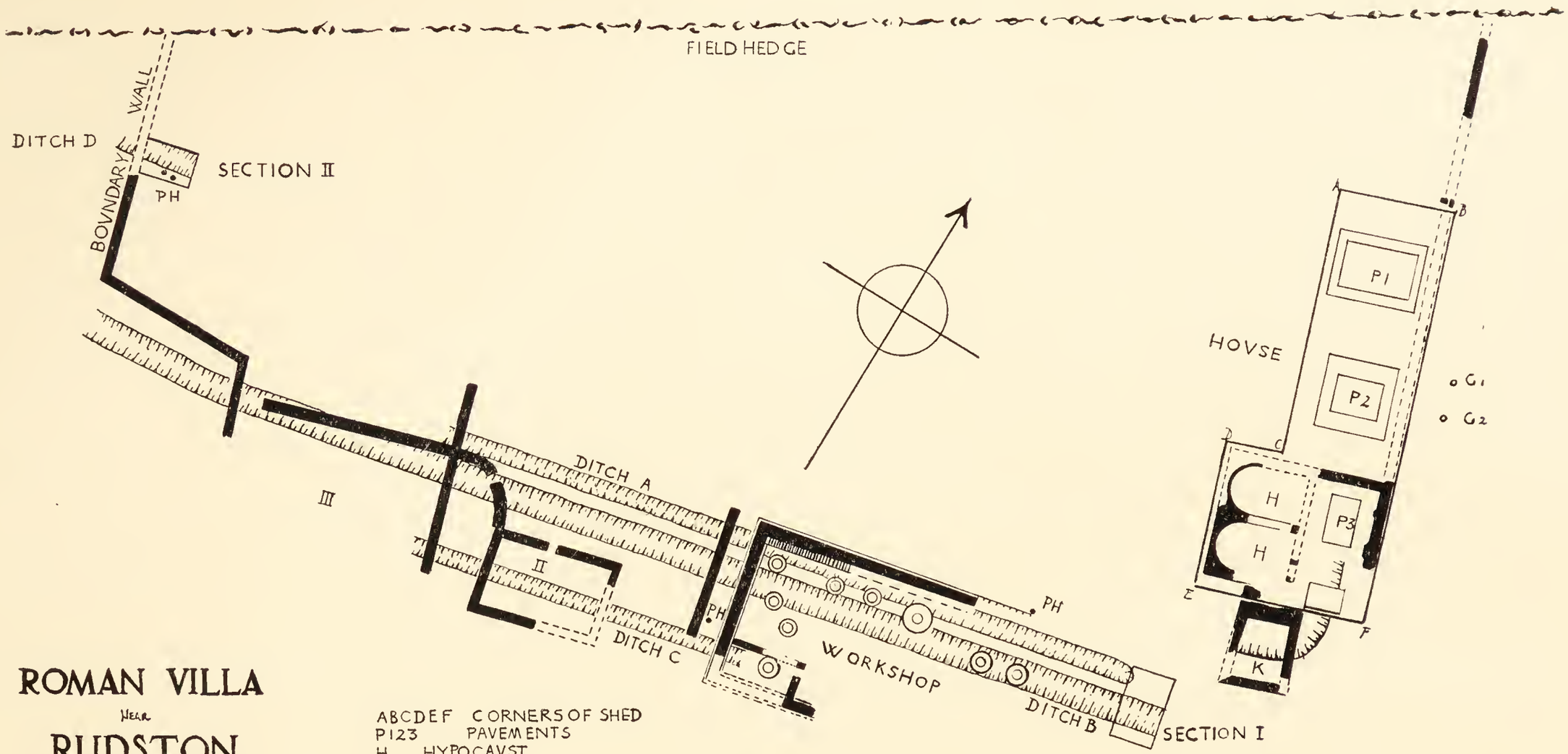

FIELD HEDGE
WALL
BOVNDARY
DITCH D
SECTION II
PH
III
DITCH A
II
DITCH C
PH
PH
WORKSHOP
DITCH B
SECTION I
HOVSE
P1
P2
P3
H
H
K
G1
G2
A
B
C
D
E
F
ROMAN VILLA
NEAR
RUDSTON
ABCDEF CORNERS OF SHED
P123 PAVEMENTS
H HYPOCAVST
K KITCHEN
OVENS
PH POST HOLES
G12 GATE SOCKETS
Scale of Feet
0 10 20 30 40 50

FIG I

K.A.S.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT RUDSTON (E. YORKS.).

Fourth Interim Report: The Excavations of 1936.

By K. A. Steer, B.A.

I. Introduction.

Excavation was continued at the Roman villa near Rudston from August 3rd to August 29th, 1936. Throughout this period only two men were employed on the digging, but we were fortunate in securing volunteer labour from August 11th to the end of the month. In this connection the Rudston Excavation Committee, and the writer in particular, take the opportunity of recording their thanks to the ten past and present pupils of the Alsop High School, Liverpool, led by Mr. O. N. Jones, and to Messrs. J. Scott and R. Nunns for their services, which alone enabled the excavations to assume a larger scale than had been practicable in previous years.

The work this season was, more than ever, one of co-operation. Mr. R. H. Stanwell assisted in the task of supervision throughout the whole of the period of excavation, and has given valuable help in the preparation of this report. Miss Kitson Clark was persuaded to suspend her labours at Brough for several days, and with her usual liberality took over the arduous duties of washing and sorting the pottery, while Messrs. Philip Corder, F.S.A., St. John O'Neil, F.S.A., and A. M. Woodward, F.S.A., paid welcome visits to the site while the excavations were in progress.

On the more technical side the excavators have to acknowledge many debts of gratitude. To the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archæological Society we are indebted for the loan of a light truck and several lengths of rail. The pottery section of the report incorporates suggestions made by Messrs. P. Corder, F.S.A., E. Birley, F.S.A., J. A. Stanfield, and Quintin Waddington, F.S.A., while Mr. W. Percy Hedley, F.S.A., very kindly undertook the identification of the coins.

The writer would like to express his own personal indebtedness to the members of the Rudston Excavation Committee, mentioning, without invidiousness, Mr. H. Robson, the Rev. H. Lawrance, and Mr. J. Hinchliffe, who, in arranging for the accommodation of our

volunteer helpers, and in many other ways, contributed greatly to the successful progress of the work. Mr. A. M. Woodward, F.S.A., who was in charge of the excavations from 1933–5, kindly placed his knowledge of the site at my disposal, and each phase of the work was discussed with him. Finally the writer is privileged, once again, to record his gratitude to Mrs. H. Lawrance, and to Mrs. H. Robson, for their generous hospitality and many acts of kindness.

II. The Scope of the Work.

The necessarily limited excavations in 1935 had been concentrated on the 'Workshop' (Fig. I), where evidence of two successive occupational periods came to light (I.R. 3, pp. 82–4).[1] This season it was decided to extend the work to the west, where buildings II and III (Fig. I) were examined, and also to cut a series of exploratory trial trenches between the villa-house and the boundary wall, at an oblique angle to the field hedge, in the hope of locating further structures.

A section of the larger of the triple ditches, which run east to west beneath the outbuildings of the villa, was cut a short distance south-west of the 'Kitchen' (Fig. I, Section I) in the hope of obtaining further data on the pre-Roman occupation of the site, while the south lip of yet another ditch, alined with the first group and very probably part of the same ditch system, was discovered on the east side of the boundary wall, some ten yards from the field hedge (Fig. I, Section II). The major part of the work was directed towards these areas, but during the preliminary stages of the excavation it was found possible to devote several days to a further examination of the 'Kitchen,' partially explored in 1933 and 1934 (I.R. 1, pp. 373–4; 2, p. 215), and to continue the investigation of the east end of the 'Workshop,' with the results set forth below.

III. The Kitchen.

The ground plan of the small stone building which projects southwards from the villa-house was completed by the discovery of its south wall. Only the core of this wall remained, 2 ft. wide and 1 ft. 6 ins. in height, and both the north-east and north-west returns had been robbed away, the latter probably being uprooted in 1839 when a trench was cut through the hypocaust chambers

[1] The Interim Reports of 1933 (*Y.A.J.*, xxxi, 1934, pp. 366–76), 1934 (*Y.A.J.*, xxxii, 1935, pp. 214–220), and 1935 (*Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 1936, pp. 81–86) will be referred to as I.R. 1, 2, and 3 respectively throughout this paper.

(I.R. 1, map facing p. 366). While there is the customary late Roman disregard for right-angles, the discovery of the south wall gives us a roughly rectangular structure measuring internally 10 ft. by 12 ft. 6 ins. The north, east and south walls are of first period construction, as are the remains of a tiled floor in the north-east corner of the building, but the fragmentary west wall abuts and does not bond into the north wall and presumably represents a reconstruction necessitated by subsidence into the main north–south ditch which underlies the tessellated pavements. A group of sherds found on this floor in 1933 was regarded as ' not earlier than the third century ' (I.R. 1, p. 374), a generalisation which applies to the villa-house as a whole; but no more exact approach can be made towards dating the construction of the first period stone walls of the villa-house, because the evidence is sealed by the late third or early fourth century tessellated pavements, which very probably overlie the original floors (I.R. 1, p. 367). Traces of the two later floors, noted in the ' Kitchen ' in 1933 (I.R. 1, p. 374), were again observed, and scraps of pottery of Huntcliff type pointed to occupation in the fourth century; but the stratification was too disturbed to yield more definite evidence. It now appears, however, that the term ' Kitchen ' needs qualifying, and that we should rather revert to the idea put forward, and rejected, in 1933 (I.R. 1, p. 374) that here was the stokehole for the hypocausts. Not only is there a uniform spread of soot over the floor of the room but the bases of the tile pillars which carried the flue from the stokehole to the hypocaust chambers are still *in situ*, and the flue itself is " floored with hard burnt clay " (I.R. 2, p. 215). Mr. Robson informed me that the flue was intact and choked with soot when the building was first discovered, but subsequently collapsed.

IV. The ' Workshop.'

The north wall of the ' Workshop ' was followed for a distance of 48 feet from the north-west angle, when it terminated and was replaced by a kerbing of small chalk slabs for a further 12 feet eastwards. At first sight this would suggest a doorway, but the width is excessive, and no trace of any eastern jamb was discovered in further trenching. An alternative explanation would be to assume that the east end of the ' Workshop ' was open—an understandable arrangement in view of the fumes from the numerous ovens—and that the kerbstones represent a small paved forecourt with a lean-to roof by which the building was approached. The

presence of a post-hole is significant (Fig. I). The two levels noted in 1935 were again represented in the eastern half of the building. The earlier floor yielded coins of Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus Jr. (2), and Allectus, with associated late third- and early fourth-century pottery, while from the later level two coins of Gratian and a coin of Valens were recovered with many sherds of Signal Station period (Fig. III). Two more ovens were discovered in the eastern half of the ' Workshop,' although more elaborate than those previously examined. Each had a tile base, supported at the centre by twin pillars of tiles 1 ft. 6 ins. high, and with the circumference resting on a rough chalk walling. Added support was given to the base by two walls which diverged in a V-shape from the tile pillars to points on the circumference. These ovens were definitely constructed during the earlier occupation and had been destroyed during the Theodosian reconstruction. Like the first period ovens in the western half of the building, they were heated from below the tile-base, contrasting with the large domestic oven of the late fourth century, which proved to be built over a destroyed oven of the earlier period in such a manner that it was impossible to heat it from beneath. In this case the oven, with its clay dome, would first be heated by a fire laid on the tile base, and then the embers raked out when the temperature of the oven was sufficient to complete the cooking—a method in use in the East Yorkshire villages within living memory. This fundamental difference in construction tends to confirm the theory, advanced last year, that the ovens of the first period were not used for domestic purposes, but rather in a farming process such as drying grain. Traces of human occupation included a penannular brooch and two bronze rings (Fig. V, 4, 5 and 6), and several infant skeletons were discovered—one, in the south-west corner of the building, buried beneath a large flat tile. A trial pit sunk in the centre of the ' Workshop ' produced scraps of rustic ware and fragments of two other sherds (Fig. IV, 10, 11), but no evidence for any earlier structure on the site.

V. Buildings II and III.

To the west of the ' Workshop ' lies a confused and apparently haphazard jumble of walls, the fragmentary testimonies to successive building phases, which are not easy to disentangle at first sight. The earliest structure in this area is Building III, some 50 feet in length and probably 30 feet wide, distinguished by the suggestion of an apsidal east end. Only the north wall and the

northern half of the apse have survived, but the destruction of the building apparently dates to the Roman period, for not only does an isolated wall 2 feet wide cross its north wall at right-angles, but the southern half of the apse has been cut away by the construction of a rectangular building 19 feet by 27 feet, whose west wall, seven courses high, is still standing (Fig. I, Building II). The western half of this building was excavated, but, as elsewhere in this area, the absence of coins and the meagre yield of pottery did not give the differentiation of structural periods its full significance. Level with the wall footings of Building II was the first period floor of rammed chalk, which had subsided in the centre owing to the presence of the more southerly of the triple ditches (Fig. I, Ditch C), which at this point was a little over 3 feet deep, 5 feet wide, and round-bottomed. At a later period this subsidence had been counteracted by a heavy filling of chalk boulders, in places 2 ft. 6 ins. deep, upon which a second floor had been laid. Finally, this floor had been abandoned and the last occupants of the building levelled the ground with a gravel spread 1 ft. 6 ins. thick before laying a new floor of small chalk flags. The only pottery discovered, apart from several fragments of calcite-gritted sherds, consisted of a chip of Castor ware ornamented with white slip, from the earliest floor, and half a flanged Throlam bowl, with external wavy line, from floor 2. It does not appear that the date of this building can be earlier than the second half of the third century, and it may well be contemporary with the 'Workshop,' with which it is strikingly alined. Traces of a tiled hearth on the early floor, and fragments of painted wall-plaster, together with a considerable quantity of animal remains, suggest that we have here a farm-labourer's cottage; although it must be confessed that the pottery yield was much smaller than was anticipated.

The examination of the area between the apse and the isolated north to south wall revealed two floor levels, a late paving 4 inches below the humus, and a heavy chalk floor 9 inches below the humus and level with the wall footings. Traces of earlier cobble paving were observed to run beneath the apsidal wall, but in the complete absence of datable sherds it is impossible to draw more exact inferences as to the successive vicissitudes of the building. A north to south cross-trench in the centre of Building III failed to locate the south return wall, and the discovery of two fibulæ in an unstratified level within this trench cannot throw any light upon the date and purpose of the building—problems requiring further investigation.

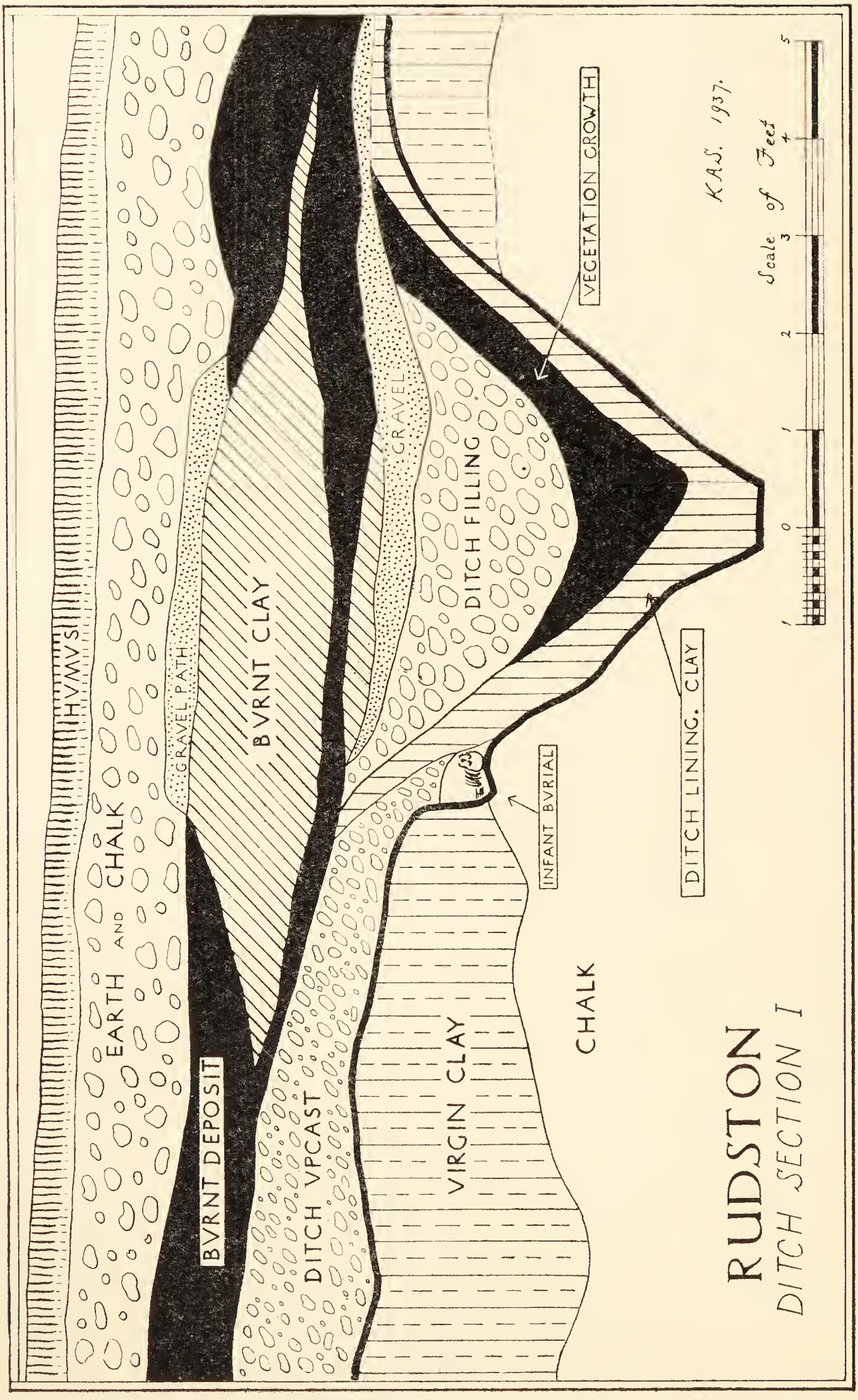

RUDSTON
DITCH SECTION I
EARTH AND CHALK
BVRNT DEPOSIT
DITCH VPCAST
VIRGIN CLAY
CHALK
GRAVEL PATH
BVRNT CLAY
GRAVEL
DITCH FILLING
INFANT BVRIAL
DITCH LINING. CLAY
VEGETATION GROWTH
K.A.S. 1937.
Scale of Feet
0
1
2
3
4
5

FIG. II

VI. Ditch Section I (Fig. II).

In view of the lack of knowledge of the ditches which are known to honeycomb the site of the Roman villa at Rudston, a section of the larger of the triple ditches (Fig. I, Ditch B), dug between the 'Kitchen' and the 'Workshop' in 1934, was enlarged to a size of 15 feet by 9 feet. Figure II shows the east face of this section, and therefore takes no account of Ditch A, which apparently terminated in a butt-end several feet to the west. The central ditch, V-shaped and flat-bottomed, 4 feet deep and 7 feet wide, was cut into the chalk and into the natural brown adhesive clay which overlies it. The upcast clay and chalk fragments had been thrown onto the north lip, so that, if their purpose was defensive, the ditches faced southwards. An unusual feature of the section, however, was a spread of heavy, dark clay which overlay the chalk sides of the ditch, as if the latter had been deliberately filled with clay and subsequently recut on a smaller scale. As Mr. Richmond pointed out, however, the absence of any accumulation of silt in the bottom of the ditch makes this theory untenable, and the only alternative is to suppose that the clay lining of the sides of the ditch was deliberate, and contemporary with the cutting of the ditch. Such a clay cap would not be unreasonable in view of the friable nature of chalk when exposed to a severe frost, as anyone who has attempted to use chalk as a building material well knows. In the light of this discovery it becomes possible to approach the dating of the ditches for the first time with reasonable certainty, bearing in mind that, as the clay lining itself has very likely been imported, the possibility of pottery intrusions cannot be ruled out, and only the latest datable sherds can be considered. In 1934 Mr. Woodward found at the bottom of his original section of this ditch "many small fragments of pottery of native ware, of a gritty fabric, presumably of Iron Age origin . . . . associated with a small quantity of finer ware which might be Roman-age ware of the first century after Christ" (I.R. 2, p. 218). This year the bulk of the pottery from the clay lining was calcite-gritted ware of indeterminate period; but also included was a two-handled jar and a fragment of smooth grey-black urn, with a repeated stamped decoration in a zone demarcated by two horizontal grooves, both of which sherds are at present unparalleled on the site (Fig. IV, 1, 2). The former vessel, restored by the Rev. H. Lawrance from many fragments, is patently allied in fabric (calcite-gritted ware—the grit hard

and not burnt to lime) and in shape, to the Iron Age pottery from Costa Beck and Thornton-le-Dale (*Y.A.J.*, xxx, pp. 157–172 [compare especially Fig. II, 2, for the handles, and Fig. I, 1, for a similar urn], where M. R. Hull concluded, "The most reliable dating for the first occupation of both sites would be from some time after the invasion of the Parisii to about 70 A.D." (*Op. cit.*, p. 169)). Unfortunately, the fragment of stamped vessel found in association with the two-handled jar has no value as yet for more accurate dating, since the only parallel would appear to be a fragment of an urn of similar fabric, stamped with a repeated fern-frond motive, which turned up amongst the unstratified pottery at Brough this season, and which, through the kindness of Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., I have been able to reproduce for purposes of comparison (Fig. IV, 3). Undoubtedly pre-Roman in origin, the good quality of the fabric and the fact that the vessel is wheel-turned[1] suggest that the gap is a small one and that the ditches can hardly be dated before the beginning of the first century A.D., while the discovery of chips of South Gaulish *Terra Sigillata* near the villa-house in 1933 attest the continuity of the occupation of the site in pre-Roman and Roman times. It can hardly be said, however, that we are any nearer to understanding the purpose of the ditches. Very similar ditches at the Langton Roman Villa were interpreted as the defences of an early Roman fortlet (Corder, *A Roman Villa at Langton, East Yorkshire*, 1932, p. 28); but the ditches at Rudston are certainly pre-Roman and, moreover, negligible as defensive works, for the deepest ditch of the triple system is less than 5 feet deep, while the other two are barely 5 feet across and 3 feet in depth. The suggestion has been made that they are drainage channels, although few regions in Britain have a drier and more permeable soil than the chalk Wolds of East Yorkshire. Until further work is done it will be not only more honest, but more politic to suspend judgment.

Above the clay lining the successive transformations of the ground surface are clearly represented in the section. The infant burial, on the north lip of the ditch, was sealed by the clay cap, and is therefore contemporary with the cutting of the ditch: it thus represents the first definite pre-Roman interment from the site. The ditch itself gradually fell into disuse and a vegetation growth accumulated on top of the clay, until a time when it was decided to complete the filling with loose chalk and earth, and the

[1] The term 'Parisian ware' has been coined by Mr. Corder to cover this and similar pre-Roman sherds from Brough.

ground surface was levelled with a gravel spread. In this filling was found a chip of *Terra Sigillata*, Curle 21, which indicates that the villa had already come into contact with Roman influence. Apparently it was later desired to make a causeway over the filled-in ditch at this point, and to counteract the subsidence of the early gravel spread (see Fig. II) a layer of burnt clay, 1 ft. 6 ins. thick in the centre and tapering at the edges, was laid immediately over the ditch, and a new gravel path set on top. The fact that the burnt clay is sandwiched between a spread of soot from the stokehole of the hypocausts suggests that it may be of third century date, which is consistent with the recovery of the greater part of a third century mortarium from the lower stratum of the burnt deposit (Fig. IV, 14). Finally, and probably in the fourth century, the whole area was covered with farmyard paving, laid on a generous covering of earth and chalk, so that no trace of any ditches remains visible on the ground surface at the present time.

VII. Ditch Section II.

During the last week of the excavations trial trenches were cut diagonally across the unexplored ground between the villa-house and the boundary wall. Farmyard paving was fairly general at depths varying from 6 inches to 2 feet, together with scraps of predominantly late fourth-century pottery, while a coin of the 'minim' type was found lying on a similar chalk paving a few yards from the field hedge. No traces of stone buildings were met with, however, and it seems that at Rudston, as at Langton, the villa and its outbuildings were grouped round an open paved courtyard, witnessing the typological affinity of our northern villa with the courtyard villas of southern England; although, as a glance at the tessellated pavements shows, the classical model has become debased in the hands of the northern craftsman and builder. So scanty are the remains of stone outbuildings at Rudston that we must conclude many of them lie beneath the present roadway, or even to the north of it, and little hope can be entertained of tracing the ground plan of the villa more fully on the west side. It was, however, in the courtyard area that the most significant discovery of the season's work was made. Parallel to the field hedge a trench was cut eastwards from the boundary wall in the hope of discovering the reason for its divergent course north of Ditch B. Eleven feet from the wall a black occupation deposit occurred at a depth of 2 ft. 3 ins., which, when the trench was

widened (Fig. I, Section II), was found to overlie a rough chalk paving and two post-holes. Native calcite-gritted ware was associated with several plain Samian fragments, including a cup (Dragendorff Form 33, Fig. IV, 17) stamped GENITOR F, while a carinated bowl (Fig. IV, 12) was found lying immediately below the chalk floor, together with a spoon-shaped bone implement of uncertain use (Fig. V, 7). First- and second-century pottery has been frequently discovered on the site, but for the first time we have it in a stratified deposit, and the inference is that the post-holes represent a timber building, occupied at all events in the early second century before the construction of the villa-house and its associated stone outbuildings. The thorough investigation of this timber structure had to be postponed until another season, but we were at least able to identify the presence of another ditch (Fig. I, Ditch D) in the 5-foot alley between the boundary wall and the west post-hole, which incidentally marked the westerly termination of the occupation deposit. A solid stone packing had been placed in the ditch to support the boundary wall (as was noted last year in the case of Ditch B, I.R. 3, p. 85), and this packing was carried down onto a similar clay lining to that observed in Section I. From this clay lining came another distinctive sherd (Fig. IV, 6), and the ditch filling yielded a rim of a rustic jar (Fig. IV, 5) and other pottery of first and early second century type (Fig. IV, 4, 8, 9). The relationship between this filling and the construction of the timber building cannot be determined until another season's work has enabled us to extend the excavations in this area and to examine the contents of the ditch, sealed beneath the flooring of the post-hole structure.

VIII. Conclusion.

The conclusions to be drawn from the work done in 1937 may be briefly summarised. In the first place the ditches underlying the outbuildings of the villa are pre-Roman in origin, but hardly earlier than the first century A.D., and it seems the greatest potentiality of the site is the opportunity for investigating the transition period from pre-Roman to Roman settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds. An interesting by-product of this transition period would be further 'Parisian' ware recovered for the first time this season. Secondly, excavation must be concentrated immediately east of the boundary wall in the hope of recovering the ground plan of a timber structure earlier than any of the stone buildings so far examined. Little more can be done towards elucidating the history

of the villa in its third- and fourth-century form until further structures are brought to light, but the excavations of Messrs. P. Corder and J. L. Kirk at Langton have given us a picture of the villa on the East Yorkshire Wolds in the later Roman period. The comparatively unknown Iron Age and early Roman occupations of the Rudston villa site will most repay attention.

IX. Pottery from the 'Workshop' (Fig. III).

Nos. 1–12 are sherds from the late level of the 'Workshop,' found in association with coins of Valens and Gratian (2), and representative of occupation in the last quarter of the fourth century.

No. 1. Calcite-gritted cook pot, diam. 9 ins., with wheel-made rim, internal groove, and hand-made body. Last thirty years of the fourth century (*Journal of Roman Studies*, ii, 225; Poltross Burn, Pl. V; Birdoswald, Fig. 14). Fifty other rims of a similar fabric and section were found in this area.

No. 2. Similar, but with a wavy line below the internal groove. Diam. 8 ins.

No. 3. Similar, but without internal groove. Diam. 6 ins.

No. 4. Similar, but with two rows of incisions on the rim. Diam. 9 ins.

No. 5. A small flanged dish, $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diam., salmon pink, friable texture, and with three indentations on the internal base. I have not been able to find a parallel for this vessel.

No. 6. Platter of calcite-gritted ware. Diam. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (Langton, Fig. 27, no. 141).

Nos. 7, 8 and 9. Flanged grey bowls with straight sides; made in great quantities at Crambeck and Throlam. They occur almost universally on late sites in the North of England.

No. 10. Hemispherical bowl (? or lid), diam. 5 ins., in calcite-gritted ware. Parallels are lacking.

No. 11. Rim of jar; smooth, hard, dark grey fabric. Diam. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

No. 12. Hammer-head mortarium, reeded rim. This type of mortarium was not found at Huntcliff (*J.R.S.*, ii, 225), and its occurrence in the late level at Rudston is noteworthy.

Nos. 13–21 come from the early floor of the 'Workshop,' which yielded coins of Victorinus, Claudius II, Tetricus Sr., Tetricus Jr. (2), and Allectus. A late third- or early fourth-century group (I.R. 3, p. 83).

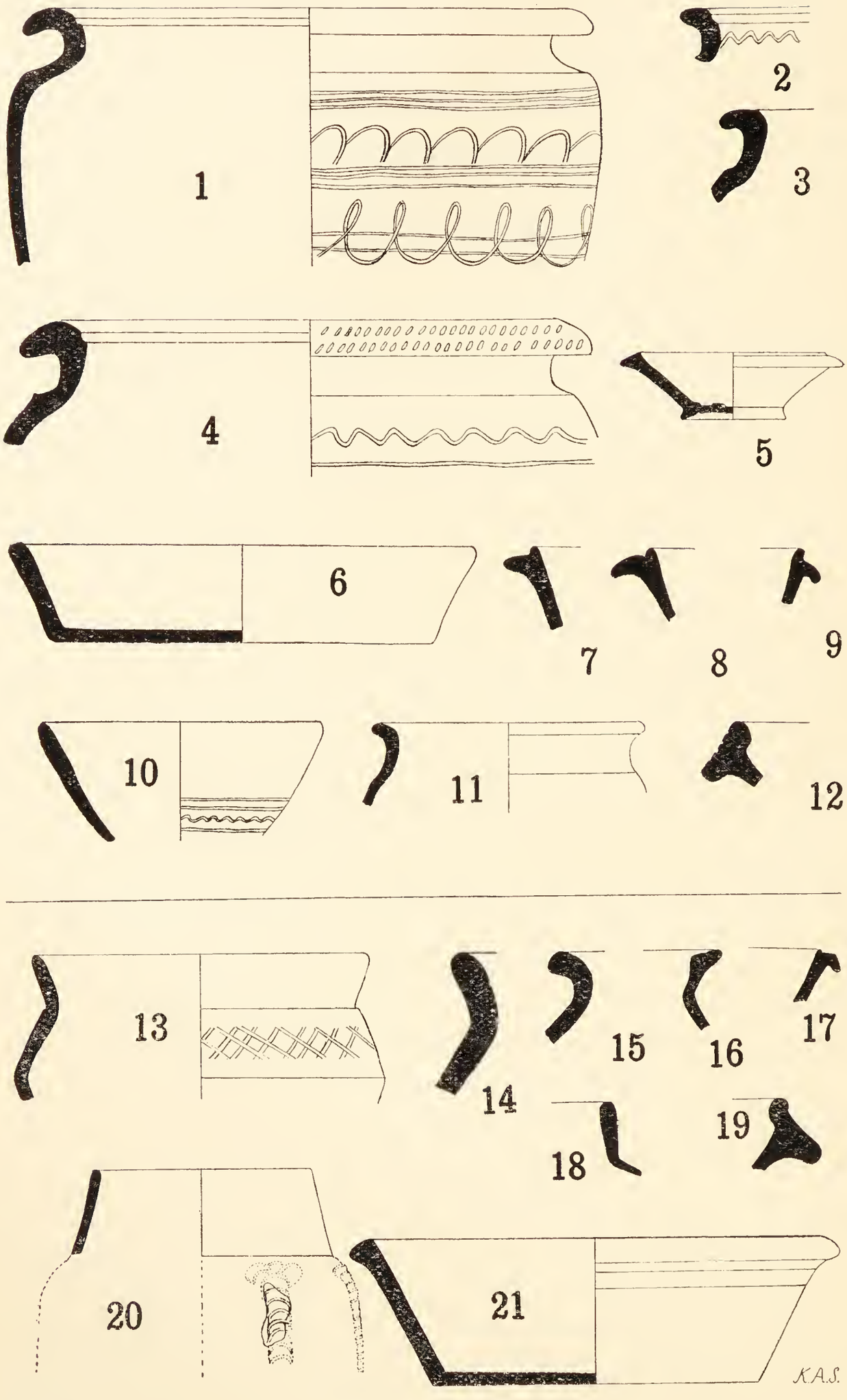


FIG. **III.** [Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ approx.]

No. 13. Carinated bowl, diam. 6 ins. Iron-hard light grey fabric. At the junction of the rim and the side is a ledge or slight cordon. Burnished lattice decoration (Langton, Fig. 26, no. 98). There are further unpublished parallels from Housesteads and Corbridge, but the type is rare.

Nos. 14 and 15. Rims of calcite-gritted ware, hand-made Knapton fabric (Langton, Fig. 27, nos. 133, 135). Superseded by types 1–4 in the latter half of the fourth century.

No. 16. Rim of cooking-pot in calcite-gritted ware. The form is similar to Poltross Burn, plate V, 16 and 17, dated *c.* 300–368 A.D. *Cf.* also Chesterholm (*Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th series, viii, 199) for a similar form in a slightly different fabric.

No. 17. Straight-sided flanged bowl in hard grey ware.

No. 18. Fragment of lipless jar, with insloping rim, blue-grey, light core. Similar to Langton, Fig. 26, no. 95, but the external groove is slightly higher up the rim.

No. 19. Rim of mortarium, salmon pink, soft texture.

No. 20. Fragments of the rim and side of a 'folded' beaker in Castor ware (Birdoswald, 30c, dated 300–368 A.D.).

No. 21. Dish in hard dark grey ware. Diam. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Burnished band below the rim.

X. Pottery from the Ditches, etc.

No. 1. From the clay lining of Ditch B, Section I. Two-handled jar, $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diam.; hand-made in calcite-gritted fabric. Pre-Roman (Costa Beck and Thornton-le-Dale, *Y.A.J.*, xxx, 164).

Nos. 2 and 3. 'Parisian' ware. No. 2 is from the clay lining of Ditch B, Section I. No. 3 is from Brough. The characteristics of these sherds are the wheel-finish, the smooth grey-black surface and lighter core, and the repeated stamped decoration between horizontal grooves. Stamped ware, of first- or early second-century date has been found in London (*Archæologia*, lxvi, 257), but there is no similarity in form or fabric with the East Yorkshire sherds, which appear to be of local provenance.

No. 4. Black fumed cooking-pot. Diam. 5 ins. Decorated on the shoulder with lattice pattern. From the filling of Ditch D. A type which would be described as Hadrianic on the Wall.

No. 5. 'Rustic' jar; hard grey ware. Diam. 7 ins. Late first or early second century.

No. 6. Hemispherical bowl, from the clay lining of Ditch D,

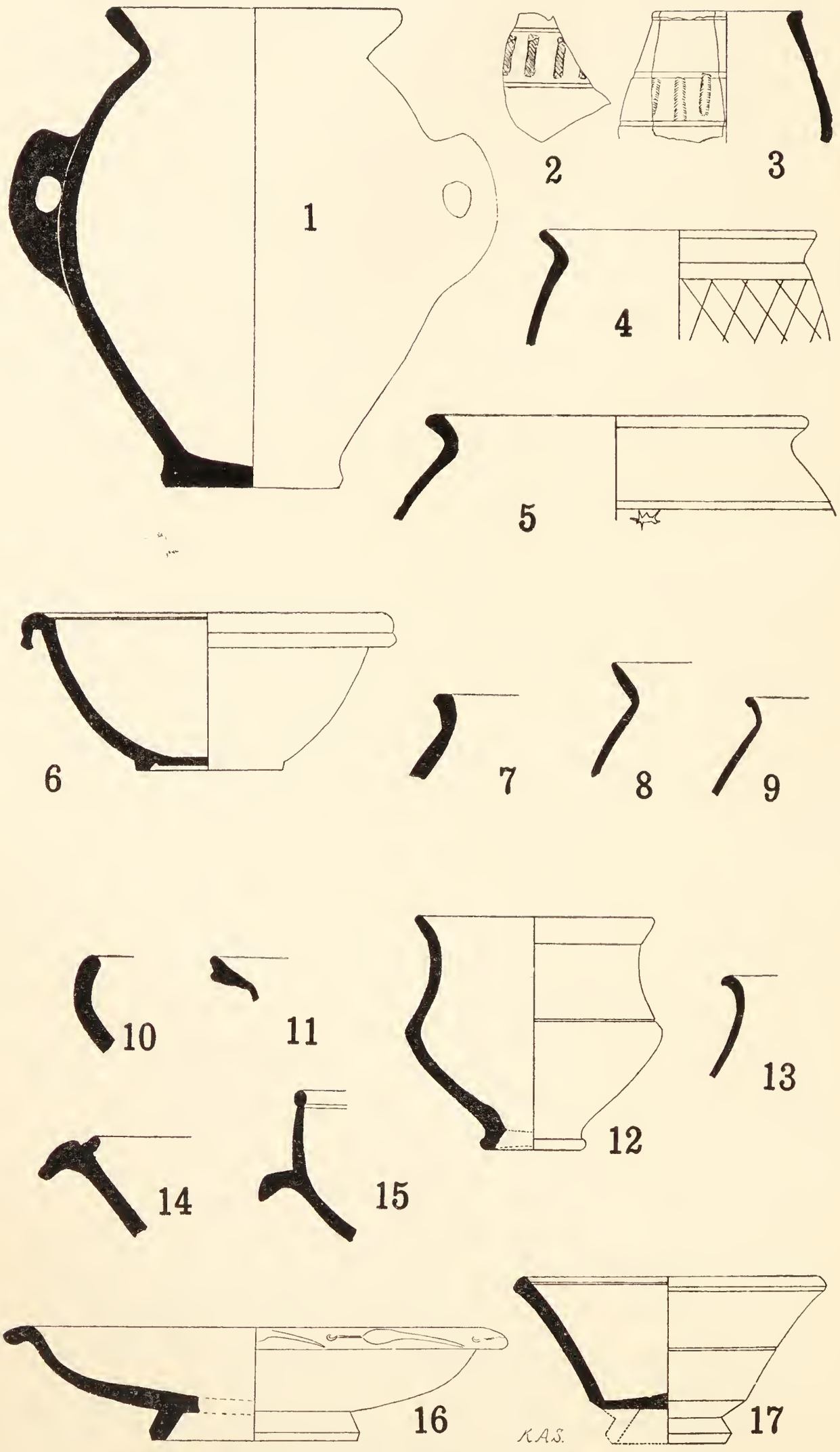


FIG. **IV.** [Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ approx.]

Section II. The down-turned rim, with terminal swelling, footring and slight internal ledge at the curve of the rim, give it a unique section. The fabric is smooth and soft in texture, varying from chocolate to black in colour, and contains traces of mica. This may well be another sherd of ' Parisian ' ware. Mr. Corder has a platter from Brough with a footring and similar rim features, but no other parallels can be quoted outside East Yorkshire.

Nos. 7, 8 and 9. From the filling of Ditch D.

No. 7. Rim of calcite-gritted ware. Knapton fabric.

No. 8. Jar with sharply everted rim. Brownish-grey fabric; hard, smooth texture.

No. 9. Thin-walled cooking-pot, lattice decoration. Late first or early second century.

No. 10. ' Workshop,' below early floor, unstratified. Platter; inbent rim. Diam. 9 ins. Smooth red-brick ware (Malton, Fig. I, 6; Ilkley, Pl. xxx, 6–7, p. 265).

No. 11. Same area, unstratified. Platter, with double roll-rim. Iron-hard grey fabric. The shape of the rim is reminiscent of Ilkley (Pl. xxxi, 25) but the fabric is different. These unstratified pieces are merely recorded for typological interest.

No. 12. Carinated bowl from beneath the chalk flooring of the timber structure, Section II. Diam. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. fumed grey ware, light core, with a groove immediately above the carination. For an exact parallel see Langton (Fig. VII, no. 17), which occurred in the first-century ditches. The stratification of the Rudston sherd would not be inconsistent with a first-century date.

No. 13. Rim of a similar bowl, from the same area. The demarcation between the rim and the body of the vessel does not exist in this instance.

No. 14. Rim of a mortarium, from the burnt deposit in ditch, Section I. Hard reddish-brown fabric. Third century.

Nos. 15–17. Plain *Terra Sigillata,* from the floor of the timber structure, Section II.

No. 15. Flanged bowl; Dragendorff form 38.

No. 16. Shallow cup. Rim decorated with barbotine leaves. Dragendorff form 36.

No. 17. Cup. Dragendorff form 33; stamped GENITOR F; a product of the Lezoux potter working under Domitian and Trajan.

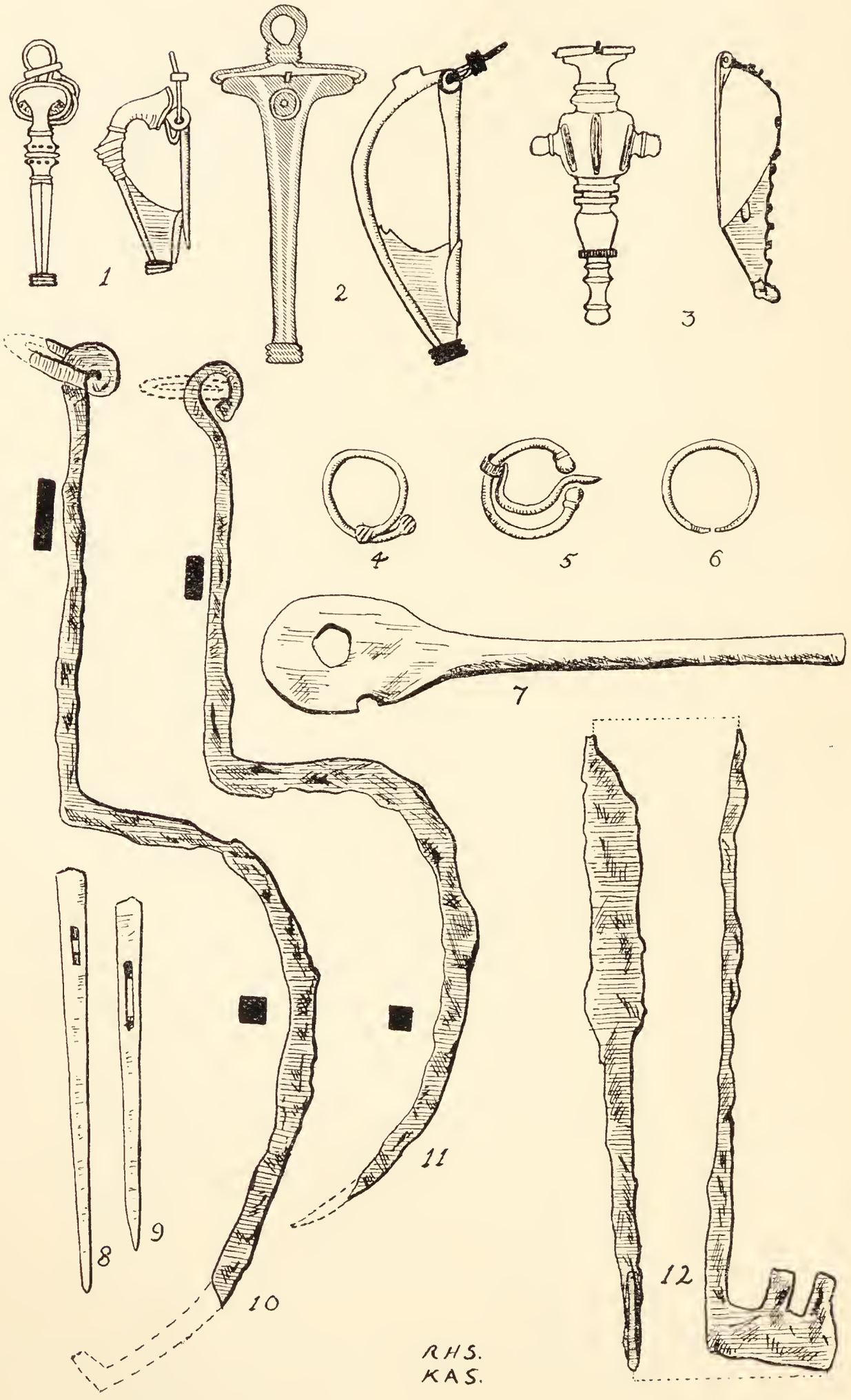


FIG. V. [Scale $\frac{2}{3}$ approx.]

XI. Objects of Bronze, Bone, and Iron (Fig. V).

No. 1. Trumpet-shaped fibula with acanthus moulding. A perfect specimen, discovered in 1934 in the villa-house (I.R. 2, p. 219). The type is common on northern sites in the first half of the second century (Collingwood, *Archæology of Roman Britain*, pp. 251 ff.; esp. fig. 62, group R, no. 52).

Nos. 2 and 3. Discovered in 1936 in the centre of Building III, within a few inches of each other.

No. 2. A head-stud brooch, in perfect condition. At the head is a loop, formed by a separate wire which was probably attached to a chain. This brooch belongs to Collingwood Type Q (*Op. cit.*, p. 250) and dates to the first half of the second century.

No. 3. A 'wing-bow' brooch. Collingwood Type P (*Op. cit.*, p. 250). This is the most northerly example of its type found in Britain, a type which Collingwood declared "did not last much beyond the reign of Claudius." For a full discussion of the 'wing-bow' brooch see the third report on the excavations at Richborough, pp. 76–77. Its occurrence at Rudston has no chronological significance since it is found in immediate association with a typical second-century brooch, and there is no doubt that the handing down of personal ornaments of this type from generation to generation makes them of very doubtful value as archæological evidence.

Nos. 4 and 5. Penannular bronze brooches. No. 5 retains its pin. No. 4 has writhen knobs. The 'Workshop.'

No. 6. Bronze finger ring. The 'Workshop.'

No. 7. Spoon-shaped bone object, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, with central hole in the base and notch in the side. These objects, found on many sites in Britain (Newstead, Pl. xcii, 21; Corbridge; Dowkerbottom caves, and Seaton Carew, *Archæologia Aeliana*, ii, x, plate facing p. 114), are apparently products of a native British civilization, being absent from the German Limes and the museums of the Rhine. Their use is at present obscure.

Nos. 8 and 9. Bone needles.

Nos. 10 and 11. Two sickle-shaped keys, of a type fairly common in Britain and on the German Limes "chiefly in connection with Celtic remains" (Pitt-Rivers, *Primitive Locks and Keys*, 1883, p. 11). For their use and distribution see Jacobi, "Der Keltische Schlüssel und der Schlüssel der Penelope; ein Beitrage zur Geschichte des Antiken Verschlusses."

No. 12. L-shaped slide-key with two teeth (for their use see Ward, *The Roman Era in Britain*, chap. xiii, and *London Mus. Cat.*, No. 3, p. 70). Two similar keys were found at Langton (Fig. 21, nos. 2 and 3).

XII. Coin List (1933–6).

Domitian as	..	..	..	(I.R. 2, p. 219)
M. Aurelius sestertius		M. & S. 1344		(I.R. 3, p. 85)
Caracalla denarius		Coh. 180		(I.R. 1, p. 370)
Gallienus antoninianus		Coh. 667		(I.R. 1, p. 375)
,,	,,	M. & S. 267	1936	'Workshop,' early level
Postumus	,,	..	..	1933 'In a rubbish dump'
Victorinus	,,	..	..	1936 'Workshop,' early level
Claudius II	,,	..	..	1933 Villa-house
,,	,,	..	..	(I.R. 3, p. 85)
Tetricus Senior	,,	..	..	1933 Villa-house
,, ,,	,,	..	..	1933 Hypocaust chamber
Tetricus Junior	,,	M. & S. 263	1936	'Workshop,' early level
,, ,,	,,	..	..	1936 ,,
Allectus	,,	M. & S. 91	1936	,,
Constantine I	,,	..	..	(I.R. 1, p. 375)
Constantius II	Æ 4	..	..	1933 Villa-house
Valens	Æ 3	..	..	1936 'Workshop,' late level
,,	,,	Pearce 48 (23)	1933	(I.R. 1, p. 370)
Gratian	,,	G 5	..	1936 'Workshop,' late floor
,,	,,	G 5	..	1936 ,,

Constantine I Minim *cf.* Coh. 21 (Const. I) 1936 Field hedge

[Note—In Figs. III and IV the difference in scale from the author's is ·015.—Ed.]

Obituary.

HUGH PERCY KENDALL.

Sudden death has robbed archæology of an assiduous worker and a prolific writer. Hugh P. Kendall was a well-known figure in Yorkshire Archæology, particularly in connection with, first, Halifax and district, notably on its western side, and later, Whitby.

The son of a chemist at Sowerby Bridge, and a mechanical engineer by profession, Hugh Kendall found in antiquarian work and photography a life hobby, in branches of which he won a considerable reputation. He was the last survivor of the four founders of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, of which he was a Vice-President. Annually, almost without intermission, he contributed one paper, sometimes two, and even more, to that Society, on subjects for the most part of local interest, and he was in great demand as a popular lecturer to local societies. His lectures and papers were often illustrated by very effective examples of his own photography, in which he had especial skill. He was an ex-President of the Halifax Photographic Society, and his collection of photographs of old Halifax homesteads, on view at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, has great historical and architectural value. Later he joined the Y.A.S. and became a member of the Council. He did useful work also for the Sowerby Bridge Library, and also was responsible for the cataloguing of documents at Shibden Hall for the Halifax Corporation when that body acquired it by gift.

Ten years ago he left Sowerby Bridge to reside at Whitby, where his natural bent quickly led him to take an interest in its antiquities, and several works of a varied character show his wide interest in, and knowledge of, his subject. To this *Journal* he contributed little, his only two articles of length being on "Seventeenth-Century Plaster-work in the Parish of Halifax" (Part 90) and "Newbiggin in Egton and the Salvin Family" (Part 129), although he contributed several short interesting notes from time to time. He did particularly useful work in helping towards the scheduling of ancient monuments.

A bluff and plain-spoken Yorkshireman, he took a craftsman's delight in neat production both of his writings and photography.

Besides being a member of the Council of this Society, he was also a member of the Record, Ancient Monuments, and Library Committees. For many years he was a member of the Roman Antiquities Committee and was a trustee of the Roman Malton Museum. At Whitby he became the Honorary Curator of the Whitby Museum, where his knowledge and ripe experience proved of great value. He was also the Chairman and Treasurer of the Whitby Naturalists' Club. A member of the "Tykes" Club, he was a regular attender of its meetings, and was a frequent exhibitor. It is sad that he passed away so suddenly while serving its principal office of Arch-Tyke. He died at Ruswarp, Whitby, at the age of 62.

Below is given a list of his publications and papers.

A. Books and Booklets on Whitby.

Whitby Tracts, comprising:
The Story of Streonshalh (1929).
The Priory of Grosmont in Eskdale (1929).
Some Whitby Worthies of the Reign of King Henry VIII (1930).
Whitby in the Civil War (1933).

1930 The Parish Church, Whitby, 5th ed., revised by H. P. Kendall.
1932 History of Whitby Abbey.
1933 A Short History of Whitby Abbey.
1933 The Priory of Handale.
1936 Whitby in Literature.
1936 The Story of Whitby Jet.
Whitby Naturalists' Club—Exploring the Roman Road. (Jointly with Mr. Jas. Patterson.)

B. Papers contributed to the "Yorkshire Archæological Journal."

1921 (Part 90) Seventeenth-Century Plaster-work in the Parish of Halifax.
1936 (Part 129) Newbiggin in Egton and the Salvin Family.

C. Papers contributed to the Halifax Antiquarian Society.

1902 A Short Paper on Tom Bell's Cave at Heptonstall.
*An Excursion to Sowerby.
Extracts from the Accounts of the Sowerby Constables (Part I).
1903 An Excursion to Kirkcliffe, Making-Place, Lane Head, Great House, and Swift Place, Soyland.
Extracts from the Accounts of the Sowerby Constables (Part II).

1904 *The Ancient Halls of Norland.
Sowerby Constables' Accounts (Part III).
1905 Sowerby Constables' Accounts.
*Rishworth Goat House and Grammar School; Upper Cockroft; Lower Cockroft.
1906 *Famous Sowerby Mansions—"White Windows"; Bentley Royd; Wood Lane Hall.
1908 Upper Willow Hall.
*Lower Willow Hall.
*Heptonstall.
1909 Local Incidents in the Civil War.
*Blackstone Edge Roads.
*Ripon and Fountains Abbey.
1910 The Civil War, as affecting Halifax and Surroundings.
*Old Haugh End; Sowerby Hall; Ball Green.
*Norland Hall.
1911 Early Man in Britain.
Civil War (concluding part), as affecting Halifax and Surroundings.
*Wadsworth Homesteads.
The Roman Ford at Longbottom.
1912 Roman Britain.
Roman Evidences in the Parish of Halifax.
*Excursion to Pontefract.
1913 Two old Sowerby Bridge Houses—Lower Hollins in Warley; Broadgates, alias Underbank.
*Mereclough Bottom; Fields in Norland; Sowerby Croft; The Harper Royds.
*Binroyd in Norland.
1914 Recently discovered Relics of Prehistoric Man.
*Bank House in Skircoat.
*Hathershelf, Sowerby; Higgin Chamber, Sowerby; Quick-stavers in Sowerby.
*Newlands in Warley.
1915 Sowerby Bridge Old Church.
Gleanings from local Elizabethan Wills.
*Upper Swift Place in Soyland; Beeston Hirst and Thrum Hall in Soyland; Baitings in Soyland.
1916 Making Place in Soyland.
*The Royd in Soyland; Blackshaw Clough in Soyland.
1917 *Greenwood Lee, Heptonstall; High Greenwood in Heptonstall.
1918 Elphabrough Hall and Erringden Park.
1919 Great House in Colden.
1920 Hollinhey in Sowerby.
1921 Fieldhouses in Sowerby.
1922 Old Heptonstall—A Chapter in its History.
Barkisland Hall and Family of Gledhill.
1923 Story of a local Feud.
The Mill at the Brigg.

1925 Some old Skircoat Homesteads: Washer Lane—Pyenest—Trimmingham—Cownall—Darcey Hey.
1926 *Everhill Shaw in Heptonstall.
The Forest of Sowerbyshire.
1927 The Bache in Warley.
*Abel Cross and the Hamlet of Shackleton.
1928 Halifax Hunts and Huntsmen.
1929 Kebroyd in Soyland.
1930 The Rental of the Freeholders and Copyholders of Halifax, 1587–8.
1931 The Plague in Halifax Parish.
*Rayners of Norland (in collaboration with Mr. W. B. Trigg).
1932 Greave List for Sowerby for 1624.
The Stepps in Warley.
1933 In Memoriam—John Lister.
The Lumb in Soyland.
1935 Doomsday Book and After.
1936 Asquithbotham, or Old House; Cawsey in Warley; The Horse Mill at Halifax.
1937 Court Rolls of the Rectorial Manor of Halifax.

J.W.H.

* Papers dealing with Excursions.

THE REV. CANON A. A. R. GILL, M.A.

By the death of Canon Gill we have lost one who was himself deeply interested in archæology and who was ever ready to encourage and help others venturing forth on this wide and rich field. Probably his most valuable piece of work was that done under the Archbishops' Commission set up in 1918 to investigate Parish documents in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Gill was responsible for the investigation of no less than 82 Parishes, and on this he spent much time and gave great labour. He published a list of the Archdeacons of the Diocese of York (a series of brief biographies); also the Deans of York, the Sub-Deans, Chancellors and Prebendaries. He was the author of numerous papers, all of which bear evidence of care and research. Amongst them are those on Archbishop Blackburn, The Knights Templars in Yorkshire, The York Boy Bishops, and the Yorkshire Connexions of General Wolfe. Recently he was greatly interested in the publication by the Parish Register Society of the Registers of his Church of All Saints', Pavement, York.

YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS.

The list just issued includes all monuments scheduled down to 31 Dec., 1936. The Yorkshire additions are enumerated in Section B. Section A includes additions to those in the guardianship of the Commissioners which have been taken over since the additions to it were last printed in the *Journal*.

A

Castle

Bowes

Monastic Buildings

Guisborough Priory

Monk Bretton Priory

B

Crosses

Aldborough (W.R.)

Bedale

Rey Cross

Earthwork

Moated Site:
Foston

Guild Hall

Merchants' Hall, Fossgate, York

Prehistoric

Giants' Graves, Pen-y-Ghent Fell

Gospel Hill (tumulus) 60 yards SW. of Pasture House, Thornton Watlass

Sowerby, Pudding Pie Hill (tumulus)

Staintondale, tumulus 400 yards W. of Springfield Farm

Sutton on Hull, two tumuli NE. of Swine Castle Hill

Roman

Dalton Parlours Roman villa site, Collingham

Kirklees Park, camp, near Brighouse

Roman Ridge (Roman road) Section NNE. of Barber Balk, Rotherham

E. W. Crossley.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. Crossley, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

REVIEW.

A Guide to the Fairbank Collection of Maps, Plans, and Surveyors' Books and Correspondence in the Reference Library. Sheffield City Libraries, 1936.

This Guide to the collection formed by four generations of the Fairbank family between 1739 and 1850 will be welcomed by all who are interested in the ancient topographical landmarks, or in the industrial development of Sheffield and the adjacent parts of the counties of York and Derby. The number of items, including loose papers, is no less than 13,636. There are 4,650 plans and maps. The surveyors' books, inclusive of 311 Field Books from which the plans were made, total 1,028. No less than 2,263 plans relate to the parish of Sheffield.

Josiah and William Fairbank were surveyors for the Sheffield and Glossop Turnpike Trust, almost a complete set of the records of which are preserved in this collection. Some of the plans and papers deal with other Derbyshire turnpike trusts and some with Yorkshire trusts, of which the Sheffield and Halifax (Sheffield and Penistone division) and the Sheffield and Leeds (Sheffield and Wakefield division) may be mentioned. This section of the collection will appeal especially to those who are interested in the history of turnpike roads. Such records are often very difficult to trace. There are five volumes of Enclosure and Road Bills and Acts, Railway Bills, Miscellaneous Bills and Acts, etc. A card catalogue, which in itself is a monument of skill and industry, to the whole collection, has been provided.

An Appendix to the Guide contains some useful lists which help to make the collection more accessible to students. (1) A list of maps of parishes, townships and manors, arranged under counties; (2) a list of parishes, also arranged under counties, showing the number of plans for each parish; (3) a list of Railways and Turnpike Roads, for which plans, documentary evidence and correspondence may be found. E. W. Crossley.

TRANSACTIONS, Etc., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Halifax Antiquarian Society's Papers for 1936 contain—History of Shibden Hall in the early eighteenth century, by John Lister; The old Independent Chapel in Chapel Fold, by T. W. Hanson; Asquithbothom or Old House, by H. P. Kendall; Cawsey in Warley, by H. P. Kendall; The Horse Mill at Halifax, by H. P. Kendall; Local Flints and their prehistoric sequence, by J. H. Priestley; Haigh House, Warley, by Phyllis M. Ramsden; The

Shibden branch of the Northend Family, by W. F. Northend; Local Pinfolds, by R. Eccles; Royds Hall, by R. Bretton; Abbots Royd, Barkisland, and its surroundings, by A. T. Longbotham; Place Names of the Ancient Parish of Halifax, by A. H. Smith; The Taxpayers of Sowerby, 1750–1758, by G. Dent.

The Hunter Archæological Society's Transactions, vol. iv, part 4, contains—James Ragg Wigfull (obituary notice), by J. Austen; Local Plumbers and Glaziers, by J. R. Wigfull; Masters of Staveley Netherthorpe Grammar School, by W. E. Godfrey; Fanshawe Gate, Holmesfield, co. Derby, by B. Fanshawe; Steps towards the identification of Canonthorpe, by M. Walton; The Longshaw Earthworks, by W. M. Cole; J. B. Wheat (obituary notice), by T. Walter Hall; Notes and Queries, Lectures, Excursions.

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Annual Report for 1936 includes—Note on a Mithraic Stone at York, by W. C. Priestley; Notes on some Roman mask or face vases in the Yorkshire Museum, by W. E. Collinge; Illustration of a Medieval Well Jug found in Petergate, York (frontispiece).

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

Archæologia, vol. lxxxv, includes—An English Gold Rosary of about 1500 (formerly the property of the Langdales of Houghton Hall, Sancton), by Sir Eric Maclagan and C. C. Oman (p. 1); and, The Use of Continental woodcuts and prints by the "Ripon School" of Woodcarvers in the early sixteenth century, by J. S. Purvis (p. 107).

The English Historical Review, Jan. 1937, includes—A draft of the Statute of York, by G. L. Haskins.

The Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, N.S., vol. ii, include—The Submerged Forests on the Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland Coasts (in a paper on Mesolithic Flints from the Submerged Forest at West Hartlepool), by C. T. Trechmann (p. 166); Notes on Excavations of Two Round Barrows, near Ampleforth, by G. F. Wilmot; A Beaker from the Skipsea Peat, Yorkshire; Early Man in Nidderdale, Yorkshire (p. 238).

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*Note.*—Books and Pamphlets are included in this list which have been issued from 1 Jan., 1925. The compiler will be glad to hear of any which may have escaped his notice.]

Early Yorkshire Charters, Vol. v—The Honour of Richmond, part ii, based on the MSS. of the late William Farrer; ed. by C. T. Clay; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$; pp. xxix + 441; Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, Extra Series, vol. ii, 1936.

The Parish Register of All Saints' Church, Pavement, in the City of York, vol. ii, 1690–1738; by T. M. Fisher; 9 × 6; pp. 163–318; Yorkshire Parish Register Society, vol. cii, 1936.

The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306–1315; Part iii; ed. by the late W. Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$; pp. li + 300; Surtees Society, vol. cli, 1936.

The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York; ed. by the Abbess of Stanbrook and J. B. L. Tolhurst; vol. i; $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. viii + 174; Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. lxxiii, London, 1936.

The Charm of Yorkshire Churches; by Ella Pontefract (sketches by Marie Hartley); $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 200; Leeds: *The Yorkshire Weekly Post,* [1936].

The Parish Church of All Saints', Bramham, Yorkshire, with some notes on its daughter churches of St. Mary the Virgin, Boston Spa, and St. Luke the Evangelist, Clifford; by G. E. Kirk; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 44; Leeds: John Whitehead & Son, Ltd., 1936.

All Hallows' Church, Bardsey, near Leeds; by G. E. Kirk; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 36; Leeds: John Whitehead & Son, Ltd., 1937.

(Halifax) Parish Church Woodwork; by Bishop G. H. Frodsham; 8 × 5; [pp. 8]; *Reprinted from "Halifax Courier and Guardian,"* 16 Dec., 1933.

History of Providence Congregational Church, Ovenden; by W. B. Trigg; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; pp. xiv + 115; Halifax: John Walsh (Printers), Ltd., 1937.

A Guide to the Fairbank Collection of Maps, Plans and Surveyors' Books and Correspondence in the Reference Library; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$; pp. 22; Sheffield City Libraries, 1936.

Hunter's Pedigrees. A continuance of Familiæ minorum gentium diligentia Josephi Hunter, Sheffieldiensis, S.A.S.; trans. and ed. by J. W. Walker; 10 × $5\frac{3}{4}$; pp. x + 200; Harleian Society, vol. lxxxviii, London, 1936.

Hastings Wheler Family Letters, 1704–1739; by G. H. Wheler; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 185; Wakefield: The West Yorkshire Printing Co., Ltd., 1935.

Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and elsewhere in the collection of the Earl of Harewood; by Tancred Borenius; 12 × $9\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xvi + 238; Oxford: University Press, 1936.

The Brotherton Collection: The First Annual Report of the Committee; $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; [pp. 8]; The University of Leeds, 1936.

The Common Bellman of the City of York from the earliest times to the year 1873; by T. P. Cooper; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$; pp. 12; York: J. L. Burdekin, 1936.

The Romance, Origin and Significance of York Street Names; by T. P. Cooper; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$; pp. 15; York: J. L. Burdekin, 1936.

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MCMXXXVIII.

CONTENTS OF PART 132.

(Being the Fourth part of Volume XXXIII.)

PAGE

EDITORIAL NOTES—The Chantry in Pickering Castle ("Foundation of Chantries in Notts. and Yorks.") 347

Prehistoric Section 348

THE HONOUR OF KIRKBY MALZEARD AND THE CHASE OF NIDDERDALE 349

TOM S. GOWLAND.

ROYAL PARDONS FOR THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE . . 397

A. G. DICKENS.

REPORT ON A BRONZE AGE BURIAL AT SUTTON BANK, NEAR THIRSK, YORKSHIRE 419

EDWARD FAWCETT, M.D., F.R.S.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1937 426

Edited by MARY KITSON CLARK.

REVIEWS 428

TRANSACTIONS, ETC., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES . . 432

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC. 433

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY 433

INDEX 435

PREFACE v

CONTENTS vii

ILLUSTRATIONS ix

Illustrations.

THE HONOUR OF KIRKBY MALZEARD—

Plan . . . . . *facing* 349

BRONZE AGE BURIAL AT SUTTON BANK, NEAR THIRSK—

Map of Site 418

Section of Road, Covering Stone and Cist . . . 419

Walls of Cist . . . . . *facing* 420

Debased Beaker and Jet Bead . . . . . ,, 421

Editorial Notes.

FOUNDATION OF CHANTRIES IN NOTTS. AND YORKS.

The Chantry in Pickering Castle.

[We are indebted to Major R. B. Turton of Kildale Hall, Kildale, for the following note.]

Miss Riley, in Parts 130 and 131 of the *Journal*, has helped towards the solution of a problem which I failed to solve some forty-two years ago when editing Vol. II of the *North Riding Records*, N.S., p. xxx.

But, with all respect, she has not got the full story. The Hospital of St. Nicholas was quite distinct from the Chantry in Pickering Castle. The former is mentioned in the earliest boundaries, and its position was near a standing stone on the boundary between Pickering and Middleton townships, not far from the river Costa. If the field-name Spitalmires, or its equivalent, can be recovered near the Pickering-Middleton road it would assist in the identification.

In the Subsidy Roll of 1301 the Brethren of the Hospital of St. Nicholas (as freeholders) paid 25*s.* 0½*d.* as their fifteenth, and their contributions in subsequent years were on a like substantial assessment.

We first read of a chaplain to celebrate in the castle for the souls of the King's predecessors in the inquisition post mortem of Edmund Earl of Lancaster (Inq. p.m., 25 Ed. I, No. 51, m. 12). There is no mention of St. Nicholas, and the yearly fee was £3 only. This fee continued to be paid. It is mentioned in the Ministers' Accounts for Sept. 1313–Sept. 1314.

The entry in John of Gaunt's register, No. 639, shows that Roger de Benyngton was the chaplain in Sept., 1374. The value of money was then changing and it may well be that he complained of the insufficiency of his pay. In any case, as the wardship of the Hospital was then vacant it was conferred upon Roger, who had to repair not only the chapel but the little hall of the Hospital. Hence in the popular mind the castle chapel became associated with St. Nicholas, and the possessions of the chantry included the original endowment of the Hospital.

It was thus not very inaccurate to describe the chantry in 1546 as "of the foundation of the Duke of Lancastre." The King's rent had increased from 60*s.* to 68*s.* 8*d.*, and in addition there were lands and tenements to a yearly value of 60*s.* 8*d.* R.B.T.

PREHISTORIC SECTION.

The inaugural meeting of the Prehistoric Section of the Y.A.S. was held on Saturday, Sept. 11th, with Col. Parker in the chair, and about thirty members present. The President gave a short opening account of the purpose of the section and its relation to the general body of the Society, followed by brief statements of current work in Prehistory being done in various parts of the county, Mr. Kent, of Harrogate, Mr. Collins, of Pateley Bridge, and the Hon. Sec. of the section taking part. After discussion of the work and methods of the section, a number of recorders were appointed, to watch and report upon the work of prehistoric interest being done in their various districts. The following are the recorders appointed at that meeting, and others will be added for remaining districts, in the near future.

Huddersfield and Calder Valley: Dr. Woodhead.
S. Yorkshire: Dr. Whiting & Mr. H. Baker.
Leeds and Lower Airedale: Miss Kitson Clark.
Lower Wharfedale: Mr. Cowling.
Upper Airedale and Wharfedale: Dr. Raistrick.
Clitheroe and Craven Lowlands: Mr. Bennett.
Upper Ribblesdale to Malhamdale: Mr. Lord & Mr. Frankland.
Nidderdale: Mr. Collins.
Harrogate-Ripon District: Harrogate Group.
Wensleydale: Mr. Chapman.
N.E. Yorkshire: Mr. Elgee.
Holderness and E. Yorks.: Covered by Hull Museums.

Considerable adjustment of districts will need to be made, and the co-operation of many more recorders obtained before the scheme can be regarded as anything like complete.

A large number of exhibits were brought to the meeting—
Microlithic flints from the Halifax area (Mr. Priestley).
Stone and Bronze implements and flints from Harrogate district (Messrs. Kent & Stickland).
Flints from Nidderdale (Mr. Collins).
Flints from mid-Wharfedale (Mr. Cowling).
Aerial photographs of various sites (Mr. Chapman).
Plans of iron-age sites (Dr. Raistrick).



A Plan of ~ THE HONOUR of KIRKBY MALZEARD

Scale 1 inch = 2 miles

Boundaries of the Honour –·–·–
– – – Parish of Kirkby Malzeard c. Masham. ·····
– – – Honour and Parish where they co-incided ..·–·–·
Other boundaries ·····
Names of monastic granges underlined. e.g. Dacre
The dates in brackets after some names are those of documents in which these names occur

THE HONOUR OF KIRKBY MALZEARD AND THE CHASE OF NIDDERDALE.

By Tom S. Gowland.

Introductory.

Kirkby Malzeard is about six miles west of Ripon. It is rather larger than the neighbouring villages, but with the exception of its fine Parish Church (restored after a disastrous fire) and a long tradition of sword-dancing, it has little to distinguish it from many a moorside township. It is not situated on a high-road to any place of importance,[1] nor is it near a river of any size, but, at a short distance to the north of its long town street, there is a stream called the Kex Beck, a tributary of the small river Laver.

Kirkby lies just within a district of stone buildings where, until very recently, brick was unknown, and until the late eighteenth century, it must have been completely surrounded by unenclosed country and on the very edge of the wild open moors of Dallowgill and Nidderdale; but now the common land has given place to farms and allotments, though there is little arable, and cultivation has driven the rough moorland wastes some distance from the village.

No remains of medieval domestic architecture exist in the neighbourhood; only the names of the abbey granges survive, and probably, as in other districts, wood was the chief building material here, until it gave place to stone in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. In Kirkby and its neighbouring townships there are a few farmhouses which date from the late seventeenth or early eighteen centuries, and built with the mullioned casements found in the Yorkshire dales long after the fashion of sash windows had superseded casements elsewhere.

[1] But Edward II stayed at Kirkby Malzeard from the 20th to the 22nd September, 1323, at Haura and Rammesgill (Ramsgill) on the 23rd, and at Bewerley and Dacre on the 24th, from which he went to Haywra (Haverah Park near Harrogate). See the King's Itinerary as extracted in Grainge's *History of the Forest of Knaresborough, etc.*, p. 345.

Some visitors notice the old church,[1] but few know of two or three overgrown banks in some private grounds; yet these banks are the remains of a castle once the centre of a great lordship known as the Honour or Manor of Kirkby Malzeard, reaching from Great Whernside to the modern boundaries of Ripon, and it is of this forgotten feudal jurisdiction and its component parts that it is proposed to give a description and history.

The writer regrets that he has not the material to enable him to describe the manorial courts or customs, or to give a connected history of the sub manors and estates within the boundaries of the Honour; but before proceeding to give what account he can, he must acknowledge certain sources of information and assistance. In the first instance he is indebted to the Yorkshire Archæological Society for the facilities given him to examine part of the unpublished MSS. of the late W. Farrer, and to the Society's Librarian, Mr. G. E. Kirk, for his voluntary help; he is greatly indebted to Mr. C. T. Clay, the joint honorary secretary of the Record Series, for perusing the draft of this article, making several important suggestions and explaining some technical difficulties; and he would like to acknowledge the kindness of the late Canon Gill of York for his help with some thirteenth-century pedigrees. His thanks are also due to Sir Fred Moore of Mowbray House, Kirkby Malzeard, for opportunities given to inspect the remains of the castle; and finally to Mr. T. Thirkill of Kirkby Malzeard for local information not otherwise obtainable. He believes he has given references to all the printed authorities he has consulted except for the derivations of local place-names, which in every instance (except where otherwise stated) have been taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, by Professor Ekwall.

SECTION I.

THE HONOUR OF KIRKBY MALZEARD.

The Honour[2] of Kirkby Malzeard comprised the manor of Kirkby proper (which the lord of the Honour retained in his own hands) and various sub manors and estates held by their lords

[1] For an excellent description of the churches of Masham and Kirkby Malzeard, and a history of the Peculiar, readers should consult the late H. B. McCall's article "The Peculiar of Masham and Kirkby Malzeard" (*Y.A.S. Journal*, xx, 233–253.

[2] "The honour, in the usual sense of the word, was essentially the fief of a great lord, charged with a definite amount of military service to the King. The word was generally restricted to fiefs held of the King in chief, but it could occasionally be applied to an important

of the Honour of Kirkby, generally by knight service and always by attendance at the Honour Court every three weeks. To this area (which varied, however, in different descriptions) the phrase "the Honour or Manor of Kirkby" was sometimes limited, but it was at others extended to include the Chase of Nidderdale, a large district including the upper part of the Nidd valley.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Kirkby and most of its sub manors were part of the estates of a King's thegn called Gospatric,[1] which were subsequently forfeited: after the forfeiture its history is doubtful, but it is almost certain that these particular holdings of Gospatric were among the manors granted to Robert Grundebeof,[2] otherwise Robert de Stuteville. Robert Grundebeof supported the claims of Robert, the elder brother of Henry I, to the Crown of England, and consequently, after Henry's victory at Tinchebrai, was punished by the forfeiture of estates which were granted to Nigel d'Aubigny, one of the victor's supporters. At any rate it is clear that King Henry granted to Nigel the barony of Thirsk, which included Kirkby, and that this barony passed to Nigel's descendants, the Mowbrays.

mesne tenancy. . . . The unity of the honour was expressed in its court."—*The First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 55, by F. M. Stenton.

In medieval documents Kirkby is called "a manor," with one or two exceptions where it is specifically called "an Honour." Relying on these precedents, and to avoid confusion with the manor proper, the term "Honour" has been used in this article.

[1] Gospatric held in chief 36 manors before the Conquest. His father was Archil, who supported Waltheof, Earl Gospatric and Edgar Atheling when they seized York, and, on the failure of that rising, he joined the Danes and Norsemen in their attack the following year. Gospatric, however, retained the Conqueror's favour, though his lands and those of his father Archil were distributed among the Conqueror's supporters. He is said to have married the daughter of Dolphin, son of Torphin, by whom he had a son Gospatric, who was living in the reign of Henry I; but the claim of the families of Staveley and Thoresby to be descended from him is probably unfounded. (See *Victoria County History, Yorks.*, ii, 183.)

[2] This supposition is based on an account of a lawsuit in 1201 between William de Stuteville and William de Mowbray (See Curia Regis Roll 21, i, 380, and Roger de Hoveden: *Chronica.*) In the reign of Henry II, de Stuteville, a descendant of Grundebeof, disputed the Mowbrays' title under the King's grant to Nigel, and raised a claim to this barony, but had accepted Kirkby Moorside from Roger de Mowbray as a compromise. In 1201, however, the claim was renewed, and (according to Roger de Hoveden) William de Stuteville gave King John 3,000 marks of silver to have judgment of the barony. But once more a compromise was accepted, and de Stuteville remitted and quitclaimed all claim that he had in the barony and (specifically) in William de Mowbray's land at Tresk (Thirsk) and Malesart (Kirkby Malzeard). It is possible that through uncertainty of what the King's grant to Nigel had comprised, the mistaken grant of Stuteville property by Roger de Mowbray to Fountains (referred to on page 387, note 1, below) was made. (It is through Mr. Clay that the writer's attention was drawn to this case.)

The achievements and exploits of the great family of Mowbray,[1] once Dukes of Norfolk, Earls of Nottingham and Earls Marshal of England, were for nearly four centuries so much a part of our national history that it would be out of place to attempt to relate them in a paper dealing with one of the family's less important estates. It is sufficient to say that the arms borne by the Mowbrays were *Gules a lion rampant argent*; that they intermarried with many noble houses, including those of Plantaganet, Neville, Segrave and Fitzalan; and that they had castles and manors at Epworth in the Isle of Axholme and Burton-in-Lonsdale, besides Thirsk and Kirkby Malzeard.

The Mowbrays remained lords of Kirkby until failure in the male line in the late fifteenth century brought about the division of their estates, but during that period the Honour was affected on three different occasions by the misfortunes which overtook its lords. In 1174 Roger de Mowbray, when about fifty-five years of age and at the summit of a brilliant career, joined in a conspiracy with Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham (a cousin of the King), to place Prince Henry on the throne. The castle at Kirkby was besieged and taken by Geoffrey Plantaganet (Bishop-elect of Lincoln and an illegitimate son of the King) and Roger de Pont l'Evêque, Archbishop of York: William the Lion, King of Scotland, who had been drawn into the conspiracy, was captured and the rebellion collapsed, but though Roger de Mowbray surrendered and received a pardon, his castles at Thirsk and Kirkby were dismantled. Again in 1321 John, 2nd Lord Mowbray, joined the Earl of Lancaster's Rising, which was crushed at Boroughbridge: Lord Mowbray was executed at York and his estates were forfeited, though afterwards restored to his family. Lastly, in 1405,[2] Thomas, the 7th Lord Mowbray, was also executed at York for taking part with Archbishop Scrope against Henry IV, and once more the Mowbray estates were forfeited to the Crown, and after a few years once more restored to the family.

After the forfeiture of 1405 Kirkby was granted to the Queen Consort, and in the same year a Commission was given to Henry FitzHugh, Richard Norton and others to enquire into the report

[1] Aubigny (from which the Mowbrays took their original surname) is now Saint-Martin d'Aubigny, dep. Manche, arr. Coutances, canton Periers. Mowbray is derived from Montbrai (historically Monbrai, for the " t " is a modern insertion), dep. Manche, arr. Saint-Lô, canton Perci. Nigel d'Aubigny at some date unknown had a grant of Montbrai etc. from Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland. (See *Complete Peerage*.)

[2] There was no forfeiture of the Mowbray estates on the banishment of Thomas, 6th Lord Mowbray, in 1398. (*Complete Peerage*.)

that certain evil-doers had entered into the Free Chase of Nidderdale, hunted therein and carried away deer. The Queen's enjoyment of the manor, however, seems to have been reduced by a grant made in 1398–9, by which the Duke of Norfolk had granted for life to Richard de Burgh, his chief chamberlain, his manor of "Kirkbymalsart (saving fees, advowsons and the free chase of 'Niderdale'), rendering a red rose yearly at Midsummer and supporting all charges"[1]; for on the death of de Burgh in 1408 the manor with fees and advowsons was again granted to the Queen, so long as it should remain in the King's hands, in part reduction of her dower of 10,000 marks.[2]

On the death without issue of Anne, only daughter of John Mowbray, 4th Duke of Norfolk, the baronies fell into abeyance, Kirkby passing to James Lord Berkeley, descendant of Isabel, daughter and heiress of Thomas, 6th Lord Mowbray, and on the 5th October, 1482, there was an exemplification by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, of a grant of Edward II that John de Mowbray and his heirs should have (*inter alia*) the chase of Nidderdale by certain specified bounds.[3] Finally, in 1490 all association of Kirkby with the Mowbray family was severed when William, Marquess of Berkeley, sold the Honour to Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, whose descendants retained it until the eighteenth century.

The Honour of Kirkby, however, was a term not limited to the lands held directly of the King, but, as we shall see later, included some lordships held of the Archbishop of York; furthermore the term also covered the neighbouring manor of Masham or Mashamshire,[4] granted to Nigel d'Aubigny between 1093 and 1136 by Count Stephen of Brittany, who was lord of the Honour of Richmond. Masham has been so fully described in Fisher's *History of Masham and Mashamshire,* as well as in *The Victoria County History,* that a very brief account of it is required for this article: it is enough to say that shortly after acquiring Masham the Mowbrays granted it to a certain Walter de Buhere; that though some medieval descriptions of Kirkby included it as a member of that Honour, not all did so; and that even the shadow of a connection

[1] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls Hen. IV,* 1399. In 1353 the grant was confirmed by John de Mowbray of the keeping of the free chase of Nidderdale and of the warren of "Kirkeby Maleshart" to his yeoman, William de Acton, for his life, he taking yearly 20/– out of the said manor of Kirkeby (and other places). (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls,* 1350–54, p. 433.)

[2] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls* (1405–8), p. 413.

[3] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls* (1476–85), p. 318.

[4] "Shire" was possibly the name of a sub-division immediately above the township (Stubbs). The Honour of Kirkby was occasionally called Kirkbyshire, and Mashamshire was sometimes called an Honour.

seems to have disappeared before 1600. In spite of this severance, Kirkby and Masham, though in different Ridings, have remained closely connected until recent times, since the main portion of the Honour of Kirkby[1] and the whole of Mashamshire[2] lie within the ancient Parish of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard, formerly a Prebend of York and a Peculiar.[3]

But not only had the lord of Kirkby, in his capacity of *tenant*, three overlords—the King, the Archbishop of York, and the lord of the Honour of Richmond—but it must also be remembered that in his capacity of *lord* he was subject to the special privileges claimed by at least three religious houses in connection with their lands within the Honour. The possessions of the Chapter of Ripon in Studley and Winksley (and possibly in Aldfield) were apparently detached portions of the Liberty of St. Wilfrid; the large estates of Fountains Abbey formed part of the Liberty of Fountains; while the Manor of Masham Prebend[4] lay within the privileged area known as the Liberty of St. Peter.[5]

The tenure by which these religious houses held their land sometimes (as in the case of the Ripon Chapter at Winksley) excused them from the performance of military service on the payment of money, known as scutage, accepted in composition for it[6]; but in

[1] For portions in the Parish of Ripon see Part II of this paper.

[2] Certain portions were formed into the "Chapelry District of Healey" in 1849, which became a separate parish in 1856. The presentation to the Parish of Healey is in the gift of the Vicar of Masham. Before the foundation of Jervaulx Abbey the Mashamshire portion of the Parish had been even more extensive (Fisher).

[3] Masham Prebend. According to Burton, the advowson of Kirkby Malzeard belonged to Byland Abbey. In 1145, however, there were grants by Roger de Mowbray and Samson d'Aubigny (probably an illegitimate son of Nigel and senior to Roger) of the churches of Masham, Kirkby Malzeard (and other places in Lincs.) to Newburgh Priory, but these grants did not take effect, probably because the Archbishop refused to confirm them (McCall). In 1190 the three churches of Masham, Kirkby Malzeard and Langford were constituted a Prebend of York and were exempted from all claims of the Archdeacons and officials (Farrer's MSS.). Masham was the Golden Prebend of the Cathedral of York, being worth £136 in 1534: it was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1546.

[4] The Manor of Masham Prebend consisted of some scattered properties in Mashamshire and Kirkby, and after the dissolution of the Prebend eventually became the property of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is now in process of extinction under the provisions of the Law of Property Act, 1922. There is another reference to it on p. 361 below.

[5] For the large privileges enjoyed by the tenants of the Liberty of St. Wilfrid, which presumably included the Chapter's estates in Studley and Winksley, see *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 50; for those of the Liberty of Fountains see *Ibid.*, p. 70 (a pinder for this Liberty, with nominal duties, was appointed until a few years ago): for the Liberty of St. Peter see Drake's *History of York*, pp. 547–8. The Liberty of Byland did not include the Nidderdale estates of that Abbey.

[6] Y.A.S. Record Series, lxvii, 158.

other cases, like that of the Abbot of Fountains, the land was held by military tenure. But Liberty privileges principally affected the lord of Kirkby by compelling the tenants of religious houses to attend special courts outside his manor, and furthermore by conferring on these tenants rights and exemptions, which, as in the case of freedom from his market tolls,[1] might be much to his disadvantage.

At a valuation of Kirkby in an Inquisition after the death of Roger de Mowbray, made at York in 1300,[2] the following persons were the tenants of the Honour—

[1] The immunity of the tenants of the Liberty of Fountains from market tolls so adversely affected the Archbishop of York that (according to Walbran) it was the subject of a test case tried in the Borough Court of Ripon in 1384, which was decided in favour of Fountains.

[2] See Grainge's *Vale of Mowbray*, Appendix No. I, from which this account is summarised. It is interesting to compare it with a document given in the same Appendix (No. II) which was a valuation of the same estates made in 1326, of which the following is a copy:

John de Wauton ..	Manor of Masham ..	1	knight's fee	worth	cs.	
Abbot of Fountains ..	Slenningforth Grantley and other places ..	1¼	,,	,,	,,	xxvs.
John de Walkingham	1 carucate in Braithweit ..	1/12th	,,	,,	,,	xs.
John Gras	½ carucate in Grantley and other places ..	1/24th	,,	,,	,,	xs.
Roger de Nonewick ..	½ carucate in Ketesmore ..	1/24th	,,	,,	,,	vmc.
Dñs. Andreas de Merkenfield ..	½ carucate in Winksley	—	,,	,,	,,	vmc.
William de Aldfield ..	Aldfield and other places	1/4th	,,	,,	,,	xxvs.
Thomas de Beltoft ..	Azerley	1/20th	,,	,,	,,	vs.
William Russell ..	½ carucate in Azerley	1/20th	,,	,,	,,	vs.
John de Wareyne ..	Stodley Roger ..	1/4th	,,	,,	,,	xxvs.
Peter de Shypton ..	½ carucate in Winksley	1/24th	,,	,,	,,	vs.
John de Cokewald ..	2 oxgangs in Azerley	—	,,	,,	,,	xld.
Nicholas Lamberd ..	3 acres in ? ..	—	,,	,,		lxxxd.
Richard de Fauner ..	Riggeton	1/4th	,,	,,	,,	xxvs.
Richard de Gray ..	Landforth	1	,,	,,	,,	xxli.

[Riggeton (Rigton) and Landforth were probably not part of the Honour in any sense.]

The following is an extract from the list of Lay Subsidies in 1379:

	Number of Payments	Amount £ s. d.
Kirkebymalesart cum Laverton, Missese, Lungle, Skelden, Dala Sweton, Dalehouses and Nidderdale	164 ..	2 15 8
Wynkeslay	20 ..	6 10
Aldefeld	74 ..	1 5 2
Growelthorp	59 ..	1 2 2
Azerlawe w. Galghah, Mickley and Brathwait	83 ..	1 9 2
	400	£6 19 0

William de Aldfield:
3 carucates in Aldfield and Stodley
1/4th knight's fee worth £6 p.a.

Agnes d. of John de Stodley:
3 carucates in Stodley
1/4th knight's fee worth £6 p.a.

John son of Alan de Walkingham:
2 carucates and 2 mills in Acerh and Kirkebye
1/6th knight's fee worth £10 p.a.

Roger and Thomas de Beltoft:
2 carucates in Acerh and Kirkebye
1/6th knight's fee worth £4 p.a.

John de Walkingham:
One carucate in Braithwit
1/8th knight's fee worth 40/– p.a.

Richard Folliott:
$1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates in Winkesley
1/36th knight's fee worth 60/– p.a.

Robert de Nonwick Junr.:
One carucate in Kettesmore
1/20th knight's fee worth 20/– p.a.

The Abbot of Fountains:
3 carucates in Swetton, Carlemore and Kirkeby
1/53rd knight's fee worth 30/– p.a.

The same Abbot:
2 carucates in Grewelthorpe
1/8th knight's fee worth £4 p.a.

Isabella la Grace and Thomas de la Christine:
2 carucates in Grantley
1/6th knight's fee worth 40/– p.a.

Alan le Oyselour:
One bovate in Kirkebye
1/96th knight's fee worth 5/– p.a.

Honoribus Benesit (Henry Balar):
Half a carucate in Grewelthorpe
1/24th knight's fee worth 20/– p.a.

The Prior of Newburgh:
One carucate in Mikelhowe
1/12th knight's fee worth 40/– p.a.

At an Inquest held at Boroughbridge on the 29th March, 1307,[1] the metes and bounds of the chase of Nidderdale (in which term the manor of Kirkby itself was comprised) were found to include the chase of Nidderdale proper, and the districts of Mashamshire, Grantley, Aldfield, Studley, and Sleningford; while in a description of the Honour in 1600 (for which see Fisher's *Masham* quoted above) Mashamshire, Sleningford and Nidderdale chase were not mentioned, though the latter was included in the Honour on a plan made the same year. Nidderdale itself had originally comprised Hartwith and Winsley, but since these places had become entirely the property of Fountains Abbey by 1300, the above descriptions of the Honour omit them.

The plan or map of the Honour to which we have referred is preserved in the Wakeman's House Museum at Ripon and is very interesting, since it is possible to identify from it the sites of several boundary marks now lost[2]: unfortunately it is impracticable to reproduce this map, but the map which has been drawn for this paper, based on the Ordnance Survey, gives some of the old names, and also shews the position of the different manors and places which are described or referred to later.

The Castle.

The seat of manorial administration for this very extensive district was the castle which the Mowbrays built at Kirkby, only

[1] Y.A.S. Record Series, xxxvii, 148.

[2] The boundaries of Nidderdale are described in the inquest of 1307 referred to above, and in some instances the boundary marks, are shewn in the plan accompanying this paper: the mysterious name "Manslaghte" seems to indicate a place near Hackfall, Grewelthorpe. In the description of 1600 the following names occur, which are also found in the map of that date, namely, Frost Stone, the Writhen Stone, Studley Cross, the Baron Way (a highway now lost which crossed the R. Skell at Hellwath near Studley, the R. Laver at Clotherholme and possibly the R. Ure by a ford in Ripon Parks); and five crosses, namely, Headless Cross on Nutwith Edge, Roger of Carrgill Head Cross, Kettleston Cross, High Cross on Dallow Moor and Clotherholme Cross. Some boundary crosses are shewn on the Ordnance Survey Map, namely, Cinderhow Cross (Synderhou 1259 and Stynderhoue 1307) (omitted in the latest Ordnance Survey), Low Langwith Cross, High Hayland Cross, Hayland Cross and Pilsden Cross (Pylesden 1259). The various monastic houses enclosed wide stretches of country within walls, now generally represented by ditches. In the 18th-century Perambulation of the Forest of Knaresborough, the forest was found to be separated from Nidderdale by a stone called "the Abbot's Hand" near Greenhow, and for some distance by the "Monk Wall," which stood near the banks of Padside and Darley Becks and the R. Nidd below Clint, after which (between the R. Nidd and the Thornton Beck) the wall formed the only visible boundary. This stretch of wall would belong partly to Byland and partly to Fountains. In the Perambulation of Ripon Liberty in 1481 (*Ripon Chapter Acts*, p. 344) reference is made to a wall called "the Monckstone Wall," which separated the Fountains possessions in Sleningford from Azerley.

to be destroyed after the rebellion of 1174: to-day its remains consist of a shapeless mound called "Castle Hill," mostly concealed by trees and bushes, while from this mound, in a southerly direction, runs a long bank cut through by a carriage drive, near which cutting a workman once lost an iron bar through its falling into a hole, supposed to be some underground building.

In the early nineteenth century, however, the remains were more extensive, and Whitaker, in his *History of Richmondshire*, described the castle in the following words: "Its foundations and the gigantic earthwork which surrounded it; are still very conspicuous at the East end of the Churchyard; and the groundwork of the great hall, the chapel, and other apartments within the bailey, have been disclosed, by digging out stone for the use of a neighbouring house, where several Norman capitals and bases have been discovered. The situation is advantageous, having a steep declivity descending to the Kesbeck, which appears to have been separated into a pool on the North; while on the more accessible sides art has abundantly supplied what nature had witholden. The whole circuit was an oval enclosing a single area, without a keep, and the principal buildings were placed, for the purpose of admitting light and sunshine, nearly against the North wall of the bailey and towards the East end. In this line have been three principal apartments, of which that on the West seems to have been the kitchen; next, the great hall; and, lastly, a smaller apartment, by the door of which a Norman base and the stump of a cross have been dug up. This seems to have been the chapel. Another large oblong apartment, rather Southward from this line, may have been the stables. The whole area scarcely exceeds half an acre."

Whitaker's description of the castle has been given *verbatim*, not only because much has disappeared since his day, but because his words prove the existence of a medieval stone building more definitely than the loose stones, some of doubtful origin, now on the site. Probably it will be urged that the early castle of the Mowbrays would not be built of stone but of earth and timber; and that even if it were built of stone the existing carved fragments are of too late a style of decoration to have formed part of a twelfth-century castle, and in some cases have a definitely ecclesiastical origin. While realising the force of these objections, it is useless to ignore the very definite evidence of Whitaker,[1] and the explana-

[1] In the Wallace collection there is a water-colour painting by Turner described as "Kirkby Lodge, Ripon." It represents the ravine of the Kex Beck and shews (rather indefinitely) ruined masonry on "Castle Hill."

tion would seem to be that the stone foundations seen by him, and perhaps some of the loose material now on the site, are the remains of a later manor house, perhaps of no great strength or size, but built inside the ruined earthworks of the original fortress of the Mowbrays, which, like that of Thirsk, destroyed after the same insurrection, never recovered its former greatness.

SECTION II.

THE MEMBERS OF THE HONOUR.

The Honour of Kirkby, as we have seen, included the Manor proper of Kirkby and certain other manors in Azerley[1] and Grewelthorpe in the Parish of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard, and in Aldfield, Studley and Winksley in the Parish of Ripon; furthermore, the term generally included not only the extensive chase of Nidderdale but places within the Manor and Liberty of Ripon, which, though not strictly parts of the Honour, were in practice treated as such. It is therefore now proposed to describe these manors and their histories so far as the sometimes scanty information will permit.

Sub-section 1.

THE MANOR OF KIRKBY MALZEARD.

Kirkby is described in the Domesday Survey as follows: "In Chirchebi Gospatric had five carucates of land for geld. Land to three ploughs. Now he has one plough there and eight villeins with one plough. Underwood one leuga in length and as much in breadth." At the time of Edward the Confessor it had been worth thirty shillings, but was then[2] worth twenty shillings.

The next detailed description of the manor is contained in an Inquisition held on the death of Roger de Mowbray in 1297–8, which gives the following particulars: The manor of "Kyrkbyemalsarde" was held of the King in chief of the Barony of Treske (Thirsk) by doing suit at the County Courts of York yearly, doing homage to the King with foreign service, and finding five harnessed horses in the King's wars for the barony and other lands. The capital messuage and gardens were worth 6/8 per an. There were 140 acres of arable land at sixpence per acre, 20 acres of untilled

[1] Part of Galphay in Azerley township lay within the Parish of Ripon.

[2] "Then" signified the condition at the time of the Survey in 1086, after the desolation of the North by the Conqueror. "The time of Edward the Confessor" will in later references be indicated by the initials "T.R.E." The descriptions in Domesday of other places within the Honour, then separate manors in the hands of Gospatric, will be given when these places are described.

land at fivepence per acre and 29 acres of meadow at sixpence per acre. There was a warren and a vaccary each of which were worth 26/8, the agistment in Scheldene (Skelden) and Grantley were worth 5/–, turbary 5/–, rents of free tenants 33/– per an., a pound of pepper worth 12*d.*, and a pair of gloves a penny. There were 16 bovates of land in bondage each worth 7/–, one bovate worth 6/–, 20 cottages worth 34/8, Staynemore[1] pasture 2/–, pannage 12*d.*, and fines and pleas of court 26/8. The total value of the whole was £20 3*s.* 7*d.* There were also three woods in the manor—Baggewyth,[2] Ghimsker and Bowfall[3]—and two marks-worth of underwood could be sold from them without waste each year. There was also a lead mine worth 30/–.

It follows from this description that the manor included the present townships of Kirkby Malzeard, Laverton,[4] Skelden[5] and Grantley[6] (though Grantley and possibly Skelden were members of the Manor of Ripon), and the places now known as Biggin,[7] Carles-

[1] Staynmore (Stainmoor) lies to the south of the village; it is now enclosed but is marked on the Ordnance Map.

[2] Baggewyth, now Bagwith Brae, a farm and district on the Stock Beck.

[3] Ghimesker and Bowfall are now unknown.

[4] Laverton. Its description in the Domesday Survey is as follows: (1) "In Lauertone (land of the King) Floteman had half a carucate of land for geld. Land to four oxen. Worth 3/–." (2) "In Lauretone Gospatric has 2½ carucates for geld. Land to one plough. Now one villein is there and one bordar. T.R.E. worth 20/–. Now 4/–." (3) "In Laueton, Uchil and Uluric had three carucates of land for geld. Land to two ploughs. They have one plough there. It was worth 11/–." (4) In Lauretona, 4½ carucates belonged to Robert de Bruis. (5) Gospatric 2½ carucates, the King 3½ carucates (Recapitulation). Laverton was included in Kirkby in the Lay Subsidies list of 1379. Fountains Abbey received various gifts of land there (See Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary* and Farrer's MSS.). At "Layrton" in 1535 the Fountains possessions were worth 14/– per an. (*Mem. of Fountains*, i, 255). In 1488 John Pygott gave by his Will a freehold farm in Layton (Laverton ?) to Katherine his wife (*Ripon Chapter Acts*, p. 266). Laverton is still sometimes pronounced Larton by old people.

[5] Skelden or Skelding (Parish of Ripon). From the Domesday Survey it appears that Kenarsforde (Skelden) was a berewic (comprising I½ carucates—Recapitulation) belonging to the Archbishop of York's Manor of Ripon, and that Gospatric had there (*i.e.* in "Neresforde") half a carucate of land, then waste, for geld. On the 12th June, 1328, Sir John de Mowbray did homage to the Archbishop for his lands and tenements which he claimed to hold in Riponshire, namely: Skelden "which was once called Knarford" (Reg. Melton, fo. 593b). This explodes the theory advanced in Speight's *Nidderdale* that Skelden was the present Pateley Bridge. Subsequently it never seems to have been treated as part of the Manor or Liberty of Ripon.

[6] Grantley (Parish of Ripon). This lordship belonged successively to the families of Aleman, le Gras, and at a later date to the Nortons (See *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 68).

[7] Biggin (a building or house). This was a grange of Newburgh Priory and demised with other property in 1535 by Robert (its Prior) and the Convent to George Clapham of "Byggynge" for eighty years (Y.A.S. Record Series, *Yorks. Deeds*, lxv, 104). At the Dissolution "Biggynge alias Conesage" was worth £4 13*s.* 4*d.* (Dugdale).

moor,[1] Dallowgill,[2] Lumley Moor,[3] Missies[4] and Swetton.[5] A large part of this area, however, had become the property of the monastic houses of Byland,[6] Fountains[7] and Newburgh,[8] while the Prebendal Manor of Masham had two free tenements with their crofts and 1a. 3r. of land, and four tenements, four oxgangs and seven cottages held by bondage in or near Kirkby itself.[9]

It is interesting to consider to what extent Kirkby was of importance in medieval times: the castle, destroyed in 1174, was rebuilt in some form, but never afterwards a place of note,[10] though it would provide a seat of feudal administration. By a Charter dated 20th March, 1307, the right was granted to John de Mowbray and his heirs to hold a market every Monday at his manor of "Kyrkeby Malasart" and fairs there yearly on the eve, the day and the morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary, and the eve, the day

[1] Carlesmoor (The moor of Carl—Old Norse or Old Danish *Karl*). Gospatric had two carucates of land for geld and land to one plough there at the time of the Domesday Survey. Fountains Abbey had land there under various charters (see Lancaster) which in 1535 was valued at lviij*s.* viij*d.* (*Mem. of Fountains*, i, 256). Newburgh Priory also had land there. See note 8 below.

[2] Dallowgill, formerly Dala, formed part of a grant of land made to Fountains by Roger de Mowbray (see Fountains Earth, p. 386 below). It became one of the Abbey granges and was worth £4 15*s.* p.a. in 1535.

[3] Lumley Moor was called Lungley until some sixty years ago. See Aldfield, p. 372, note 5 below.

[4] Missies (formerly Misise) is a district including several farms in the township of Laverton. In 1230 Alan de Walkingham (see p. 366 below) held land at "Miseise" of Hugh de Beltoft.

[5] Swetton. The description of this place in the Domesday Survey runs: "In Suatone, Gospatric had two carucates of land for geld. Land to one plough." The monastic houses of Byland, Fountains and Newburgh had property there. That of Fountains was worth £2 6*s.* per an. in 1535.

[6] By an agreement made between the abbeys of Byland and Fountains in 1184, it was arranged that Byland, in return for certain benefits, should have only 35 (in one charter 40) acres in tillage in Kirkby Malzeard for provender for their pack-horses and no other land there or in Winksley or the Studleys (Lancaster). At the Dissolution the property of Byland in Kirkby was worth £1 13*s.* 4*d.* (Dugdale).

[7] Some of the grants to Fountains were made by the Mowbrays' tenants: *e.g.* in 1323, there was a licence for alienation in mortmain by Robert de Carleton of three messuages, three bovates and four acres of land in Kirkby Malzeard and Azerley.

[8] The various grants to Newburgh were confirmed by John de Mowbray: they related to lands in "Kirkby Malesard," Swetton, "Azerlagh," Bigging, "Carlesmore," and "Mickelhaye" (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1388–92). By an Inspeximus and Confirmation dated 4th March, 1478 (at Westminster), the King granted and confirmed to Newburgh the gift which Roger de Mowbray had made to it, which included the church of Malesart and two bovates of land in Malesart (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1476–85, p. 93). At the Dissolution the Newburgh possessions in Kirkby itself were worth £1 12*s.* (Dugdale).

[9] Fisher's *History of Masham.*

[10] But its importance was remembered. Leland wrote that on his way from Masham to Ripon he "left hard on the lifte hand Kirkeby Malesart, where Moulbray had ons a great castelle," and he added that the country round about was well wooded and had good pastures (Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii, 115).

and the morrow of St. Nicholas, and these privileges doubtless attracted the trade of a large if sparsely populated district. Finally, the possession of the parish church, the ecclesiastical centre for most of the Honour, secured the periodic attendance at Kirkby not only of the dwellers in neighbouring villages but of the inhabitants of most of upper Nidderdale.[1]

Sub-section 2.

MANORS WITHIN THE HONOUR PROPER.

THE MANORS OF GREWELTHORPE.

Grewelthorpe is a village about a mile north of Kirkby. Its name is of doubtful origin, but presumes an Old English personal name. In medieval documents the place is frequently described as "Thorp in Kirkbyshire," *Thorp* being a Danish word which signified a small village due to colonisation from a larger one.[2]

In the Domesday Survey Grewelthorpe is described as follows: "In Torp Gospatric had seven carucates of land for geld. Land to three ploughs. He has there one plough and three villeins and two bordars[3] with one plough. Underwood half a leuga in length and four quarentines in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20/–, now 10/–."

In 1301 it was found that the Abbot of Fountains held of Roger de Mowbray two carucates in "Growelthorpe" for 1/8th of a knight's fee and worth £4 per an., and that Henry Be(au)fiz had one carucate and a half for 1/24th of a knight's fee and worth £1 per an.

In 1303 "Grouelthorp," described as part of the Mowbray fee, was found to contain four carucates, of which ten equalled a knight's

[1] There are several interesting field-names in Kirkby. Some fields called Angram (meaning grazing ground) remind us that in 1354, a pardon was granted by the King to Thomas de Fencotes for acquiring for life from John de Mowbray a close called Angrum and a vaccary in Kirkeby Malassart held in chief, and entering without licence (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1354–8, p. 38). Hallum, now Hallams, is referred to in the Fountains charters, while among others are Bigars, Boons, Cradget Ways, Dinner Dales (or Dinadills), Fidlers Leas, Gallows Hill, Lagrams, Lair Close, Morpley Gate, Norwick Pasture (possibly the Northwaite incidentally referred to in a grant by Roger de Mowbray to Byland in 1173-86), Standerdales and Whitelands. In Laverton are found Belforth, Buttree Close (possibly the tillage called Bywrteflath granted by Roger de Mowbray to Byland about 1170–87 together with Alnaf his man), Capplemire, Cripple Hole, Crooks, Coril Wood, Gormire, Kanazar Field, Lady Hill, Lair Close, Piper Garth, Tranmire, Trismans and Whecher Field.

[2] English Place-Name Society.

[3] A bordar was a husbandman or cottar.

fee, the Abbot of Fountains holding two and the Templars two or three, though it seems certain from the Templars' charters that they had six,[1] besides other lands granted to them at different times.

The Templars' lands included five roods under "Tunstalhou," with other land granted by Aikil de Thorp "to God, the Blessed Mary and the light of the Holy Ghost in the chapel of Penhill"[2]; while Roger de Mowbray had also granted to them "mairemium" or wood for building, in his forest of Nidderdale, Malzeard and Masham, for the purpose of erecting their houses of Pennel (Penhill), Cutuna (East Cowton) and Reinhou (?).[3] The Templars' possessions in Grewelthorpe are perhaps commemorated by the name 'Temple Lands' given to a small field on the south side of the village, while another field called 'Mole' or 'Mull' is possibly a corruption of the place-name 'Mulhou' referred to in one of their charters in the Ribston collection.[4]

There must have been, therefore, at least two manors in Grewelthorpe, one held by Fountains Abbey and the other by the Templars. The Abbey manor may be represented by that now belonging to the owner of the Swinton estate, while that of the Templars passed to the Knights of St. John and after the Dissolution to the Goodricks of Ribston, who are said to have sold all the lands to the tenants but to have retained the "royalty."[5]

Besides these manors there were other estates in Grewelthorpe. In 1317 a Peter son of William de Middleton, guardian to Robert son and heir of Richard de Schupton,[6] granted to Robert de Newby, Rector of Hotonwandesley, the capital messuage of Grewelthorpe, with lands, tenants and rents and a water mill. Again, it is recorded in the Fountains charters[7] that William son of William de Plumpton,

[1] "Ribston Charters," *Y.A.S. Journal*, vol. viii.

[2] The foundations of the chapel near Swinnithwaite in Wensleydale still remain (See Speight's *Richmondshire*, pp. 417–27).

[3] "Ribston Charters," *Y.A.S. Journal*, vol. viii.

[4] Among other interesting names in this township are Blazedale, Crimpledale, Gravedale (Grovedale Farm), Fingerfield, Hurley Hole and Pry.

[5] Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii, 116.

[6] In the *Fine Rolls* (Vol. 3) there are three references to orders to the Escheator "on this side Trent" relating to the Grewelthorpe possessions of this family. On the 29th December, 1322, and the 5th January, 1324, the Escheator was ordered to take into the King's hands the lands late of Robert son of Richard de Shipton (or Shupton) of "Grouelthorp," deceased tenant in chief (though it afterwards appeared that the man was still living—*Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1327–30, p. 41); and on the 2nd April, 1324, the same Escheator was ordered to make partition of these lands equally between the heirs, *viz.*: Richard Paytefyn and Elizabeth late the wife of William Gryvel, aunt and other heir of the said Robert.

[7] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*.

Kt., for the health of lord Roger de Mowbray, granted to Walter the thatcher, Roger de Fetherby, Richard the carpenter of Thorpe Malesar' and others, their heirs and assigns and all the commonalty of the said vill, freemen and others, land and pasture in Notewyth (now Nutwith Common) and Haggenridyng (which he had of the gift of Roger de Mowbray) for ever, to use for feeding or as they wished, at the yearly rent of 16/1 for all customs, suit of court, etc. In 1345 William de Plumpton, "chivaler," obtained a licence to alienate in mortmain certain property in Kirkby Malassart, Grewelthorpe and other places to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the Church of St. Wilfrid, Ripon, for the good estate of the said William, etc.[1] Apparently the FitzRandolfs[2] also had a messuage and other lands in Grewelthorpe, for in 1405 these properties were in the King's hands through forfeiture and were granted to Richard de Thorp (to the value of £5 yearly) for his good service to the King's father and to the King.[3]

Materials are not available to enable the descent of these manors and estates to be traced, but as we have said, the owner of the neighbouring Swinton Estate is to-day, and has been for many years, the lord of the manor of Grewelthorpe.

Bramley Grange.

The present large township of Grewelthorpe includes the hamlet or district of Bramley Grange (the name Bramley signifying a clearing overgrown with broom). At the time of the Domesday Survey Gospatric had two carucates of land for geld, and land to one plough there. Subsequently it became a grange of Fountains Abbey,[4] an estate which included the present farms of Ellershaw (Aluescage) and Foulgate Nook (Fulgate Leez). For this grange and other properties in Grewelthorpe (equal to two carucates) the

[1] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1343–5, p. 455. This, perhaps, was the tenement, cottage and piece of land which the Chantry of the Holy Trinity above the High Altar in the Choir of Ripon Minster possessed in 1545–6, the annual rents of which were worth £1 (*Mem. of Ripon*, iii, 70–1, etc.).

[2] Presumably the family of Fitz-Randolph of Spennithorne near Middleham. The FitzRandolphs were descendants of Ribald, brother of Count Alan of Richmond, and were the ancient lords of Middleham until, through failure of male heirs in the late 13th century, their estates passed from them by marriage to the Nevilles. The Spennithorne branch sprang from Ranulph Fitz-Randolph (a younger son) and latterly became known as Fitz-Randall: it died out in the early 16th century.

[3] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls Hen. IV*, 1405–8, p. 36. (The *Calendar of Patent Rolls* is henceforth referred to as *C.P.R.*)

[4] See the bounds given in the Confirmation by Roger de Mowbray (Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, Bramley Grange, 4; also Farrer's MSS.).

Abbey paid 8/– in 1353 " de exonerando et auxilio," and in 1535 the grange alone was found to be worth £11 9*s.* per an.[1]

Kexmoor.

Grewelthorpe also included a detached portion called Kexmoor (Ketil's Moor), also called " Cotesmore " in the Domesday Survey, where it was stated that Gospatric had two carucates of land for geld and land to one plough there. In 1177–86 Roger de Mowbray granted to Newburgh Priory lands and underwoods in a triangle upon Kexmoor formed by Keldbeck, Kexbeck and " Ruth-hau," including " the Routhmire."[2] Evidently this grant did not include the whole of Kexmoor, for in 1301 Robert de Nonewick[3] the Younger held a carucate in Ketilsmoor by 1/20th part of a knight's fee and worth 20/– per an. of Roger de Mowbray,[4] but in 1326 this holding only amounted to half a carucate (equal to 1/24th of a knight's fee) and was worth VMC.

THE MANORS OF AZERLEY.

The name Azerley is derived from the Old Norse *Azuer* or the Old Danish *Azzor*. The village of Azerley only consists of a few cottages, but the township includes the villages of Galphay and Mickley.

At the time of the Domesday Survey there were apparently three manors in Azerley, which are described there as follows: (1) " In Asserle, Gospatric has five carucates of land for geld. Land to three ploughs. He has now one plough there and one villein and two bordars with one plough. T.R.E. worth 20/–, now 10/–." (2) " In Aserla, Orm (a King's thane) had half a carucate of land for geld. Land to half a plough. The same has it and it is waste." (3) " In Haserlai, Robert de Bruis[5] had six carucates." (According to the Recapitulation Gospatric had five and a half carucates in " Aserle " and the King half a carucate.)

[1] *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 323. For an account of the family of yeoman farmers called Mann, who lived there in the 17th and 18th centuries, see *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 243 and 342.

[2] Farrer's MSS.

[3] For an account of the family of Nunwick see *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 65. Kexmoor is now merged in Kirkby Malzeard township.

[4] *Yorkshire Inquisitions* (Y.A.S. Record Series, vol. xxxi).

[5] Azerley was a part of the Brus Fee. Nigel d'Aubigny probably exchanged Gospatric's land in Laverton, Clareton (Parish of Goldsborough), and a portion of Thornborough (Parish of West Tanfield), with Robert de Brus for Azerley (See Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ii, 18).

Kirkby's *Inquest* (1286–7) shewed that two parts of Azerley were held by Roger de Mowbray of the King in chief, and the remaining third by Hugo de Beltoft[1] and Egidia his wife for a third of a knight's fee, though according to a list of knights' fees in 1303, there were only five carucates in Azerley and its dependencies, of which ten carucates equalled a knight's fee.

In 1301 there were still two manors; Roger and Thomas de Beltoft had two carucates in Azerley and Kirkby (equal to 1/6th of a knight's fee and worth £4 per an.), while John son of Alan of Walkyngham,[2] held two carucates and two mills in the same places, equal to one sixth of a knight's fee and worth £10 per an. In addition, Nigel de Aldefeld had a messuage and a bovate of land between these two holdings, which afterwards came into the possession of Fountains Abbey and were worth 10/– in 1535.

The Walkingham holding seems to have passed to a family called Cantelupe by 1338,[3] who still held it in 1354,[4] and in 1390 the Cantelupe properties in "Azerlawe" and "Braythwayt" (stated to be parcel of the manor of Ravensthorpe) were in the

[1] Thomas de Beltoft had 1/20th knight's fee, worth 5/–, in 1326. From a petition of Roger de Beltoft dated 24th July, 1360, it appears that the manor of "Azerlagh" (consisting of lands in Azerley, Kirkby and Thirsk), then held in chief of the King, had been alienated by Nigel de Mowbray to Robert son of William "le Chaumberleyn" to be held of Nigel by the service of 1/20th of a knight's fee; that Roger son of William le Chaumberleyn of Morton, into whose hands these lands had come, had granted them to Robert de Beltoft, one of the petitioner's ancestors; also that all those successively had entered into the lands without licence, for which their lands had been taken into the King's hands. Roger the petitioner was pardoned on the payment of five marks (instead of ten marks) on account of his poverty (*C.P.R.*, xi, 438). In 1375 Richard de Morton of Scotton and Marjery his wife (whose first husband had been Peter de Beltoft) were fined 100/– for entering on the manor of "Azerlegh," which had passed to Thomas de Beltoft his son: upon the inquisition it was found that the heir was under age (*C.P.R.*, 49 Edw. III, xvi, 79). The Beltofts appear to have been the family of Beltoft of Belton, Lincs., a short pedigree of which is given in *The Genealogist*, New Series, xiv, 192. They also appear to have been sometimes called Bellun. Geoffrey de Bellun succeeded Nicholas his brother *temp.* Ric. I and was in turn succeeded by Nicholas his son, who gave various small tenements in Winksley to Fountains, which were subsequently confirmed to that monastery by John de Winksley his brother (Farrer's MSS.).

[2] WALKINGHAM of Walkingham in the Parish of Farnham near Knaresborough. Sir Alan de Walkingham (living 1273) died leaving his sister sole heiress: she married Thomas de Scriven. The Walkinghams' manor house was on the right hand of the road leading from Farnham to Walkingham Hill. For a plan of its moats, see Allcroft's *Earthwork of England*, p. 481. The arms of Walkingham were *Vair two bars gu.*

[3] *Yorks. Fines*, Y.A.S. Record Series, 1327–77. A suit respecting the inheritance of William de Cantelupe, who died in 1375, gives a pedigree of six generations of this family, the inheritance of which passed to daughters, who had married into the Hastings and Zouche families.

[4] Y.A.S. Record Series, xlii, 142.

King's hands and the subject of a dispute between William son and heir of William la Zouche (the successful claimant of a moiety) and Robert de Roos of Ingmanthorpe.[1]

In 1381 John, lord Neville of Raby, had a chase and house at " Aserlawe " and free chase in Kirkby Malzeard and Nidderdale, for in that year he made complaint that Ranulph Pygot (of Clotherholme near Ripon), Nicholas Giliot (probably lord of the manor of Markington near Ripon), John de Haukeswyk and others, broke into his close and house at " Aserlawe Co. York, entered and hunted in his free chase in Kirkby and Nidderdale, and in his free warren there and at Snape, ... depastured his growing corn and grass (in those places) and assaulted his servants and tenants there."[2] Dr. Horsfall, in *The Manor of Well and Snape*, quotes this trespass as shewing the disturbed state of the peasantry, apparently not being aware that Pigot was a wealthy landowner, and the other poachers probably his friends. In the previous year Pigot himself had complained of a similar raid made on Clotherholme by William Starre of " Aserlawe," Richard Sanderson of Kirkby Malzeard, Robert Boulard, chaplain, and others, so that this may have been an act of reprisal.[3]

According to Whitaker[4] the manor of Azerley was purchased in 1566 by William Tankred of Boroughbridge from Gilbert Dawson of Azerley, when it included four messuages, two cottages, six tofts, six barns, one mill, six gardens, six orchards, 200 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, 10 acres of wood, 40 acres of moor, 60 acres of heath, and 5/– rent; but whatever was the nature of the transaction referred to, the family of Dawson[5] retained the estate until 1828, about which time it was acquired by the Cromptons, its present owners.

[1] For a full account of various inquisitions and orders to the escheator, see *Cal. of Fine Rolls* (1390–1), Vols. 10 and 11.

[2] *C.P.R.*, Ric. II (1377–81), p. 94.

[3] For other evidence that poaching parties over neighbours' lands were a popular amusement of quite respectable people, see *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 79, footnote. In royal forests poaching expeditions were fashionable up to the early 18th century (Cox: *The Royal Forests of England*).

[4] *History of Richmondshire*, ii, 116.

[5] Dawson. This family, perhaps formerly settled at Spaldington, divided into two branches in the 16th century, *viz.*, the Dawsons of Azerley and the Dawsons of Coverdale. From the former branch sprang the Dawsons of Ripon, a wealthy family who acquired the Thorpe Prebend House in Ripon, which they re-built and where they entertained James I. They remained steadfastly loyal to their King during the civil wars. A somewhat disconnected pedigree of the family is given in Vol. II of Howard's *Miscellanea Genealogica and Heraldica*. The Dawsons bore the following arms—(1) and (4), *Erm. on a canton az. a hart lodged or*; (2) and (3), *Az. a chevron erm. between three arrows or, feathered and barbed arg.; on a chief of the last three daws sa., beaked and membered gu., a canton*

Besides these manors there were other estates in Azerley: Fountains Abbey had property in it[1]; Newburgh Priory[2] had a manor which was demised by the Prior and Convent to George Clapham in 1535; while Robert son of Robert of Sicklinghall had given to the Blessed Mary and St. Katherine of Penhill,[3] for the maintenance of a light there, a bovate of land and two tofts in "Aserleye" in pure alms for the annual rent of a pound of cumin payable at Pentecost.[4]

A few interesting names are to be found in the Tithe Award for Azerley township: a field called 'Man's Mire' is referred to as 'Mannesmire' in one of the Fountains charters, while two other fields bear the curious names of 'Egglesbury' and 'Holsters.' Until recently there was a detached part of the township called Azerley Grange, while within the township itself are Braithwaite Hall, Galphay and Mickley.

Braithwaite.

The name Braithwaite signifies a broad clearing and is of Scandinavian origin. In the twelfth century Fountains Abbey[5] received grants of land in Braithwaite from a family which took its name from this place, but John de Walkyngham also had a carucate in "Bradewath" equal to 1/8th of a knight's fee and worth 40/– per an.,[6] for which he did suit of court at Kirkby, and this holding was included in the fine of 1354 referred to above. William de Cantelupe[7] also had lands in this district.

In the eighteenth century a family called Braithwaite[8] still

gu. charged with a mullet or (Dawson of Spaldington). This latter quartering was the original coat, which they gradually discarded. Their crests were *A hound sa. on a mount vert* (Dawson of Spaldington) and *A cat's head erased proper with a mouse sa. in its mouth.* Their motto was *Nil conscire sibi.*

[1] Given by the families of Aldfield, Beltoft and Clotherum (See Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary* and Farrer's MSS.).

[2] *Yorks. Deeds* (Y.A.S. Record Series), Vol. IV. The Newburgh property in Azerley must have been small, since it was worth only 5/– at the Dissolution (Dugdale).

[3] Penhill (see p. 363, note 2, above). Sicklinghall was sued for an estate in Azerley in 1232 by William de Stodley, who remitted his claim.

[4] "Ribstone Charters," No. 26.

[5] Confirmation of Ric. I (*Mem. of Fountains*, ii, 9). See also Lancaster and Farrer.

[6] See p. 366 above.

[7] See *Fine Rolls*, ix, 12 and 69; also Commission to Sir William Roos and the Sheriff of York in 1391 touching waste in lands and tenements late belonging to him in "Azerlawe, Braythewyt, Docketlofthouse," and other places (*C.P.R.*, 1388–92, p. 445).

[8] The family of Braithwaite bore the following arms: *Gu. on a chevron arg. three crosses crosslet fitchée sa.* According to Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii, 116, Braithwaite was purchased of the Rosens by Jno. Lister, Gent.

resided there, one of whom assumed the name of Oxley on marrying Judith Oxley of Ripon.

Galphay.

The name Galphay, variously spelt Galhache, Galgheberg, etc. in medieval documents, is said to be derived from the Old English *Galg haga*, and to signify an enclosure where the gallows stood. The hamlet is wholly within the township of Azerley, but partly in the Parish of Ripon. Fountains received several grants of land[1] in this place and had a grange there which was the subject of tithe compositions between that abbey and the Ripon Chapter in 1216 and 1228.[2] In 1535 the grange was worth £20 per annum.[3]

Mickley.

Mickley was not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, probably because then, as now, it formed part of Azerley.

In the twelfth century numerous grants of land in Mickley were made to Fountains Abbey[4] by tenants of the Mowbrays, and the Nevilles' estate at Azerley at one time extended into it[5]; but the main portion of the hamlet passed to Byland Abbey by virtue of a grant made between the years 1166 and 1180, whereby Roger de Mowbray gave that monastery 2½ carucates there by certain bounds.[6]

According to Farrer, Byland disposed of its Mickley estate to Newburgh Priory, which had a carucate there in 1297 amounting

[1] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary* and Farrer's MSS. Some of these charters refer to landmarks now lost.

[2] *Mem. of Ripon*, iv, 22 and 97. In Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii, 116, the following seems to refer to Galphay: "Gough the heirs of Mallory lords."

[3] *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 255.

[4] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*.

[5] See a special livery and licence of entry dated 8th May, 1491, relating to the Neville estates, which included possessions in the towns of "Mekeley" etc. (*C.P.R.*, 1485–94, p. 339).

[6] The boundaries were "from the field of Narrikeld at the head of Giled and thence to the road crossing to Tinghocroft, thence to Feukerhenges, thence to Sandwad, thence as Skirbec runs to the boundaries of Sleningford, 'Aserle' and Malesard, and from under the cliff to Rogergate." These place-names are possibly now lost, but according to Farrer "Kerhagh," frequently mentioned in the Fountains charters, may now be represented by Carr House. The Skirbeck is near the boundary of Ripon Liberty, and the present Old Sleningford Hall was formerly called Skirbeck Hall (See *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 70 and 85). The family of Cramanvill were tenants of the Mowbrays in Sleningford and Mickley, and were benefactors of the abbeys of Byland and Fountains. Ralph de Cramanvill married Constance d. and co-h. of Walter son of William de Burraden, Northumberland. Their son Robert gave to Fountains Abbey his demesne of Sleningford, with the hall, court, buildings, gardens, lands and *nativi* for the soul of Isabel his wife (Farrer's MSS.).

to 1/12th knight's fee and in 1301 found to be worth 40/– per an.: at the Dissolution this estate was known as the Manor of Micklehawe.[1]

In 1600 this manor was granted, with several messuages and a water mill, to Richard Etherington and Henry Best, to be held of the Crown as of the Manor of East Greenwich[2] in full and common socage. In 1621 (by a deed enrolled on the 21st April) Etherington and Best conveyed the manor and premises to certain persons in Mickley, who (it was explained in a later deed of the same year) were intended to hold this property in trust for the tenants of Mickley "according to their several rates and proportions," and with the intent to preserve the Royalties and Courts entire for the benefit of them all; and by this second deed the manor and premises (with the exception of certain messuages and lands) were granted to five persons in trust for the freeholders and tenants of Mickley.

At the time of the Kirkby Malzeard Inclosure Award of 1788 Mrs. Allanson, as the lady of the Manor of Kirkby Malzeard, claimed that the Manor of Mickley was still a sub-manor of Kirkby, but did not produce any evidence to this effect, and the Award proceeded on the lines that Mickley was an independent manor held of the Crown direct.[3]

"The Manor and premises," as now existing, comprise two small fields, a piece of woodland near Mickley Barrows (allotted under the Inclosure Award), the approach to the ford of the river Ure, a pinfold, and "a Court Leet, Court Baron and View of Frank Pledge" which is held once every three years: there is a Steward, but the office of pinder has lapsed.

The Court Leet is held at an inn in Mickley village. All the freeholders of the hamlet attend in their capacity of lords of the manor, and a jury is formed from residents in Mickley who rent but do not own their premises. This jury, after being sworn,[4]

[1] Confused with "Michael Howe," or Howe Hill, near Fountains Abbey in *Yorks. Inquisitions*, Y.A.S. Record Series, xxxi, 156. Its total value was £7 2*s*. 10*d*. at the Dissolution (Dugdale).

[2] Manor of East Greenwich. Grants of monastic lands by the Crown were frequently made by this tenure. It may have implied that though tenants *in capite*, the grantees were not to hold their lands by knight service but by socage.

[3] Much of this information is derived from a copy of the Kirkby Malzeard Inclosure Award, to which the writer has had access. The original was most unfortunately burned in the fire at Kirkby Church in 1908, and though other authorised copies should exist, they have not been traced.

[4] The forms of oath used at this Court are as follows: (Foreman's Oath) "You as foreman of this Jury shall diligently enquire and true presentment make of all such things as shall come to your knowledge, or be given you in charge; the King's Council, your own and your fellows' you shall well and truly keep; you shall present nothing out

view the different properties of the manor and return to the inn, when they draw up a report in the form of a verdict on the state of the property and advising what repairs should be done. This verdict is sent to the lords, who are assembled in a separate room, for their consideration and decision.

The proceedings are always accompanied by a dinner (paid for out of the accumulated rents of the property) at which the loyal toasts and that of the Manor of Mickley are drunk.

Since the manor has no copyholds[1] and is really a trust existing for the benefit of the village, it is not affected by the Law of Property Act 1922, and so is free to continue its useful and interesting functions.[2]

THE MANOR OF ALDFIELD

(Parish of Ripon).

Though this manor actually adjoined the precincts of Fountains Abbey, which monastery by the end of the thirteenth century had obtained the bulk of its great estates, including lands in Aldfield, it was not until the year 1356 that the monks were granted possession of the manor itself.

In the Domesday Survey there are three entries relating to Aldfield, *viz.*: (1) Manor in Aldefeld—Dolfin has half a carucate for geld of the King; (2) In Aldefelt the Archbishop of York had two bovates for geld—it belongs to Ripon and is waste; and (3) In Aldefelt, Archil had two carucates of land for geld. Land to one plough. Now Gospatric has it and it is worth 10/–. T.R.E. worth the same. Held of Gospatric."

No further records of the Archbishop's holding appear unless it had been assigned by him to the Chapter of Ripon and was identical with the Chapter's property at Aldfield North House[3]; as for the manor, at Kirkby's Inquest it belonged to William de

of hatred or malice, nor shall conceal anything for love, favour or affection, but in all things true presentment make." (Juror's Oath) "You have heard the oath that . . . . your foreman hath taken on his part, and you and each of you shall well and truly observe and keep in your respective parts. So help you God." (Pinder's Oath) "You shall well and truly execute the office of Pinder for the Town of Mickley for the year ensuing or until you are discharged in due course of law; you shall do and perform all things belonging to that office according to the best of your skill and knowledge. So help you God."

[1] There are no ancient documents in the possession of the Steward, and the records or minutes of the Court Leet go back only to 1790.

[2] For the creation of a similar trust of a manor for the benefit of its tenants, see the account of the Manor of Dent in Thompson's *Sedburgh, Garsdale and Dent*, p. 248.

[3] Aldfield Northous was one of the possessions of the Ripon Prebend of Givendale. See *Mem. of Ripon*, iii, 337.

Aldefeld, who held it with one quarter of Studley for one third of a knight's fee.[1]

In an extent of 1272 there is a description of the manor of Aldfield, of which the following is a summary: As enclosed it was worth one marc by the year, but could not be kept up for less. There were in demesne 90 acres (at 6*d.* per acre), 13 acres of meadow (at 2/6 per acre), a pasture called Oxeleyes worth half a marc per an., and Crakefal and Nicholfal worth 2/– per an. Total £4 6*s.* 2*d.* There were nine bondmen, six free tenants, seven farmers and thirty cottars; while John Draycotes held freely of the lord by charter land there at 2/– per an. or one sparrow-hawk. The lord of Aldfield owed for land at Langelay to the heirs of Robert de Stiveton 3/– per an., and to the heirs of Sir Roger de "Mubray" for lands of Aldefelde, Stodley, and Longelay, war, relief and foreign service, also suit of court at Kirkby every three weeks. At Horeslay (now Horsley Gates Farm) in the field of Aldefelde, there were 24 acres and a water mill worth 4½ marcs a year and held of the Mowbray fee.[2]

The family of Aldfield or Aldefelde had been feudal tenants of the Mowbrays since the early twelfth century,[3] and probably as such Robert Aldfelde (*temp.* Edw. III) bore as his arms *Gu. a lion ramp. arg.* (Mowbray) *debruised by a bend sa. charged with three cross crosslets fitchée arg.* William de Aldfelde and Thesancia his wife founded the chapel of Aldfield, dedicated to St. Lawrence.[4] In 1355 John de Aldefelde (who apparently had no male issue) granted the manor with its members of Langelay[5] and Malur (now Mallard Grange) to the Abbot and Convent of Fountains, excepting a certain provision for the dower of his daughter Thesancia, the wife of John de Clotherum,[6] and licence for the abbey to receive

[1] This holding comprised three carucates and was worth £6 per an. It seems to have been worth only xxv*s.* in 1326, and apparently comprised both Dolfin's and Archil's properties.

[2] Y.A.S. Record Series, xii, 177.

[3] Aldelin de Aldfelde had been enfeoffed by Nigel d'Aubigny for a quarter of a knight's fee before 1130, and had died before 1150. He had two sons, Ralph and William Fitz-Aldelin, the former of whom received a grant from Roger de Mowbray of the whole of Aldfield, seven bovates in Studley and two messuages in Kirkby Malzeard (which Aldelin had held) in 1150–6. William de Aldfelde was a celebrated man; he held a knight's fee in Thorp Audlin and East Hurst of the Lascy's Honour of Pontefract, and acquired Kirkby Hill in 1166, possibly by marriage; he was a steward of Henry II and Governor of Ireland (See *Dictionary of National Biography*). He must have died before 1199 (Farrer's MSS.).

[4] *Mem. of Ripon*, iv, 19.

[5] Langelay or Longelay, later Lungley and within recent years corrupted to Lumley, was a farm two miles W.N.W. of Aldfield. It is now the site of the Ripon reservoir.

[6] The family of Clutherum were the predecessors in title of the Pigots of Clotherholme. According to Farrer's MSS. Godwin de Clother-

the manor was granted both by John de Mowbray and the King. Before John de Aldefelde made this grant, John de Mowbray had agreed that the tenure by which the manor was held should be changed from knight service to attendance at the Courts of Kirkby every three weeks, fealty and the payment of a rose at the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and he wrote informing his steward that John de Aldefelde had been released from the old services. It is amusing to observe that Aldefelde subsequently performed the old services in error—which mistake, however, it was afterwards declared should not annul the release.[1]

The Templars also had estates in Aldfield,[2] while in 1478–9 John Norton[3] paid tithe for the woods of Aldfeldebanke and Ladyfall.[4]

THE MANORS OF STUDLEY

(Parish of Ripon).

The name Studley is derived from the Old English *Stod leah*, meaning pasture for horses: its feudal history is very difficult to unravel, since there were several manors there, and it is impossible to locate some of them with certainty.

At the time of the Domesday Survey the landowners in Studley were Archil (who held of William de Percy), Gospatric, Esnebern and the Archbishop of York. Neither the manor of the Percys nor that of the Archbishop formed parts of the Honour of Kirkby,

um had two sons—Dolfin and Simon. Dolfin had three sons—Gilbert, Robert and Nicholas—while Simon had a son called Rainald. Both Gilbert and Robert had sons, and Rainald's grandson John was living in 1256. Roger de Clotherum was lord of Clotherholme in 1316 and also held the manor of Newton near Nidd (See *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 68), and a capital messuage and a carucate at Kirk (now South) Stainley near Nidd. John de Clotherum had two carucates in Clotherholme in 1334–5. The family were benefactors of Fountains Abbey. For the provisions which the abbey made to satisfy Thesancia's claim to dower, see Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, Aldfield, No. 57.

[1] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, Aldfield, No. 50. According to Walbran (*Mem. of Fountains*, ii) the manors of Aldfield and Studley belonged in succession to the families of le Gras, Tempest and Mallory. We shall see that this is at least inaccurate as to Studley, and it is obviously untrue as to Aldfield. Even if these families had some possessions in these places, it is misleading to imply that they owned the main portion of them. The title of the Mallorys and their successors to most of Aldfield must date from post-Dissolution times.

[2] The Templars had two carucates, the gift of Rada son of Alfred, which were let (see Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, Aldfield, Nos. 4, 5, 7 and 8). They also had half a carucate which had been given them by Robert de Musters at a place called Lindebi, possibly Linderick, a farm near Aldfield (*Y.A.S. Journal*, xxix, 379).

[3] Probably John Norton of Norton Conyers near Ripon. This celebrated family lost their estates after the failure of the Rising of the North. From a younger son of Richard Norton, a leader of the Rising, sprang the Nortons of Sawley and Grantley.

[4] *Mem. of Ripon*, iii, 248. It is difficult to identify these places.

but the confusion of their boundaries and titles with those of the Mowbray manor makes it necessary to describe them.

(1) The Percys' Manor.

Archil's estate had formerly belonged to Leduin: it consisted of 13 bovates of land for geld and one plough: it was waste but in the Confessor's time had been worth 10/–: Archil held it of William de Percy. The Percys held their Studley manor of the King[1] as tenants in chief and had no feudal connection with the Archbishop, but on one occasion at least they interfered between him and his tenants, for there is a record of legal proceedings concerning the wardship of Isabella le Gras between Henry de Percy and Archbishop Melton (1319–40).[2]

At Kirkby's Inquest the Percy estates in Studley comprised Parva Stodeley and Hungery or North Stodeley, each containing one carucate. A manor of North Stodeley belonged to the Pigots[3] of Clotherholme, while the Plumptons[4] of Plumpton near Knaresborough also had an estate, presumably the present Plumpton Hall,[5] and known as the Manor of "Neither Studley" in 1608.[6]

[1] Where there are discrepancies between this account of the lordships of Studley and that in the footnote on them in "The Manors and Liberties of Ripon," *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 72–3, this description should be taken as correct.

[2] Percy Chartulary.

[3] At the time of the Domesday Survey Clotherholme was held by William de Percy, but it had become part of the Archbishop's Manor of Ripon before 1316, and the family of Clutherum and their successors the Pigots held it directly of the Archbishop. Sir Randall Pigot, however (*temp.* Henry VII), had some feudal connection with the Earl of Northumberland. On the death of Sir Randall his estates were divided between his daughters, and Clotherholme and North Studley passed to the Metcalfes of Nappa in Wensleydale.

[4] Plumpton of Plumpton. This distinguished but latterly unfortunate family expired in the male line in 1749. They were ancient tenants of the Percys and bore as their arms *Az. three fusils in fesse or* (Percy) *differenced by each fusil being charged with an escallop gu.* How and when they acquired their lands in Studley is uncertain, but in 1405 the estates of William de Plumpton (including the Manor of Studley Roger, eight messuages, sixty acres of land and ten acres of meadow in Aldfield) were forfeited to the Crown, and William being dead, his widow Alice petitioned for their restoration (*C.P.R. Hen. IV*, 1405). The manor was recovered, for in 1420, Sir Robert Plumpton enfeoffed Dame Alice his mother and others of the reversion of a rent charge issuing out of Little Studley and other places. In 1504 Sir Robert Plumpton and his eldest son William sold lands in Studley Roger to John Slingsby the Younger, and with this the Plumptons' connection with Studley may have ceased. (See Plumpton Correspondence: Camden Society.)

[5] Plumpton Hall is a few hundred yards south of the village of Studley Roger. It is now a farmhouse, said to be dated 1656. Though there is a good 17th-century stone doorway and remains of mullioned windows the building is much modernised.

[6] *Yorkshire Fines*, 1603–14 (Y.A.S. Record Series, lviii).

Since both the Pigots and the Plumptons had a connection with the Percys, it is conceivable that they were also tenants of the Percys in Studley; but whether or not this surmise is true, the distinction between the Percy and Mowbray estates must have disappeared before 1600, since the Percys manor is not excluded from the Honour on the seventeenth-century map of Kirkby manor referred to above.

(2) The Manors of Gospatric and Esnebern.

Gospatric had $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land for geld and land to one plough, while Esnebern held (of the King) seven bovates of land and land to half a plough; both holdings were then waste. Gospatric's land, and most probably Esnebern's, later became part of the Mowbray fee and doubtless formed the manors of the Stodleys, Aldfeldes and Mancesters.

The family of Stodley[1] held a manor at Studley in the twelfth century, and by inter-marriage with the Mancesters[2] acquired another manor called North Stodley (probably distinct from the Percys' manor of that name). At Kirkby's Inquest John de Stodley

[1] Stodley of Stodley (Studley). Roger de Stodley died before 1194, when William de Mowbray proffered 10 marks to have seisin of a quarter of a knight's fee late of Roger de Stodley. In 1192–3 land in Studley (probably belonging to Roger son of Roger) was in the King's hands, possibly because mortgaged to Aaron the Jew of York. In 1196 the men of Studley were tallaged with the lands of the King's escheat. Roger II de Stodley had a brother, Richard, who succeeded to part at least of his brother's inheritance, and was the father of William de Stodley, who succeeded between 1202 and 1208, and about 1230 had three carucates in Studley for a quarter of a knight's fee of the fee of Mowbray. There were two suits about the Stodleys' estates: in 1206 Robert de Oiseller was sued by William de Carton and Eleanor his wife (possibly the sister of Robert) for two carucates in Studley, Grantley, Eaveston and Hewick, which he later acknowledged to be the right of Eleanor, who, in return, demised to him for life the capital messuage of Studley and half the premises, but retained Grantley: in 1232 there was a plea respecting the Stodley inheritance in Azerley (See note 1, p. 366, above). William de Stodley's holding of three carucates belonged in 1297 to Agnes, daughter of John de Stodley, and in 1327 to John le Warrener (Farrer's MSS.). This Agnes de Stodley married John de Slingsby *temp.* Edward I: she was also heir to her mother Agnes, d. and co-h. of William de Mancester, lord of North Stodley. The arms of Stodley (sometimes spelled Stodleigh) were *Arg. an eagle displayed sa.* (See Parson's *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*).

[2] Mancester of North Studley. William de Mancester, on account of the dangers of the road which prevented his attending his parish church (Ripon Minster), obtained a grant from the Chapter of Ripon of a chapel and chaplain at "North Stodeley," subject to certain provisions as to parish dues and offerings; to his attending the parish church at great festivals; and to his supplying the chaplain with food, clothing, and a sufficient allowance. The Chapter were to have power to remove the chaplain. This grant was confirmed by Archbishop Walter de Grey in 1240–1, the Pope having given his sanction in 1236–7. The arms of the Mancesters were *Vair a bend gu.*

held of the Mowbray fee three carucates and three parts of the town of Studley (equal to a quarter of a knight's fee), while the remaining fourth part was held by William de Aldefelde and presumably devolved with the Aldfield manor. In the reign of Edward I the estates of the Stodleys passed to the Slingsbys[1] through the marriage of Agnes de Stodley with John de Slingsby, and for two generations the Slingsbys were described as "of Stodley."[2] Through a subsequent marriage the Slingsbys acquired the estate of Scriven near Knaresborough, where they resided until recent times, and in 1504 they obtained the whole or part of the Studley estate of the Plumptons.[3]

(3) The Archbishop of York's Manor.

The Archbishop had four carucates of land in a place called Studley at the time of the Domesday Survey, which were part of his manor of Ripon, and were later held successively by the families of Aleman and le Gras. No part of Studley is included within the boundary of the Liberty of Ripon to-day, but it seems more probable that the name of this Studley has been lost than that the Liberty boundary has changed, and, except for the fact that the lords of this Studley later obtained the other Studley manors, it would have been outside the scope of this paper.

It is very strange that the Ripon historian Walbran, with his profound knowledge of local history, should have failed to distinguish these different manors in his article on the Lords of Studley in the *Memorials of Fountains*. It is obvious that during the medieval period there were several lords of Studley at one time, and that the Stodleys and Slingsbys held the principal manor there. Walbran, however, perhaps attracted by the almost unbroken descent of the Archbishop's manor through the centuries and the fact that its lords somehow succeeded to the others, confined his

[1] Slingsby. John de Slingsby, surnamed "of Stodley," married Margaret, daughter of Richard son of Sampson de Azerley. His son William, described as "of Studley and Scriven," acquired the latter place through his marriage with Johanna, eldest d. and co-h. of Henry de Scriven, in 1332–3 (Fisher). The arms of Slingsby are *Arg. a griffin segreant sa., debruised with a fesse gu.* In a general pardon, dated 22nd November, 1494 (Westminster), John de Slingsby is described as "of Scrivyn or Screven or of Northestotheley, Norhistudeley or Hungristutheley by Harewood," co. York; but as no place of this name appears to exist near Harewood the description would seem to refer to this Studley. The Slingsbys quartered the arms of the Stodleys and Mancesters (See the achievement in Parson's *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*).

[2] Apparently the Slingsbys' estates in Studley, or some part of them, were known as Slingsby *juxta* Studley. See the Survey of Studley Prebend, 1609 (*Mem. of Ripon*, iii, 336).

[3] Plumpton Correspondence.

description to the lords of this now forgotten place, and tracing the fortunes of the Alemans, le Gras, Tempests, Mallorys and Aislabies,[1] he ignored entirely the early Percy and Mowbray tenants. Unfortunately, while we can note this omission, public records do not enable us to explain how Walbran's "Lords of Studley" succeeded to the estates of their neighbours, but it would seem to have been otherwise than by descent or marriage, and perhaps it took place during the prosperous times of the Mallorys.[2]

(4) Other Medieval Tenants and Sub-tenants.

It appears from various grants[3] that, besides the manorial lords we have referred to, there were other landowners in Studley who held their estates directly of the Mowbrays; while in addition several religious houses had properties there, some granted by the manorial lords and others by their tenants. The Chapter of Ripon

[1] For a full account of these families see Walbran's *Lords of Studley*. Besides Studley, the le Gras owned the manors of Eaveston, Grantley and Sawley. Studley passed from this family to the Tempests, probably through the marriage of the le Gras heiress to the second son of Richard Tempest of Bracewell, on whose death in 1444 it again passed by marriage to the Mallorys of Hutton Conyers near Ripon. This family was of some importance: their arms were *Or a lion rampant gu. gorged with a ducal coronet arg.*; their crest *A nag's head couped gu. on a torse or and gu.*; and they quartered the arms of Conyers of Hutton, Nunwick of Nunwick, Tempest of Studley, and Washington. In 1664 the estates of the Mallorys passed to the Aislabies, again by marriage. The Aislabies, whose arms, *Gu. three lozenges conjoined in fesse arg. between three lions' heads erased or*, are based on those of an ancient Durham family (with whom they probably had no connection), are first heard of through George Aislabie, who was an active Royalist in the 17th century, and was principal registrar of the archiepiscopal court of York. John, his son, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1718–20), had a lucrative connection with the South Sea Bubble, and was a firm supporter of the Whig cause, which prudent activities brought him considerable prosperity. John died in 1742 and was succeeded by his son William, who was M.P. for Ripon from 1721 till his death in 1781. It is to William Aislabie in particular that the existence of the present Studley estate is due. This estate includes, or until very recently included, besides the old manors of Studley, the manor of Whitcliffe and half the burgage houses in Ripon, formerly the property of the Archbishop of York (see *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxxii, 58 and 81); probably scattered properties of the medieval Chapter of Ripon; various monastic properties and granges, including the ruins of Fountains Abbey itself and the manor of Aldfield; the manor of Clotherholme referred to above; and the remains of the manor of Kirkby. The Hutton estate of the Mallorys also forms a detached part of it. The present house of Studley Royal is mainly 18th-century; the Studley grounds, as is well known, are the result of William Aislabie's cultivated, if 18th-century taste; and it is very probable that he or his family are also responsible for forming most of Studley Park, large parts of which were evidently at some time under cultivation.

[2] Not before 1547, for at an Inquisition of that year on the death of Sir William Mallory it was found that his manor of Studley Magna was held by the Manor of Ripon.

[3] See Y.A.S. Record Series, *Yorks. Deeds I* and *Yorks. Inquisitions III*.

had possessions in Studley in 1228[1]: John de Westoyver of "Stodeleyroger" granted the Manor of Studley Roger to William de Popleton, Keeper of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Ripon, shortly before 1334 (when a licence for alienation in mortmain for this manor was obtained[2]), and this was probably the manor belonging to the Hospital in 1479[3]; St. John's Hospital, Ripon, had fifty acres of land around Studley worth eight marks in 1341[4]; while Fountains Abbey received grants of land from several persons, including William Creuequer "of Stodeley," Philip Veillechen and others, sometimes expressly for the use of the poor congregating at the gate of the monastery.[5]

THE MANORS OF WINKSLEY

(Parish of Ripon).

The name Winksley is possibly derived from the Old English *Wicnere* or Old Norse *Vikarr*, meaning a steward or bailiff, and the place is described in the Domesday Survey as follows: "In Wincheslai, Gospatric had three carucates of land for geld. Land to two ploughs. He has it now but does not cultivate it. Underwood there. The whole one leuga and a half in length and breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20/–, now 10/–."

Roger de Mowbray granted Winksley and some land in Azerley to Nicholas de Bellund, the grant being confirmed both by Nigel and William de Mowbray. William's confirmation included "all Winksley," a description which we shall see was not strictly correct.

[1] The Chapter had 9 tofts and 5 bovates (*Mem. of Ripon*, i, 54), a bovate in "Stodelay Barlete," and two carucates in "Stodelay Roger" (*Mem. of Ripon*, i, 112). One of the prebends of the medieval Chapter of Ripon was called the Studley Prebend, its revenues being worth £25 11*s.* 4*d.* in 1535–6 (*Mem. of Ripon*, iii, 4) and consisting of tithes and free rents mostly in Studley, but also in Bishop Thornton, Clotherholme, Dacre, Galphay, Ripon (Stammergate and St. Agnesgate) and Sleningford.

[2] The property alienated comprised 120 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow, 3 acres of wood, 360 acres of moor, and 6/10 rent in "Stodeleyroger," to find three chaplains above the number already celebrating divine service in the chapel of the hospital to celebrate as follows: one in the said chapel daily; another there every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and in the Chapel of St. Leonard, "Stodeleyroger," on the other three days of the week, in honour of St. John the Baptist and for the soul of the grantor; and the third in the chapel of the Hospital for the souls of William and his ancestors (*C.P.R.*).

[3] *Mem. of Ripon*, iii, 248.

[4] For different grants to this Hospital see *Mem. of Ripon*. One half of the mill of "Stodlei Roger" was given by Roger FitzRandolph.

[5] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*. The value of the Studley property of Fountains at the Dissolution was £1 13*s.* 4*d.*, out of which 5/– was paid to John Constable.

The family of Bellund (the name had various spellings and has been referred to before in connection with Azerley[1]) made many grants of land in Winksley to religious houses; it gave or at least augmented the estate there of the Ripon Chapter; and many of the lands in Winksley belonging to Fountains Abbey can be traced directly or indirectly to it. The Bellunds, or at least a branch of the family, seem to have lived at Winksley, since some of them adopted the name of the place; a Thomas de Winksley[2] married Joan, d. and h. of William de Slingsby of Studley and Scriven, who died in 1388, and he bore as his arms *Argent a fesse between three cinquefoils azure.*

But in addition to the Bellunds' manor there was another which belonged to Uctred son of Gamel[3] comprising a carucate of land, common pasture etc., and Geoffrey Larder,[4] Richard Folliott,[5] Andrew de Markenfield[6] and Peter de Shypton,[7] all landowners in Winksley at different times, may have been the successors in title to Uctred's estate.

The property of the Ripon Chapter is first mentioned in 1228,[8] when it was said to comprise eight crofts and thirty acres of land; in 1231 it was augmented by a grant of land and pasture for 180 sheep and 15 cows from Nicholas de Bellund (Belhun),[9] which land seems to have been situated between Winksley village and the Galphay boundary, possibly including one of the farms known as Winksley Woodhouse[10]; and in 1246 the Chapter was said to hold half a carucate there in frankalmoign of John de Beauner (Bellund ?) and Maud his wife.[11]

[1] See note 1, p. 366, above.

[2] In 1367 a Commission of Oyer et Terminer was given to John Mowbray on complaint of Thomas de Wynkesley that John de Kereby, chaplain . . . . Thomas Forester of Azerlawe, William Talpe of Stodeley and others broke into his close at Wynkesley, assaulted and imprisoned him there, and kept him in prison until he paid them 100/–. Also that they took away 3 horses, 6 oxen and 2 cows, worth £20, and his goods (*C.P.R.*, 41 Edw. III, xiii, 441).

[3] For Uctred, the descendant of a pre-Conquest landowner, see note 2, p. 385, below.

[4] Geoffrey de Larder: see *Mem. of Ripon*, iv, 72.

[5] Richard Folliott: see Sec. I, p. 356, above.

[6] Andrew de Markenfield held 1½ carucates in Winksley, worth VMC. See Sec. I, p. 355, above.

[7] Peter de Shypton had ½ carucate, equal to 1/24th knight's fee. See Sec. I, p. 355, above.

[8] *Mem. of Ripon*, i, 54.

[9] Y.A.S. Record Series, *Yorks. Fines*, 1218–31, p. 144. In spite of the half carucate referred to in the text, in 1481 the Chapter's estate still retained the description given in 1228 (*Ripon Chapter Acts*, p. 343). See also Fine of 24th June, 1246 (Y.A.S. Record Series, lxvii, 158).

[10] There are now two farms called Winksley Woodhouse, one on each side of the township. Fountains Abbey had a tenement in "Wodehouse" worth 4/– in 1535 (*Mem. of Fountains*) and, according to Walbran, the Mallorys inherited the manor of Winksley Woodhouse with the Manor of Studley from the Tempests in the 15th century.

[11] Y.A.S. Record Series, *Yorks. Fines Hen. III*, p. 158.

Fountains Abbey received numerous grants of land in Winksley—some from Nicholas son of Geoffrey de Bellund direct; some from his tenants Gamel Croide and William and Swain, sons of Gamel; some from the Clutherums; and one from a certain Utting, who described himself as holding the land granted from the Brethren of St. Lazarus. Some of these grants refer to "land near the Chapel"[1] and others to boundary marks long since forgotten.[2]

Jervaulx Abbey also had property in Winksley, referred to in the *Fountains Chartulary*; and according to Dugdale this holding, which can only have been small, was worth 2/6 at the Dissolution.[3]

As in the case of other lordships we have described, published records do not disclose the later history of these Winksley manors, but at the present day most of the land in the township belongs to the Studley or Grantley estates.[4]

Sub-section 3.

THE CHASE OF NIDDERDALE.

Nidderdale, or the Forest[5] of Nidderdale, is the name which

[1] It is obvious from these references that there was a chapel at Winksley as early as the 13th century, and that the one built by Abbot Huby (*temp.* Henry VII) merely replaced an existing structure. Huby's chapel was unfortunately destroyed in 1823 (See *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 152).

[2] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, Farrer's MSS. See also Confirmation of Ric. I (*Mem. of Fountains*) and a Fine of 1251 (Y.A.S. Record Series, clxxxii, 48). The Fountains lands in Winksley were the subject of two tithe compositions between that monastery and the Ripon Chapter (*Mem. of Ripon*, i, 248, and iv, 97), and in 1535 were worth £4 4*s*. p.a. (*Mem. of Fountains*).

[3] *Monasticon*.

[4] In 1507 a pardon was granted to William Duffelde of Wynkesley, co. York, "laborer," alias of London, Carpenter, for murders and other offences (*C.P.R.*, 1494–1509, p. 564).

[5] A forest signified a portion of territory consisting of extensive waste lands, and including a certain amount of both woodland and pasture, circumscribed by defined metes and bounds, within which the right of hunting was reserved exclusively to the King, and which was the subject of a special code of laws administered by local as well as central ministers (Cox's *Royal Forests of England*). A forest properly so called could not belong to a subject, since the special privileges which the name denoted could only belong to the King, and the highest privilege of that kind which a subject could possess was a "free chase," namely, a privileged place for the preservation of deer and beasts of the forest. Less than a forest, a chase had more officers and game than a park, and also was not enclosed; it had certain metes and bounds, but it might be in other men's grounds as well as in one's own. In spite of this, however, many chases seem to have been loosely called forests—some having been originally Crown lands. At the time of the Domesday Survey, Nidderdale must have been largely waste land, and only two places above Pateley Bridge—Heathfield and Popleton (now lost)—are mentioned in it. The following medieval references to Nidderdale may be of interest:

15th November, 1322. Commitment during pleasure to William de Coundon of the bailiwick of the forestership of the forest of "Nider-

was sometimes used to describe the whole Honour[1] (Aldfield and Studley possibly excepted), and it was so used at an Inquest held at Boroughbridge in 1307; but in its more restricted and correct sense it was applied to the present townships of Bewerley, Dacre, Fountains Earth, Stonebeck Up and Stonebeck Down, and originally, at any rate, to Hartwith-with-Winsley.

All this wild district was by various grants[2] given or sold by

dale," to hold as Richard de Karliolo deceased held the same and order to the keeper of the chase to deliver the same to him (*Fine Rolls*, Edw. II, iii, 186).

2nd September, 1323. Commitment to Hugh Castellon of the keeping of the Manor of Kirkeby Malesart, and the chase of Niderdale there, late of John de Mowbray, late the King's enemy and rebel, and in the King's hands by his forfeiture, so that he answer for the issue thereof to the Exchequer; and order to the aforesaid John to deliver the same to him with the animals etc. (*Fine Rolls*, Edw. II, iii, 240).

12th June, 1359. (Westminster.) Commission of Oyer et terminer to John Moubray, Roger de Hewyk, Peter de Rychemund and William de Nessefeld on complaint by John de Moubray the elder that evildoers entered his free chase and free warren at Kirkeby Malassart, hunted there and took away deer etc., and assaulted his men and servants (*C.P.R.*, 34 Edw. III, xi, 281).

7th August, 1360. Inspeximus and Confirmation of letters of John de Moubray of Axiholm at his Manor of Eppeworth granting for life to William de Nessefeld the chief (sovereyne) keeping and survey of his warrens and free chases of Kyrkeby Malasard and Niderdale, with full power to remove unprofitable ministers and to put others in their place, taking yearly 100/– and a robe or 20/– in lieu thereof out of his Manor of Kyrkeby Malasard, recoverable by distraint if ever in arrear (*C.P.R.*, 34 Edw. III, xi, 357). [William de Nessefeld was subsequently fined 20 marks for taking this office and a certain rent without the King's licence (*C.P.R.*, 41 Edw. III, xiv, 16).]

In 1483 (25th February, Westminster) a commission was issued to the King's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Ralph Pygot, Thomas Markenfield, Kt., Christopher Warde, Kt., Richard Pygot, Sergeant at Law, John Swale, Robert Burnande, the Sheriff of York and others, to enquire into divers discords between the King's tenants of the Forest of Knaresborough of the one part and the tenants of the King's kinswoman, the lady of Berkeley, and the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary Fountains and the other inhabitants of the free chase of "Nedardale" of the other part, concerning the bounds between the forest and chase and the enclosure of "le Fulshawe" [near Fulshaw Lane and Darley Beck (Grainge)], and to survey and perambulate the forest and chase and make reasonable bounds between them and to certify them to the King in Chancery (*C.P.R.*, 1476–85, p. 345).

In 1495 a similar commission was issued to Richard, Bishop of Durham, Richard Lord Latimer and others, and another was issued in 1496 (*C.P.R.*, 1494–1509).

[1] Y.A.S. Record Series, cxxxvii, 148; also *Yorks. Lay Subsidies*, 1379. Nidderdale was a term also used to describe High and Low Bishopside and Bishop Thornton, parts of the Archbishop's Manor of Ripon (*e.g. Nomina Villarum*, Surtees Soc.).

[2] Roger de Mowbray and his successors executed various grants in favour of Fountains. Roger sold to Fountains every kind of metal and stone in Nidderdale, and he gave that monastery six stags yearly for the use of the infirm monks; John, his son, quitclaimed to Fountains all right to boar and wild and domestic pigs in their granges of Dacre, Bewerley, Sigsforth, Bouthwaite and Dallow. By another agreement with John de Mowbray, Fountains agreed not to build any new houses more than 100 feet from the existing ones; not to have in

the Mowbrays to the Abbeys of Byland and Fountains, though generally some rights of chase were reserved; how those rights devolved after the sixteenth century it is difficult to ascertain.

The monastic charters have been printed in full elsewhere,[1] so only a few will be summarised here; and since Nidderdale antiquities and family histories have been described at length in the excellent local histories by Grainge and Speight, it is sufficient to say that, after the dissolution of the religious houses, a large portion of the manorial lands were acquired by the family of Yorke,[2] who retained

their lodges of Deringhouses, Fouleschagh, Elfoninghouses, Morehousenghouse of Bewerley and Calfalhouses in Bourethwaite resident farmers other than their own shepherd to take care of their cattle in winter or to cut and remove their hay; and to have in Coldestanfaldhouses shepherds by the whole year to take care of their horses and other animals there. The monks agreed to have only two forges (of which one was at Dacre) with two movable furnaces for making their iron, but they were to have the right to burn charcoal from every kind of wood (between Michaelmas and Easter only), which charcoal they could give away but not sell; the monks were to be permitted to make new enclosures, provided the fences were so built that wild beasts could jump them. In 1358 the restriction on the building of new houses was removed.

The proximity of the estates of Byland and Fountains was the cause of various disputes. On one occasion a commission of Cistercian Abbots, convened to settle a dispute between these two houses, failed through the refusal of Byland to make concessions; upon the commissioners proceeding to give sentence in spite of Byland's plea that the matter should be referred to the next Chapter General, the Byland monks withdrew, so as not to hear it, and they refused to listen to the remonstrances of three of the Abbots who were sent after them. In 1184 and 1198, agreements were made between Byland and Fountains, whereby the former received a right of way for cattle, waggons and horses through "Wacaldesheng" to the R. Nidd at Sigsworth; another right of way to Middlesmoor from Kirkby Malzeard and Ramsgill, with permission to make a diversion through Lofthouse if necessary; a third towards Bouthwaite; and a fourth from Ramsgill to Heathfield, but with right only by the leave of Fountains to unyoke their waggons and feed their animals in the pasture of that monastery. Byland also was given a bridge between Ramsgill and Bouthwaite. On the other hand, Fountains obtained a right of way over the land of Byland towards Dacre. The watercourse of the R. Nidd was not to be interfered with, but in the event of damage by the flow it was arranged that the watercourse should be amended by the judgment of two brethren from each house, to whom the Abbot of Rievaulx should be added as a fifth in the event of disagreement.

In 1260 a dispute was settled between the two houses concerning the raising of a causeway between "Nattelford" and Loftus, which Fountains had built, and which it was agreed it should repair but not raise in height (Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*).

[1] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary* and *Mem. of Fountains*.

[2] YORKE. This family sprang from Sir Richard Yorke, who was Lord Mayor of York 1469–1482; Mayor of the Staple at Calais, and knighted 1487. According to Speight's *Nidderdale* the Yorkes succeeded a family called Golthwaite, "who had resided at Gowthwaite Hall since the Conquest." Doubtless this family took its name from the place, and had lived in the neighbourhood for centuries, but since Byland Abbey had held Gowthwaite since 1249, and the Golthwaites are only known as tenants and servants of Fountains (*M. of F.*, i, 351) their position must have been comparatively humble.

some part at least until a few years ago; while the remainder, scattered in the land speculation which followed the Dissolution, passed into the hands of various small squires, sometimes descendants of the abbeys' tenants. Some of these families attained a local notoriety, but all had either made way for or sunk into the class of yeoman farmer by the end of the eighteenth century.

BEWERLEY AND DACRE[1]

(Parish of Ripon).

The district comprised in these townships belonged entirely to Fountains Abbey and comprised its granges of Bewerley, Brighouse, Coldstones, Dacre and Hayshaw. The parochial needs of the inhabitants were specially provided for in 1361 by the Church of Ripon,[2] the district then having become more populous.

Bewerley[3] and Dacre[4] are referred to in the Domesday Survey as follows: " Two manors. In Beurelie and Dacre Gospatric had six carucates of land for geld. Land to four ploughs. Ernegis (de Burun) has (it) and it is waste. T.R.E. it was worth 50/–. Wood pasturable. Two leugæ in length and two in breadth. The whole four leugæ in length and three in breadth."

According to Whitaker (*Richmondshire*) the Yorkes' Nidderdale estates were abbey lands which they purchased from Sir Thomas Gresham, and a tradition existed that their original house was above Middlesmoor (perhaps an old hunting lodge of the Mowbrays), the site still bearing the name of the Hall Garth and the Park.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Yorkes were staunch Romanists. One of them, Sir John Yorke, is said to have been brought before the Star Chamber and heavily fined on account of a masque he held at Gowthwaite, in which Christopher Mallory (a younger brother of Sir John Mallory of Hutton Conyers), in the guise of the devil, carried King James on his back to hell. Grainge (*Nidderdale*) doubts this story and thinks that Sir John's financial embarrassment was more likely due to a dispute with the Earl of Cumberland concerning the hunting rights in Appletreewick.

This Sir John Yorke died at Sleningford, near Ripon, in 1634, but in 1674 the family fortunes had so far recovered that the Yorkes acquired the grange of Bewerley; and during the late 17th and early 18th centuries three generations of the family represented Richmond in Parliament.

About 1820 the Yorkes built and resided at Bewerley Hall, but this, with all their Nidderdale estates, was disposed of some ten years ago.

The Arms of the Yorkes are *Arg. a saltire az.*; their Motto *Per meum deum transilio murum*; and their Crest *A monkey's head erased proper*. (There is a tradition that the monkey was first brought to England by one of the family.)

[1] These townships were sometimes referred to as Bewerley-cum-Dacre, because for a long time they were in a kind of union for the maintenance of the poor: this was dissolved by Dacre in 1851 after much litigation (See Grainge: *Nidderdale*).

[2] *Mem. of Ripon*, i, 203.

[3] Bewerley (from the Old English *Beofer leah*) signifies a clearing inhabited by beavers.

[4] Dacre is a British river name and signifies a trickling stream. This place derived its name from the Darley Beck, which must once have been called Dacre.

Bewerley, an area described as lying between the river Nidd, the boundary of Craven, Heathfield (now Ashfoldside) Beck and the stream of Bewerley, was sold to Fountains by Roger de Mowbray sometime before 1175 for £100—boar, deer and birds of prey being reserved.[1] In 1535 it was worth £16 16*s.* 8*d.* per an.[2] The Yorkes acquired some part of it in 1674 and more in 1770, and in 1820 built Bewerley Hall, where they resided for over 100 years.

Dacre was granted by Roger de Mowbray to Bertram Haget, one of his tenants, between 1140–50,[3] who granted it to Fountains Abbey for a free rent of two marks yearly between 1145–57. This rent was released by William son of Bertram for 25 marks and a palfrey between 1154–65; and a William de Castleia quitclaimed his rights in Dacre, which he claimed under Geoffrey Haget, between 1194–8.

In 1173–7, by a Confirmation of the gifts of Roger de Mowbray to Fountains, Alice de Gant, the wife of Roger, permitted the monks to move their grange of Dacre one league from its then site.[4] In 1535 Dacre, described as part of the Manor of Brimham,[5] was valued at £13 6*s.* 8*d.* per an.

According to Grainge the Ingilbys of Ripley have (or had) the manorial rights in Dacre.

HARTWITH[6]-WITH-WINSLEY

(Parish of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard detached).

Neither of these places is mentioned in the Domesday Survey, being probably included in Brimham,[7] which is described as follows: "Manor. In Birnebeha Gospatric had three carucates and six bovates for geld. The land is to two ploughs. Ernegis has (it) and it is waste. T.R.E. it was worth 23/–." "In Birnebeha Gamelbar had two bovates of land for geld." They were then held by Cuthbert Tison.

In 1150–68 Roger de Mowbray granted and confirmed to the Templars half a carucate of land in Brimham, which Richard son

[1] Farrer's MSS.

[2] *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 255. After the Dissolution Bewerley was held in succession by Sir Lewis Mordaunt, Thomas Benson and John Armytage (Grainge's *Nidderdale*, pp. 13 *et seq.*).

[3] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary* and Farrer's MSS.

[4] Farrer's MSS.

[5] *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 254.

[6] Hartwith signifies "stag wood." The west side of the township is separated from the Forest Liberty of Knaresborough by a ditch, known as "the Monk Wall," for further details of which see Grainge's *Forest of Knaresborough* and *Nidderdale*.

[7] Brimham (from Old English *Beo-hamm*) signified a village or estate where bees were found, but possibly the first element is derived from Burn, Old English *Byrgen*, signifying a burial mound.

of Archil had given them, and this seems to have been acquired by Fountains, for in 1535 that monastery paid 10/– annually from their grange of Brimham to the Hospitallers of St. John, the successors doubtless to the Templars' interests there.[1]

In 1163–70 Roger de Mowbray granted to Fountains the whole land of Brimham from "Felebriggebec" (Fellbeck) to Ripley, reserving beasts of the chase and falcons; and, about the same period, he and his sons Nigel and Robert granted to the abbey the whole land and forest of Brimham in return for 350 marks paid to Roger and 5 marks to his son Nigel.

Fountains, however, did not receive the whole of Brimham under these grants, for in 1165–75 Roger de Mowbray granted to Uctred son of Gamel assarts in Brimham, demesne lands in Winsley, and the right to construct a mill, for a rent of half a mark yearly and the aid required for one carucate of land: the abbey, however, bought this Brimham property in 1251 for thirty marks.[2]

In 1180, Roger de Mowbray granted to Fountains the deer and hawks of his forest of Brimham for the benefit of the monks' infirmary, with the custody of forest, deer and hawks; and, at a later period, William de Mowbray confirmed to that abbey Brimham, with wild beasts and birds and other appurtenances.

In 1308, by an agreement between John de Mowbray and the Abbot and Convent of Fountains, though John and his heirs received the free chase of Nidderdale, the free chase of "Byrnebem" was reserved to the Abbot.[3] It would appear from this that the Mowbrays had surrendered all rights in Brimham, and this no doubt explains the exclusion of this place from the description of Nidderdale in 1307.

Apparently the manor of Brimham included Bollershaw,[4] in the Parish and Liberty of Ripon, and Hardcastle Garth. According

[1] Speight (*Upper Nidderdale*, p. 218) gives no authority for his statement that the Templars forfeited this estate and afterwards re-purchased it.

[2] See *Mem. of Fountains*, Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, and Farrer's MSS. According to Farrer, there is some evidence that the English owners of a number of manors in Claro and Ewcross, Craven and parts of Richmondshire, kept their estates after the Conquest, and when, therefore, we find Uctred son of Gamel, lord of Austwick, owning land so far distant as Winksley, Brimham and Austwick (for Mowbray's grant may have been a re-grant of interests which already existed), there is reason to suspect continuous ownership from pre-Conquest days. John de Cauncefeud or Cautsfield (co. Lancs.), who was one of the heirs general of Uctred de Austwick, released his right to the Manor of Brimham in favour of Fountains in 1251 for 30 marks.

[3] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*.

[4] The site of Bollershaw is now indicated by the name of a piece of land behind the Half Moon Inn at Fellbeck.

to Grainge,[1] Smelthouse in Hartwith derives its name from a smelting house for the ore from the Nidderdale lead mines, which were worked under the monks of Fountains.

After the Dissolution Brimham passed with other parts of the Fountains estates into the hands of Sir John Gresham, afterwards to the D'Arcys, and then to Sir Stephen Proctor of Fountains Hall, who in 1605 obtained a grant from James I of the same hunting rights which Roger de Mowbray had granted to Fountains there. Brimham Grange, near the celebrated rocks, was demolished many years ago, but about half a mile eastward stands Brimham Lodge, a fine stonebuilt house bearing the date 1661.

According to Grainge the Nortons of Grantley had the manorial rights in Brimham and Hartwith, but for many years Brimham Lodge has not formed part of the Grantley estate.

Dougill Hall, in this township, is an old house dated 1722, called after the family who built it, and whose descendants retained it until recent years. The family of Dougill had a long connection with Nidderdale, at least from 1496, when a Thomas "Dougil" held a tenement in Hartwith of the Abbot of Fountains, until 1740, when John Dougill, the last male representative of the family, died. The arms of the Dougills were *Or a fesse between three crescents gu. two and one.*[2]

FOUNTAINS EARTH

(Parish of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard).

This township comprised the granges of Bouthwaite,[3] Covelhouse,[4] Lofthouse, Syke, Sigsworth, Thorpe and Thwaite House, all which belonged to Fountains Abbey.

Most of this district, with Dallowgill and part of Laverton, was the subject of a grant made by Roger de Mowbray to Fountains

[1] *Nidderdale*, p. 10.

[2] Speight's *Nidderdale*. Summerbridge, now almost joined to Dacre, lies just within the township. This place, or Summerston Lodge further up the valley, may locate "le Somerbank" referred to in a pardon dated 4th February, 1338, and granted to brother Nicholas del Malthous, lay brother of the Abbey of Fountains, for the death of Roger Borel at le Somerbank in Nidderdale, whom it was found he had killed in self-defence (*C.P.R.*, 1330–40, p. 2). Burrill is a surname still found near Kirkby.

[3] Bouthwaite. This grange was rented at £10 p.a. in 1535 (*Mem. of Fountains*, i, 254). For some centuries it belonged to the family of Inman, ancestors of the founders of the Inman Line. For an account of Robert Inman ("Bold Robin of Bouthwaite") see Speight's *Nidderdale*.

[4] Formerly Calfalhouse and rented at £6 13*s*. 4*d*. p.a. in 1535 (*Mem. of Fountains*, i, 254). Farrer identifies this grange with the site of the Domesday "Popleton," which is described in that survey as follows: "In Popletone Gospatric and Gamelbar had four carucates for geld. Land to two ploughs 30/–." (Recapitulation: "The King one carucate and Gospatric three.")

shortly before 1175–6, which was stated to include " all Nidderdale on the East side of the water from ' Iwdene ' up the Nidd to Beckermote with the coverts of Lofthouse and Popleton, from Beckermote to ' Frostildhau,' Hameldun (Hambleton Hill) and ' Dalhagha ' (Dallow), then downwards on both sides and over the moor to ' Scheldene ' (High Skelden) as far as the bounds of the Archbishop, and so westward to ' Jwdene.'[1]"

By a settlement of disputes between William de Mowbray and Fountains, though it was acknowledged that William possessed the right of hunting deer, wild boar and birds of prey over this tract of land, it was declared that he had no right to enter it for any other purpose; while the servants of the monks, though prohibited from poaching the Mowbrays' game, were to be allowed to possess bows and arrows and to keep two dogs at each lodge, provided that these dogs were tied up in the daytime.[2]

The manorial rights in Fountains Earth now belong to the owner of the Studley estate.[3]

STONEBECK DOWN

(Parish of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard).

This township was formerly known as the Forest of Hyrefield (now Heathfield), a place described in the Domesday Survey as follows: " In Hyrefelt Gamel has two carucates for geld. Land to two ploughs. Now Berenger[4] (de Todini) has (it) and it is waste.

[1] This grant was made to Fountains as a compensation for a tract of country in Knaresborough Forest which Roger de Mowbray had sold to that abbey (though the land did not belong to him), and which, consequently, through the defect in his title, the abbey had lost. For this Forest property Fountains had paid Roger 120 marks, and his sons Nigel and Robert 10 marks and one mark respectively. For the new grant the abbey paid Roger 10 marks, and it was to pay him 60 marks if it recovered the Forest land (Lancaster). Besides Dallowgill and part of Laverton, Farrer (MSS.) thought the grant included " all Stonebeck east side," and he identified " Frostildhau " with the hill now called the Great Haw. While this construction might account for the property Fountains had in Stonebeck Up, it should be accepted with caution. " Frostildhau " has been more probably identified with another hill called Throstle Hill, an identification not only more likely on etymological grounds, but also because it would make the boundary given in this grant very nearly correspond with the present boundary of Fountains Earth township.

[2] Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*.

[3] Kelly's *Directory of Yorkshire* (West Riding), 1917 edition.

[4] Berenger was the son of Robert de Todeni, probably a younger son of Randolph, lord of Toeni or Todeni, a vill near the river Seine opposite Château Gaillard. He held some 78 manors in divers counties, his chief estate being on the borders of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, where he built a castle which he called Belvoir. Near this castle he founded a priory, in the chapter-house of which he was buried in 1088. His son was William d'Aubigny, an

Wood pasturable one leuga in length and half in breadth. The whole manor one leuga in length and one in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20/–."

This district was the subject of various grants by the Mowbrays to Byland Abbey. In 1150–5 Roger de Mowbray notified his bailiffs that he had granted to Byland two harts and three hinds yearly in his forest of Nidderdale for the use of the monks' infirmary, and that the monks and the herdsmen and keepers of the monks' pasture in Nidderdale should have " fierce mastiff dogs " in chains, horses and their other arms, provided that they and their dogs should not hurt the Mowbrays' deer under pain of expulsion from the dale.

About 1173–9 Roger de Mowbray granted to Byland that part of the Forest of Nidderdale within the following boundaries, which exactly correspond to those of the present township, namely: " between where Heathfieldbeck comes down from the boundary of Craven and falls into the Nidd, up the Nidd to the water of the great Stone (beck), up that beck to the boundaries of Craven, and along the boundary to the Heathfieldbeck." He also granted the Abbey licence to build, reclaim and plough within their bounds, retaining only deer and hawks, to which his foresters were to confine their attention, while only one forester (namely the one to whom that duty was assigned) was to visit the monks' settlements.[1]

Grainge says that this property was the subject of a mortgage in 1172, whereby Byland lent John de Mowbray 300 marks of silver, the non-payment of which led to much litigation: in 1249 Roger de Mowbray made a grant of land to Byland,[2] the boundaries of which exactly corresponded to those in the charter of 1173–9, but, as we shall see, this area was extended by a further grant by Roger de Mowbray in 1251.

The township includes the hamlets and granges of Gowthwaite,[3] Raygill, Blayshaw, Colthouse, Stean[4] and Ramsgill[5] (the latter with

ancestor both of the present Dukes of Rutland and of the Mowbrays. This manor therefore came to the Mowbrays by descent from a grantee of the Conqueror and not by the grant of Henry I.

[1] Farrer's MSS.

[2] *Yorks. Fines* (Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., lxxxii, 111–2).

[3] Gowthwaite. See p. 382, note 2, above. The old hall was occupied as a farmhouse until its demolition to make room for the Bradford Reservoir some forty years ago. It has been partly re-erected on another site.

[4] Stean is the principal village in the township. In 1374, a pardon was granted by Edward III at the request of his son John, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, to William Todde of Nidderdale on account of good services rendered beyond the seas in the Duke's company, for the death of John del Stene of Nidderdale (*C.P.R.*, 49 Edw. III, xvi, 22).

[5] Ramsgill is a name possibly

Middlesmoor being confirmed by John de Mowbray to Byland in 1345), and from these granges (and possessions in the township of Stonebeck Up) Byland received an income of £137 in 1535.

At the Dissolution these Nidderdale properties of Byland passed to the Crown, and finally, about the year 1546, to John Yorke, with whose descendants they remained until the recent disposal of the Bewerley estate.[1]

STONEBECK UP

(Parish of Masham cum Kirkby Malzeard).

Most of this very wild district, together with Stonebeck Down, was sold by the Mowbrays to Byland in 1251 for 100 marks; a portion of it, however, was granted by them to Fountains.

In the grant of 1251 the chase of the buck was reserved, but the monks of Byland were exempted from entertaining their overlords at Ramsgill and elsewhere, as previously they had been bound to do; they could dig or plough any part of the forests of Hyrefield and Middlesmoor, and they were entitled to dispose of their cattle within their pastures at their pleasure; furthermore they received a right of road for their men, cattle and carts through the forest of Kirkby Malzeard to their lands in Nidderdale, and the privilege of passing through that forest with their dogs, nets, bows and arrows when going to hunt in their own forests of Hyrefield and Middlesmoor.[2]

Probably most of the township belonged to Byland, but the grange of Newhouse was owned by Fountains, which had a dairy there.

After the Dissolution the Byland possessions passed to the family of Pickering, but were purchased by Sir Peter Yorke in 1581. Shortly after 1600 most of this property was let by Sir John Yorke on very long leases, but the manorial rights were retained.[3]

Middlesmoor, the principal village, possessed a chapel at an

signifying a gill where the wild garlic grew. The chapel there was founded by Byland Abbey (Grainge: *Nidderdale*).

[1] Courts were held for the manor until recent times.

[2] See Grainge's *Nidderdale*. The boundaries described in this Charter run as follows: By Hyrefield (Ashfoldside) Beck to the river Nidd, up the Nidd as far as Stean, thence by the wall and ditch dividing Middlesmoor and Lofthouse as far as "Douter," by Douter to Durand Pot, thence up the Nidd to the hedge dividing the lands of Byland and Fountains, then by this hedge to the boundary of Masham at "Brumehill," then to Nidderhou, thence in a straight line to Little Whernside and Great Whernside, and so by the boundaries of Craven to Menhow and thence to the head of Hyrefield Beck.

[3] Speight's *Upper Nidderdale*.

early date, though according to Speight this chapel was only licensed for the celebration of the sacraments and for baptisms, marriages and burials in 1481. Though part of Kirkby Malzeard Parish, Middlesmoor was a separate chapelry district, which included the upper portion of the dale.[1]

Sub-section 4.

THE MOWBRAY FEE IN THE LIBERTY OF RIPON.

Portions of the Mowbray estates lay within the Archbishop of York's Manor of Ripon, and since they have been already described[2] only a very short account of them will be given here[3]: needless to say all these places were in the Parish of Ripon.

HIGH AND LOW BISHOPSIDE.

This township includes the market town of Pateley Bridge and the village of Wilsill, and for several centuries it lay within the Manor of Thornton with Bishopside, a part of the Manor of Ripon.

Both the York Gospel Book[4] and the Domesday Survey state that Wilsill belonged to the Archbishop, but according to a charter of 1174[5] Roger de Mowbray alienated to the Archbishop Wilsill, Swynescliffe (Cliff Grange), Brerhagh and Yeadon, by the following bounds: "from where the Fellbeck falls into Nidd, up the Nidd to Ashwath where the principal stream of Yeadon falls into the Nidd, up the Yeadon to its source and thence in a straight line to the moor at Skelden Head."

Farrer, in a note on this charter, which he calls "a grant," suggests that the transaction was a sale to raise money for the Mowbrays' debts incurred by the rebellion of 1173, or possibly to finance Roger de Mowbray's second journey to Jerusalem in 1177. Without disputing the objects of the transaction, owing to the previous ownership of Wilsill by the Archbishop, the view that the Archbishop's ownership of High and Low Bishopside dates from this charter should be treated with caution.

It is, of course, possible that until this charter the Archbishop's land in Wilsill was a detached part of his manor of Ripon; on the

[1] For an account of the families of Horner of Woodale see Speight's *Upper Nidderdale*; for that of Bayne of Limley see *Historical Genealogy of Bayne Family of Nidderdale*, by J. Lucas.

[2] *Y.A.S. Journal*, vol. xxxii.

[3] For references to Grantley and Skelding see the above article, and also p. 360 above.

[4] The York Gospel Book. Bound in with this book (in the Minster Treasury at York) is a record of certain church estates *c.* 1030. A transcript is given in Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*.

[5] Farrer's MSS.

other hand, the operative words of the charter are "clamo quietam," which surely indicate that this deed was rather the release of an interest which the Mowbrays claimed in the land than a grant of the land itself.

"MOUWATH."

In 1303[1] Roger de Mowbray held a quarter of a knight's fee in Grantley, "Mouwath and Sleningford"; in 1399 Thomas de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, held fees in the manor and vill of "Mulwath." The identification of this place with the present Mulwith, near Newby on Ure, in the index of the *Memorials of Ripon*, was followed in the writer's article *The Manors and Liberties of Ripon*, Y.A.S. Journal, xxxii, 69, but it is almost certain that this identification is mistaken, and that the Mowbrays' Mouwath was a place near Hackfall.[2]

SLENINGFORD.[3]

This district, which became entirely the property of Fountains Abbey[4] (and for that reason is still tithe free), was part of the Mowbray fee, and in some inquisitions is treated as a member of the manor of Kirkby, though probably this was technically incorrect. It lies within the township of North Stainley-with-Sleningford.

SUTTON.

This place was a member of the Manor of Ripon, being actually a part of the Archbishop's demesne lands. Notwithstanding this, Roger de Mowbray possessed land there, for in 1155–70 Alice de Gant, his wife, gave land in Sutton to Fountains for the building of the church, and afterwards in frankalmoign.[5] Other grants by the Mowbrays and their tenants of land possibly in Sutton, but now difficult to locate with certainty, were made by various charters.

[1] "Knights' fees in the Liberty of Ripon" (Surtees Soc., xlix, 212).

[2] It is unlikely that "Mouwath" is the same as Mulwith near Newby, Ripon, for the following reasons: (a) Mulwith is some distance from the other Mowbray possessions; (b) in 1341 the Manor of "Mullewathe" (Mulwith) belonged to St. Mary Magdalene's Hospital in Ripon, and Mulwith is a small district to contain two manors; (c) in the record of the boundaries and map of the Honour of Kirkby of 1600, we find a name Woolswath or Wallerswath (in 1307 called Ulveswath), and the similarity of the names with Mouwath and the proximity of the place with Sleningford (with which Mouwath was often coupled) points to its being the Mouwath of the Mowbrays.

[3] The name Sleningford is possibly derived from the Old English *Slea*, meaning a grass slope.

[4] See Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 646–63.

[5] The boundaries ran from Ridley Causeway to "the Bar" at the Stoneygate, thence to Walescroft to the mound and the oak, and so in a straight line to (North) Stainley as far as the grantor's land extended (Lancaster's *Fountains Chartulary* and Farrer's MSS.).

The romantic name "Thievesgill" is now attached to a wooded ravine in Sutton, through which the road runs from Kirkby to Ripon. According to local tradition, the place was anciently the haunt of robbers; but on the seventeenth-century map of the Honour, referred to above, it seems to have been called "Calfgill."

SECTION III.

LATER HISTORY.

It is probable that Kirkby saw little of its lords, and particularly of the Earls of Derby, who gave long leases of the whole Honour.[1] During the sixteenth century its importance was gradually decreasing, reduction of the purchasing power of money reducing many manorial rents from substantial to nominal sums scarcely worth collection, while the seventeenth century saw the abolition of military tenures and the relaxation of rights of forest and chase. Again, the manorial incidents and hunting rights, carefully reserved out of the grants to religious houses, seem to have fallen into abeyance after the dissolution of the monasteries, and though it is true that the seventeenth- and even eighteenth-century leases of the Honour specifically included rights and properties in different parts of it, even in Nidderdale, the actual value of these privileges must have been little, even if the references to many of the places were not mere verbiage and formality.[2]

One of the principal services in medieval times was the duty of attendance at the Courts of the Honour every three weeks. Here again, information is not at hand to enable us to say when this Court ceased to be held, but until the last few years a Court Leet was held annually in June.

In the case of a solitary district such as this, where life must have been largely uneventful and where what events there were passed unrecorded, it is impossible to attempt a consecutive story of the changes which came to pass, and much has to be inferred; but we are safe in assuming that the catastrophe which befell the religious

[1] The Earl granted leases in 1597 and 1605 respectively, the former for 40 years (*Feet of Fines*, 1488–1625) and it was probable that the manor was leased for most of the 17th century.

[2] The Earl's leases included lands and frankpledge in "Hartwyth, Wynsley, Buerley, Neytherdale, Gowthwaite, Ramsgill, Bowthwaite, Middlesmoor and Siggesworth," besides places in the Honour proper. In 1720 the Honour or manor apparently included "the towns, villages and hamlets of Kirkby Malzeard, Thorpe *als.* Gruelthorpe, Azerley, Laverton, Micklehay (Mickley), Gauthway (Galphay), Winksley, Skelden, Longley, Bowes, Gauthwaite, Ramsgill, Middlemore, Dallagill, Swetton, Misses, Ketsmore, Carlsmore, Hartick (Hartwith), Wynsley, Awdefield (Aldfield), Studley, Brathway (Braithwaite Hall) and Bromley (Bramley Grange." See Grainge's *Vale of Mowbray*, p. 71.

houses at the Dissolution must have had very great significance in the life of these secluded and conservative people, who were frequently the tenants or dependants of some monastery. Whether or not monasteries were easy landlords is a matter of dispute,[1] but the increase in rents under the new landlords, the trafficking in abbey lands, together with the religious changes which were generally unpopular in the country districts of northern England, were no more likely to be welcome in Kirkby than in other parts of Yorkshire.

During the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, Whitaker says that Kirkby was solid for the King[2]; possibly this was through

[1] For an example of the large increases in the rents of the Fountains granges made by Sir Richard Gresham see *Mem. of Fountains*, i, 254 (footnote), also Walbran's remarks thereon. Mr. Geoffrey Baskerville, in *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, attributes the rise in rents in the 16th century to the rapid growth in the cost of living, and says that the monks did not wish to be easy landlords, and even if they had, the founders and high stewards of monasteries and the numerous other laymen with financial interests in them would have seen that full rents were exacted. With the greatest deference to this expert opinion, there are reasons why it is probable that the Dissolution, while by no means the sole cause, was at least one cause of increases of rents. In modern times it has been observed that old landlords, and particularly landlords of very large estates, are generally reluctant to raise rents: again, the Dissolution was followed by a period of land speculation, and purchasers of property in such times usually extract all possible profit, and base rents on the full market value of the property, not on custom or sentiment.

[2] "All ye men in C. 1st's time were for ye King, except ye Constable, in y'se unhappy wars. So that the King's own sworn officer was alone found 'faithless among the faithfull'" (Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii, 116, quoting Johnston's and Burton's MSS.). According to Speight, Nidderdale was divided in its allegiance. "Bold Robin of Bouthwaite," whose summary methods with robbers long delighted the neighbourhood, was a supporter of the Parliamentary party, but appears to have got very tired of the services his leaders imposed on him. The following document, preserved with the title deeds of a local county family, seems to relate to this period:

"An account of the freehold estates in the Constabulary of Kirkby Malzeard that formerly bore their proportionate shares towards maintaining two foot soldiers for the militia charged in this Constabulary, now gone as principals or bearers to the Light Horse and asking for relief—

Freehold and copyhold estates gone to the Light Horse.	£ s. d.
Mr. John Metcalfe principal of Light Horse	50
Mr. William Green ..	60
,, John Lodge ..	24
,, Bradshaw	18 10 0
,, Gregory Elsley ..	134 13 0
	£243 3 0

Freehold and copyholds which remain towards the maintenance of foot soldiers.	£ s. d.
Mr. Thomas Smith Principal	40
Thomas Procter ..	12
Martin Wood ..	2
Abraham Smith ..	3 10 0
Arthur Horseman	4 0 0
William Abbott ..	2 0 0
Mr. Ward	2 0 0
William Houldsworth	4 0 0
Sam Kid	2 0 0
Mr. John Robinson pt.	6 0 0
	£77 10 0

the influence of the Earl of Derby. Nidderdale, on the other hand, was divided in its sympathies, and perhaps then, as later, local jealousies and prejudices moulded the politics of many. As is well known, the resolute loyalty of the Earl of Derby cost him his life, while his estates were forfeited for treason in 1652. However, it does not appear that they were out of the possession of his widow—the heroic defender of Latham House—since in 1652 she gave an authority to an agent to collect rents in Thirsk and Kirkby Malzeard, and granted leases of these places, which leases were held good in law in 1654.[1]

In the eighteenth century the Earls of Derby pursued a policy of letting manorial holdings to tenants on long leases, giving them almost freehold interests, and some of the descendants of these tenants and the tenants of purchasers of the monastic lands[2] retained their possessions down to recent times, and constituted that independent body of small yeoman farmers so characteristic of the Yorkshire dales and moorlands.

According to Grainge,[3] Lord Derby disposed of the manor of Kirkby to the Elsleys,[4] his principal tenants, from whom William Aislabie of Studley subsequently acquired it by exchange. Aislabie would already have been in possession of large parts of the abbey land in it, as well as of some of the sub-manors, but without reference to the documents of title it is difficult to explain the recent manorial history. The owners of the Studley Estate, Aislabie's successors in title are stated[5] to be the manorial lords of most of the old sub-manors held of the Honour proper, but in Nidderdale only of Fountains Earth, while as we have seen, the paramount lordship over Mickley either lapsed or went by default.

The history of the later medieval castle or manor house must also remain a matter for speculation, in the absence of evidence to shew whether it became ruinous during the Mowbrays' time or

[1] Grainge: *Vale of Mowbray*.

[2] Sir Marmaduke Wyvill of Burton purchased abbey property near Kirkby, some of which is still held under long leases granted by him.

[3] Grainge: *Vale of Mowbray*.

[4] According to Grainge (*Vale of Mowbray*) the family of Elsley are first traceable as being settled at Aldfield. They had possessions at Bewerley (*temp.* Elizabeth) which they sold to the Yorkes about 1770, and they held the Manor of Kirkby Malzeard, which they exchanged with John Aislabie of Studley for a farm at Thirlby. One branch of the family lived at Northcloses (now a farm-house) near Kirkby, and subsequently purchased an estate at Patrick Brompton in the North Riding. One of this branch, William Elsley, was subdean of Ripon from 1723–1743. (For an account of his life see *Mem. of Ripon*, ii, 284.) The arms of the family were *Quarterly or and arg. five roses in saltire gu., seeded and barbed proper.*

[5] Kelly's *Directory of Yorkshire* (West Riding), 1917 edition.

was occasionally occupied until the seventeenth century. The name "manor house" was last used to describe a building, pulled down about sixty years ago, which stood at the entrance of the village from Ripon and at least 200 yards from the castle ruins. Unfortunately no description of what was possibly the last relic of feudal administration has been preserved, but the building was once used as an inn, and appears to have been a seventeenth- or perhaps eighteenth-century house of no great size.[1]

At a still later period a country house was built near the site of the ancient castle, the ruins of which have been smoothed away to make ornamental grounds. This modern house, known as Mowbray House, occasionally served as a second residence for the owners of Studley, the first Marquess of Ripon, when Viscount Goderick, living there for several years; but about fifty years ago this house, together with much property in Kirkby, was disposed of to various purchasers, the grounds of Hackfall,[2] and shadowy manorial rights (for no copyholds have existed in recent times) alone being retained.

To-day the unity of the district has completely vanished. The market at Kirkby has long since ceased to be held,[3] the local bench of magistrates now sits at Ripon, the peculiar court with its probate jurisdiction was abolished in 1857, and for most of the last century the vicar of the parish lived at Masham, Kirkby being left in the charge of a curate. It is true that a smaller ecclesiastical parish of Kirkby Malzeard was constituted in 1922 in which the ninteenth-century parish of Dallowgill was merged, but this change has only given the place the same importance as that of five or six other districts within the ancient peculiar, which are also now independent parishes.[4]

Such is the history, so far as we can trace it, of the Honour of

[1] The writer is indebted to Mr. T. Thirkill for this information.

[2] Hackfall has been sold recently.

[3] According to Mr. T. Thirkill's interesting little guide-book on this district, *Rambles with a Rambler*, the market fell into disuse about 1816, though an unsuccessful effort to revive it was made in 1824; the fairs, however, held on the 2nd and 3rd October, survived in some form until 1914. Mr. Thirkill also gives an account of the destruction of the old market cross in 1866 by a villager, the indignation which this act of vandalism caused, and the subsequent erection of the present cross on the ancient site.

[4] Dallowgill and Mickley were constituted separate parishes in 1844, Grewelthorpe in 1848, and Hartwith in 1861. Middlesmoor and Ramsgill had medieval chapels, and as we have seen the former had an independent chapelry district for a long period. The right of presentation to all these places (except Hartwith, where it is held jointly) is vested in the Vicar of Masham, who can also issue marriage licences for the whole of the ancient parish in right of the former Peculiar.

Kirkby Malzeard, of which the very memory has nearly perished. Though the Peculiar has also vanished, the interesting churches of Kirkby and Masham remain intact, and are still a source of pride to the neighbourhood; but only a few mutilated mounds at Kirkby, some weathered shields on the church tower,[1] and a broken and nameless monument in the ruins of Fountains, now exist to remind a very few of a once great feudal jurisdiction, while its lords the Mowbrays, like the Bohuns, Mortimers and Plantaganets, "are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality."

[1] The tower of the church has a singularly fine base mould decorated with heraldic shields, unfortunately much decayed. The Rev. C. V. Collier considered that the tower had been built either by the 3rd Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1461, or by his son, who died in 1475.

ROYAL PARDONS FOR THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

By A. G. Dickens.

I. Introductory: The Lincolnshire Pardon.

As befits so great a crisis in our national and local history, the Pilgrimage of Grace has received considerable attention at the hands of historians.[1] Some of its more significant aspects and records, especially those touching governmental attitude and policy, nevertheless remain imperfectly explored. While the primary purpose of the present article is to print for the first time the full and exact texts of the main pardons granted by the Crown to the rebels, many problems connected with the issue of these pardons and affecting intimately our view of the royal policy must also claim attention. Such problems will often lead us behind the summaries of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, with which workers on this period too often rest content, to the original manuscripts at the Public Record Office and in our local archives. That these enquiries have a justification beyond mere pedantry will, it is hoped, become sufficiently manifest.

The use of formal pardons by the kings of England would provide an interesting subject of study. Late medieval kings commonly granted pardons to their peoples as a whole,[2] pardons to safeguard their own adherents in times of political trouble,[3] and pardons to rebels.[4] The Tudors followed all these examples of their predecessors.

General pardons, ostensibly by way of propaganda, became very frequent under Henry VIII. At first in letters patent,[5] later in statute-form,[6] these grants excepted cases of treason and other specified major crimes, as well as specified offenders, from their

[1] The most important contributions are: M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*; R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 121 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. Stat. Realm*, ii, Index; *s.v.* 'Pardons' for those of Edward III: and note also 1 Ric. II, c. 10; 21 Ric. II, c. 15; 5 Hen. IV, c. 15.

[3] 1 Edw. III, st. i, c. 1; 5 Ric. II, st. i, c. 5; 1 Hen. VII, c. 6.

[4] 51 & 52 Hen. III, c. 5 (*Dictum de Kenilworth*); 7 Edw. II; 15 Edw. II; 6 Ric. II, st. i, c. 13, and st. ii, c. 3; 7 Hen. IV, c. 18. For various particulars on the issue of pardons *cf.* H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *The Great Seal*, Index, *s.v.* 'Pardons.'

[5] *Cf. L. & P.*, I (i), 11 (1, 10), and *Stat. Realm*, iii, 96.

[6] 7 Hen. VIII, c. 11; 14 & 15 Hen. VIII, c. 17; 21 Hen. VIII, c. 1; 26 Hen. VIII, c. 18; 32 Hen. VIII, c. 49; 35 Hen. VIII, c. 18. This series is quite distinct from the Praemunire pardons (22 Hen. VIII, c. 15, 16; 23 Hen. VIII, c. 19).

operation. Tudor governments again afford numerous examples of the use of pardons in the case of rebellion. A government having at its command no standing army needed to employ every ingenuity of statecraft against those civil commotions inevitable in an age of social transition and discontent. Amongst such ingenuities the offer or promise of free pardon to rebels stands pre-eminent. It availed not only as legally necessary for a peaceful settlement after revolt was quelled, but also as a political manœuvre while revolt was yet in progress. Used in this latter manner a pardon frequently pacified the timid and easily-led majority "who of likelihood submitted themselves, assuredlie believing if they persevered in their enterprise, there was no way with them but one, namelie deserved death, wherewith there was no dispensing after the contempt of the princes pardon and refusall of his mercie."[1] Governments in a weak military position naturally favoured this method. Henry VII in 1486 offered pardons to the still unsubdued rebels of Middleham and Richmond,[2] but in 1489 he did not need to pardon the North Riding offenders until they had been thoroughly overthrown.[3] The government of Somerset, embarrassed in the summer of 1549 by widespread rebellion, caused most of the rebels around Seamer to disperse by the offer of a pardon,[4] though but lately the East Anglian rebels had rejected such overtures and continued their resistance.[5]

In the autumn of 1536 Henry VIII had no means of accomplishing the forcible overthrow of the Pilgrimage of Grace, while the pilgrims themselves believed he would remedy their grievances. The idea of a formal pardon was hence bound to present itself to both sides early in the revolt. Even the Lincolnshire rebels, so crudely organised, so badly led by comparison with the northern men, petitioned the King on October 3 for his "graciouse letters of

[1] Holinshed (1587), iii, 1041. The edition of 1587 adds this reflection to the account of the Yorkshire rising of 1549 given (from Foxe) in the earlier edition of 1577. *Cf.* below, note 4.

[2] *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII* (Rolls Series), i, 535: Commission for receiving into allegiance and pardoning "illos rebelles nostros, qui infra comitatum Eborum, et præcipue infra dominia nostra de Midelham et Richemond, *nunc existunt*," etc.

[3] Holinshed (1577), ii, 1435.

[4] Foxe has the earliest and best account of the rising in his *Actes and Monumentes* (edn. 1570, pp. 1500–1501; it is not mentioned in the first edition of 1563). Holinshed embodied Foxe word for word in his edition of 1577, and in that of 1587 added a brief reflective passage, most of which is printed above. Stow has nothing on it in his *Summarie* of 1565 and gives an abbreviated account, from either Foxe or Holinshed, in his *Chronicles* of 1580 (pp. 1042–3).

[5] Sotherton's *Commoyson in Norfolk* (Harleian MS. 1576), printed in F. W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, pp. 74–5.

generall pardon."[1] The local gentlemen, controlling the commons with difficulty, were on October 11 making suit to Suffolk, the King's Lieutenant General, for a formal pardon.[2] Suffolk on the following day wrote asking the King whether he would grant a pardon for Lincolnshire in order that action might be taken against the northern menace.[3] Meanwhile on the same day the host at Lincoln heard a proclamation by Lancaster Herald in the name of the royal commanders and ordering the rebels to depart home. Persuasion and threats carried the day. The gentlemen made formal submission and repaired to Suffolk to sue for pardon. By October 13 the last of the Lincolnshire commons had dispersed.[4]

The King was hence at no necessity to grant a hasty pardon to Lincolnshire and the report of 15 October from Wakefield that the rebels had received an actual pardon from the Herald[5] seems exaggerated. About that day Henry was merely writing to accept the submission and promising, if the rebels gave up their weapons and went home, to "take more mercy, pytye, and compassion of you and of your pore wyves, and innocent childern, then your desertes hathe merytyd or deservyd."[6] Despite such vague assurances, another royal letter of 15 October exacted the surrender of nine ringleaders,[7] while in his famous reply to the rebels, sent north four days later, Henry went so far as to demand a hundred Lincolnshire hostages.[8] He writes on 5 November that neither Lincolnshire nor Yorkshire yet have his pardon "ne any certain promise of the same."[9] The first recorded formal pardon for Lincolnshire was sent to Suffolk on November 14, but only the covering letter has survived.[10] A draft-pardon dated 2 December is on the other hand preserved and claims our attention as closely foreshadowing the Yorkshire pardon granted a week later. As the offences of the Lincolnshire men proceeded from ignorance—so this draft runs—and from the spreading by sedicious persons of "sundry false tales never minded nor intended by his Highness or any of his Council,"[11] and in consideration of their submission,

[1] P.R.O. S. P. Hen. VIII, 106, p. 250, printed in Dodds, *op. cit.*, i, 98-9.
[2] *L. & P.*, xi, 665.
[3] *Ibid.*, 672.
[4] Dodds, *op. cit.*, i, 129–130, gives references for these events.
[5] *L. & P.*, xi, 734.
[6] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 470; *L. & P.*, xi, 718.
[7] *L. & P.*, xi, 715.
[8] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 466; *L. & P.*, xi, 780 (2).
[9] *Ibid.*, 984.
[10] *Ibid.*, xi, 1061. This pardon excepted the persons already in ward and two others here unnamed, but almost certainly Kendall and Leach, as below.
[11] Similar phraseology occurs in the below-mentioned drafts for a northern pardon of Dec. 3, and in the pardon of Dec. 9 below printed. For details of these 'false tales' *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 782.

all shall be at liberty to obtain separate pardons out of Chancery without payment.[1] Two ringleaders mentioned by name,[2] and such others as lay already in custody are excepted from the benefits of the pardon.[3] A number of these unfortunates in due course suffered execution.[4]

Though necessarily brief and bald, this summary of the Lincolnshire negotiations will help to explain those regarding the northern counties, which, though at once more complicated and more important, followed and resembled them.

II. The Northern Rising: Early Proposals.

In the case of the northern rising the necessity for some kind of pardon soon became generally evident. Norfolk wrote on 28 October "that the Lordes and Gentlemen that went from us,[5] yesterdaye, to the commons, at Pomfret, be retourned; and uppon the declaration there of your most gratious free pardon, have dispeached home, to their howses, all the said commons."[6] This was clearly no formal grant, but an informal promise of the royal pardon. Norfolk had three days previously urged the King to take in good part whatever he might promise to the rebels, for he did not feel it incumbent on his honour to see such promises fulfilled.[7] On their side the rebels naturally demanded something more definite.

The copy of the rebels' oath and articles despatched by Norfolk with his letter to the King of 28 October almost certainly contained a demand for pardon by Act of Parliament. The manuscript[8] is badly mutilated, but the following words of the penultimate article remain:

> " . . . . have doon or sayd any thyng aganste the lawes by insurrections or odrewiese.
>
> . . . . of parliament or odrewiese as surely as can be devysed for all maner offences doon before."

[1] On this common proviso *cf.* below, p. 415, note 3.

[2] Thomas Kendall, vicar of Louth, and Robert Leach of Horncastle.

[3] *L. & P.*, xi, 1224.

[4] On the condemnations at the Lincolnshire assizes of March, 1537, *cf.* Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 151–4.

[5] He was writing from Doncaster.

[6] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 496; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 902.

[7] *Ibid.*, 864. For Henry's guarded reply see *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 494–5; *L. & P.*, xi, 884. Henry denied on 5 November that any 'certain promise' of a pardon had yet been made (*cf.* above, p. 399).

[8] P.R.O. S. P. Hen. VIII, 109, pp. 253–6; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 902 (2). Norfolk's letter enclosing these articles is printed in full in the *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 496, but not the articles themselves as sometimes stated.

The earliest preserved copy of a pardon for the northern rising is dated 2 November, and is fairly written on parchment ready for publication.[1] It declares a pardon for all offences committed by the northern commons before November 1, on their suit in Chancery and after their submission to Norfolk or his deputies, " provyded always that Robert Aske, Hutton of Snape, Kechyn of Beverley, William Humbler the baylyf, Henry Coke of Durham, shomaker, Maunsell, vycar of Brayton,[2] of whome the Kynges Highnes is enformed that they have ben the chief ryngleders & sterers of this commocion amonges you, and also foure others whiche in Tyndale, Liddesdale, the borders of Lancashyre, Kendall & elleswhere have commytted & don like attemptates & have ben pryncipally ringleders & offenders of the same, shalbe excepted & forprised out of this said pardon & reserved to suche punysshment as his Highnes shall appoynt unto them." A mutilated draft of the same proclamation, with corrections by Wriothesley and insertions unadopted in this final version, is also extant at the Public Record Office.[3] A third draft of a pardon was dated by Gairdner, perhaps on somewhat uncertain grounds, 2 November.[4] This is a fair copy, though not formally inscribed on parchment, and pardons offences committed before the day of proclamation on condition offenders submit to Norfolk, Shrewsbury, or their deputies. It contains, however, no mention of the ten exceptions.

Important questions regarding the royal policy hence arise. Which, if any, of these pardons was actually proclaimed in the North ? Was the King openly expressing his demand that some leaders be excepted for punishment previous to his inclusive pardon granted, as we shall observe, early in December at the second Doncaster conference ?

The standard account assumes that the pardon with the ten exceptions was generally published abroad in the North early in November.[5] We have amongst the state papers a number of Council orders, dated 11 November, some of them actually signed by members of the Council, directing unnamed recipients to proclaim as widely as possible in the nearby towns the pardon which had been granted to the northern rebels and which excepted only ten ringleaders.[6] At the same time we are told that these Council orders

[1] P.R.O. Exch. T. R. Misc. Books, 119, p. 89; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 955 (1).

[2] The parts played by these ringleaders may be followed through the indexes to *L. & P.*, vols. xi, xii.

[3] P.R.O. S. P. Hen. VIII, 110, pp. 103–10; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 955 (2).

[4] P.R.O. Exch. T. R. Misc. Books, 119, pp. 95–6; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 955 (3).

[5] Dodds, *op. cit.*, i, 295.

[6] *L. & P.*, xi, 1040.

must in reality have been issued before 11 November, because of evidence that the proclamation was already being made that day at Nottingham and even at Skipton.[1] This view, in itself not without inconsistency, involves difficulties far more grave than those it solves.

The positive evidence in its favour is far from conclusive. By far the strongest piece of evidence is provided by the signed though incomplete Council orders. It does not, however, require prolonged study of the contemporary state papers to observe that the existence of Council orders remains far from proving that those orders were in fact issued and executed. That the state papers abound with drafts, even fair copies, of orders which never found their way into the country is surely the merest axiom of this type of investigation. Of the evidence for a proclamation of pardon with exceptions even earlier than 11 November, the Nottingham letter[2] merely mentions a rumour that the King intended to pardon all but five of the rebels, and quite plainly does not refer to the pardons dated November 2 or any other formal declaration actually made by the King.[3] Christopher Aske, in a later statement also adduced as evidence, recalls (1) that he served the Earl of Cumberland at Skipton until St. Thomas' Day (21 December), "when the pardon was proclaimed," and (2) that on Martinmas Day (11 November) he made the "King's proclamation" at Skipton Fair, to the indignation of the commons.[4] It would seem a curious use of evidence if we take this as proving that his proclamation of 11 November was also a proclamation of pardon, and of the pardon demanding ten exceptions! Christopher does not say which of the many royal proclamations he set forth on 11 November: it may well have been one of the several general manifestoes not demanding the ten victims.[5] Even assuming that his dates are accurate and that he does refer to the pardon excepting the ten (though we need assume neither),[6] we are still left with an isolated instance. In the case of any general and widespread proclamation we should expect, so offensive was the demand, many reports and reactions.

[1] Dodds, *loc. cit.*

[2] *L. & P.*, xi, 1042.

[3] This letter perhaps represents a leakage of the King's intentions through Bowes and Ellerker, who are mentioned, and were apparently the writer's informants. *Cf.* below, p. 403.

[4] *L. & P.*, xii (1), 1186.

[5] E.g. *ibid.*, xi, 887; 955 (3); App. 12. The roughly contemporaneous orders for the heralds make no suggestion of exceptions, and were anyhow not necessarily put into effect (*Ibid.*, 956).

[6] His statement was made 12 May, 1537, and it would be rash to take his dates on trust. He suggests, for example, that the pardon was proclaimed at Skipton on Dec. 21, whereas Clarencieux King-of-Arms claimed to have read it there on the 16th (*L. & P.*, xi, 1392).

So far we have shown no more than the weakness of the positive evidence. Quite apart from this there are definite grounds for disbelieving that the foolhardy policy of demanding victims so soon after the truce of Doncaster was actually carried out in the North. The King had already, in his reply to the rebels of 2 November,[1] demanded the ten exceptions, but had soon thought better of it. Three days later he had stopped Bowes and Ellerker, who were already setting out with this reply for the North.[2] Again, about 14 November, Henry ordered Norfolk and the Lord Admiral, Fitzwilliam, to take with them for their forthcoming appointment with the rebel leaders at Doncaster copies of "a proclamation implieng a pardon." If Darcy and the others would be content to accept a pardon on the King's own terms, "thenne shall the said Duke of Norfolk and the said Lord Admyrall, first to a certain of them, secretely, showe the said proclamation of pardon, to thintent they may the better endevor themselfes to the apprehension of those vile personnes that be excepted in the same, ... and soo aftre cause the said proclamation to be openly proclaymed."[3] In view of this proposed discretion it appears hardly likely that the pardon with exceptions had already been blazed about the North. A modified view of the royal policy is hence suggested. We think it virtually certain that Henry's overweening confidence had already been given such pause as to make him defer his revenge until further excuse arose: his bark must be softened if his bite were to be assured. Even these last more cautious instructions he was soon fain to modify.

III. The Second Doncaster Meeting and the Pardons of December, 1536.

During the last fortnight of November the King was doubtless persuaded by Norfolk[4] and by others who knew the temper of the northerners that insistence upon a pardon with ten exceptions might entail a disastrous break-down of negotiations. Norfolk's final instructions for the second Doncaster conference were issued on 2 December and require our careful attention. Norfolk must at first urge the representatives of the insurgents humbly to accept a pardon with exceptions. In case of their refusal to accept anything but a general pardon without exceptions, Norfolk must cause delay by saying that his commission did not extend so far, but that he would himself back their suits to the King. If they would

[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 506; *L. & P.*, xi, 957.
[2] *Ibid.*, xi, 985, 986.
[3] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 498–505; *L. & P.*, xi, 1064.
[4] *Cf. L. & P.*, xi, 1226; 1227; 1236.

engage to demand no more than this inclusive pardon and the Parliament to secure it, then the Duke must promise to join in their suit and after an interval of six or seven days "as thoughe you shuld sende hither unto us" declare that he had "with great sute" obtained the King's consent and present them with the pardon. This pardon the King was in reality sending now (2 December) by Sir John Russell.[1]

Henry's attitude is further clarified by his words of 4 December to Suffolk: "Albeit We thought, the graunting of suche a free pardon shuld not be honorable for Us, but a meane to put thiese rebelles in greate pride, and an occasion to cause others to attempt like rebellions heraftre: yet, giving place to thadvise of our Counsail therin, We have not only sent suche a pardon to our said Cousin of Norfolk, as is free and general; to be nevertheles retayned in his handes, and in no wise graunted unto them, onles very extremytie shall enforce the same."[2] The Council, though thus urging the King to sanction the grant of a pardon without exceptions, nevertheless wrote to Norfolk on 4 December asking him to preserve the King's honour by reserving, if possible, a very few for punishment—especially Sir Robert Constable "as he is most notable and wilful."[3]

On the other side there were no such doubts and difficulties regarding this question. One of the articles framed at Pontefract on December 2 and the two following days illustrates the attitude of the Pilgrims' representatives at the conference: "Pardon by Act of Parliament for all recognizances, statutes and penalties new forfeited during the time of this commotion."[4] Faced at the conference by this united demand, Norfolk overlooked the fact that he was authorised to promise an inclusive pardon only in case of extremity. Once negotiations had begun he soon produced the pardon.[5]

It is doubtful whether a copy of this pardon, so sent up on December 2 and first read to the great assembly at Pontefract on December 8, still exists. At the Public Record Office there are, however, a draft and notes for northern pardons, clearly dated 3 December.[6] The King—so runs the substance of this draft—

[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 511–518; *L. & P.*, xi, 1227.

[2] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 521; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 1236. Suffolk at the same time received a proclamation, apparently promising pardon in case of submission, to enable him to negotiate with Marshland and Howdenshire.

[3] *L. & P.*, xi, 1237.

[4] *L. & P.*, xi, 1246.

[5] *Cf.* Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 13–16; *E. H. R.*, v, 340–2.

[6] P.R.O. Exch. T. R. Misc. Books, 119, pp. 91–2. The brief record in *L. & P.*, xi, 1235, is of little help here.

being informed that many of his subjects dwelling in Yorkshire have been craftily deceived by false tales and lies spread abroad among them by sedicious persons and have attempted manifest rebellion, commands that no subject shall resist his Sovereign. His Highness, having charge of their souls and bodies, is content to grant them all, if they penitently submit themselves to the Duke of Suffolk at Lincoln or elsewhere and take a prescribed oath, his general and free pardon. This applies to all manner of offences—a list is given—committed from the beginning of the rebellion to the day of proclamation, and exempts from all penalties incurred. The King is pleased that on their suits they shall have their pardon granted under the Great Seal without payment or hindrance, and charges them to be of good behaviour henceforth.[1] Unlike the Lincolnshire pardon of the previous day[2] this draft has no mention of exceptions. It obviously bears a close relation to the pardon sent to Norfolk for use at Doncaster.

A universal pardon for the North was at last drawn up on 9 December. This important document has been printed, from a copy at the Public Record Office,[3] by Speed,[4] and again by M. H. and R. Dodds.[5] That both these printed texts are highly inaccurate will appear from a comparison with the following transcript and collation. The transcript actually comes from an original, in perfect condition and with its Great Seal still attached, now preserved in the archives of the Corporation of Hull.[6] It will, however, be seen to possess only three or four verbal variations from the Record Office draft.[7]

> Albe it thatt you the Kynges Highnes subiettes and commons dwellyng and inhabityng in the shires of Yorke,[8] Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, the bisshoprich of Durham,

[1] The notes accompanying this draft are merely variations of the first clause, making the pardon apply to other northern shires, and of the clause specifying the recipient of the submissions. *Cf. L. & P.*, xi, 1235 (ii–v).

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 399–400.

[3] S.P. Hen. VIII, 112, pp. 194–5; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 1276 (1). Another draft, with one or two trivial verbal variations, and omitting the date-clause at the end, is in B.M. Lansdowne MSS., i, pp. 222–231.

[4] *The History of Great Britaine* (1611), pp. 777–8.

[5] *Op. cit.*, ii, 28–30.

[6] I am greatly indebted to the Town Clerk for permission to transcribe and print this and the later pardon below.

[7] The spelling, of course, differs constantly. In this case either version might have been printed. In the case of the pardon of July, 1537, printed below, the locally-preserved copies are clearly to be preferred to the Record Office draft as containing important additions and as being with certainty the version actually issued.

[8] The top right-hand corner of the R.O. draft has perished and with it the words ' of York.' They were certainly present, though naturally omitted in *L. & P.*, xi, 1276 (1).

the Citie of Yorke and the shire of the same, the towne of Kyngeston uppon Hull and the shire of the same, the towne of Newcastell uppon Tyne and the shire of the same and in[1] other shires, townes, dales, places pryvylegied, franchesies and liberties within the lymyttes of the seid shires, cities and townes or in any of theym or beynge reputed or taken for any parte parcell or membre of any of theym and such other the Kynges seid subiectes inhabited in the towne of Lancastre and elswhere by north[2] in the shire of Lancastre have nowe of late attempted and comytted manyfest and open rebellyon agaynst his most royall maiestie, wherby was like to have ensuyd the utter ruyne and destruccion of those whole countreys to the great comfort and avauncement of youre auncyent ennemyes the Scottes, which as his Highnes is credebly enfourmed do with a great redynes watche uppon the same, and to the high displeasure of God, who straytely commaundeth you to obey youre soveraigne lorde and Kynge in all thynges and not with violence to resiste his will or commaundement for any cause what so ever it be. Nevertheles the Kynges royall maiestie perceyvyng aswell by the articles of youre pretenses sent to his Highnes as also duly enfourmed by credeble reportes that youre seid offences proceded of ygnorance and by occasion of sondry false tales[3] never mynded nor entended by his Highnes or any of his counsell but most craftely contryved and most spytefully set abrode amonges you by certeyn malicious and sedicious persons, and theruppon his Highnes, enclyned to extend his most gratious pitie and mercye towardes you, havynge the chief charge of you under God both of youre sowles and bodies, and desyryng rather the preservacion of the same and youre reconciliacion by his mercyfull meanes than by the order and rygour of iustice to punyshe you accordyng to youre demerites, of his inestymable goodnes, benygnytie, mercie and pitie, and at youre most humble peticions and submyssyons made unto his Highnes, is contented and pleased to geve and graunt and by this present proclamacion doth geve and graunt unto you all and to all and every youre confederates where so ever they dwell, of what estate degree or condicion[4] so ever you or they be, or by what name or names so ever they or you be or may be called, his generall and free pardon for all maner treasons,

[1] R.O. omits 'in.'
[2] Only the northern part of Lancashire was implicated in the revolt.
[3] *Cf.* above, p. 399.
[4] R.O. has 'conditions.'

rebellions, insurrections, mesprisions of[1] treasons, murders, roberyes, felonies and of all accessaries of the same and of every of theym, unlaufull assemblies, unlaufull conventicles, unlaufull spekyng of wordes, confederacies, conspiracies, ryottes, rowtes and all other trespasses offenses and contemptes done and commytted by you or any of you agaynst the Kynges Maiestie his crowne or dignytie royall within and from the tyme of the begynnynge of the seid rebellion when so ever it was untyll the present daye of proclaymynge of this proclamacion[2] and of all paynes iudgementes and execucions of deth and all other penalties, fynes, and forfaitures of landes, tenementes, hereditamentes, goodes or[3] catalles by any of you incurred by reason of the premysses or any of theym, which fynes, forfaitures, landes, tenementes, hereditamentes goodes and catalles the Kynges seid Highnes of his specyall grace and mere mocyon by thies presentes geveth to such of you as have or shuld have forfaited or lost the same by occasion of the premysses or any of theym. And also his Highnes is pleased and contented that you and every of you from tyme to tyme shall and may have uppon youre suytes to be made herafter in the Kynges Chauncerye his seid most gracious and free pardon under his Great Seale concernyng the premysses without any further byll or warraunt to be opteyned for the same and without paying any thyng for the Great Seale therof, and that you and every of you from tyme to tyme may freely and liberally sue for his seid pardon when and as often as it shall lyke you without any troble, vexacion or ympechement for the premysses or any of theym by his Highnes or by any his officers, mynysters or subiectes by any maner of meanes or in any maner of wise. Provyded all waye that you and every of you in token of a perfecte declaracion and knowledge that ye do hertely lament and be sory for youre seid offenses shall make youre humble submyssion unto his Highnes in the presence of his right trustie and right enterly belovyd and his right trusty and right welbelovyd cousens and counsellours the Duke of Norffolk and the Erle of Shrewesburye his Lieutenauntes Generall or of any of theym or to

[1] R.O. omits 'of.'

[2] The Indictment against Darcy and the other leaders notes that although the King had pardoned offences from the beginning of the rebellion to Dec. 10, they subsequently continued their treasonous conspiracies (P.R.O. Baga de Secretis, pouch x, bundle 2, m. 17, summarised in D.K. Rep. iii, App. 2, pp. 247–8, and in *L. & P.*, xii (1), 1207, pp. 554–5).

[3] R.O. has 'goodes & castals.'

the deputie or deputies of theym or any[1] of theym, or to such other person or persons as the Kynges Highnes shall appoynt for the same. Furthermore the Kynges most royall Maiestie straitely chargeth and commaundeth that you and every of you shall from hensforth lyke true and feithfull subiectes use youre selfes in Goddes peace and his accordyng to youre dueties of[2] allegiaunce, and that ye shall yn nowise herafter attempte to make or procure any such rebellion, unlaufull assemblies, ryottes, rowtes and conspiracies, nor at the commaundement nor by the auctoritie of any person of what state or degree, or for what cause so ever it be, shall aryse yn any forcyble maner and araye onles it be at the speciall commaundement of the Kynges Highnes or his Lieutenaunt sufficiently auctorysed for the same. In witnes wherof the Kynges most royall Maiestie hath caused this his proclamacion to be made patent and sealed with his Great Seale at Rychemount the ix[th] daye of December in the xxviij[th] yere of his reigne

Pexsall[3]

The activities of Clarencieux King-of-Arms and Lancaster Herald in setting forth this pardon throughout the North have already been the subject of comment.[4] The Hull copy was, however, delivered there, somewhat the worse for wear, by a third herald, Rouge Dragon, on Christmas Day, 1536.[5]

The widespread dissatisfaction aroused also needs no further discussion. Doubts regarding the validity of this pardon, or rather mere promise of pardon, proved a major cause of the rising of Hallam and Bigod,[6] which in its turn gave the King the excuse he needed for evading the pardon. The Crown maintained the fiction that the condemnations took place for offences committed since the pardon,[7] but in all save the cases of the actual accomplices of

[1] R.O. has 'of them or of any of them.'

[2] R.O. has 'your duties and allegeance.'

[3] Signature of Ralph Pexsall, clerk of the Crown. The state papers contain several signatures of, and references to him.

[4] Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 28; *cf. L. & P.*, xi, 1371, 1392.

[5] A small schedule sewn to the left-hand margin of this copy reads: "Presens carta domini regis de pardona huic sedule annexa diliberata fuit Willelmo Rogers maiore ville de Kyngeston super Hull per Ruge Dragon haraldum domini regis ad armas in die Nativitatis Domini anno regis Henrici octavi xxviij[o] labello carte confracto et consuto." The strip of parchment (labellum) by which the Great Seal was attached had been broken and sewn together again. This irregularity would naturally be noted by the recipients. The tear and repair are still clearly evident. I am indebted to Mr. L. M. Stanewell for information on this matter.

[6] Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 30–31, 60 *seqq.* *Cf.* especially *L. & P.*, xii (1), 201.

[7] *Cf.* above, p. 407, note 2.

Hallam and Bigod the disingenuous nature of its position remained all too apparent.[1]

IV. The Pardon of July, 1537: Conclusion.

Long before they had been able to "Knyt uppet his tragedy"[2] by completing the executions at the end of June, 1537,[3] King and Council had turned their attention towards the grant of a final pardon to the North. On May 2 Henry wrote to Norfolk: "We purpose to directe our progresse for this yere to our Citie of Yorke, and at our cummyng in to those parties, according to your advise, to give our generall pardon to all suche personnes, as you, and the rest of our Counsail, shall not thinke mete to be exempted and forprised, for their offences commytted sithens the publication of the pardonne, graunted for the late rebellion, whiche We woll in no wise violate, as you maye declare to all our subgiettes there."[4]

This plan of a personal visit was soon to be deferred, and, as events proved, for four summers. The King's letter of June 12 to Norfolk gave elaborate reasons, private and public, for a postponement of his proposed northern progress, and announced that he had now "resolved, with diligence, to sende downe a personage of honour, and of our Privy Counsail, with a general pardon for all their former offences, which shal to your handes delyver it, and, at lenght, signifie our clemencye unto them."[5] Several Council Memoranda, all undated but to be ascribed to late May or June, mention plans for a pardon.[6]

Meanwhile in the North the executions were spreading uncertainty and unrest. Norfolk wrote on June 16 that he hoped to be able, in a speech at York on the following Sunday, to assure the men of the shire that the King would shortly send them a pardon. He begged that ten or twelve copies might be sent under the Great Seal and with blank schedules attached. In the latter he and the Council in the North might insert the names of such persons as they thought good to except from the pardon. By such means the less despair would remain "in foolish,

[1] Dodds, *op. cit.*, ii, 126–7, 204 *seqq.*

[2] These are Henry's own words (*State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 555).

[3] See the list in *L. & P.*, xii (2), pp. i–iii.

[4] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 547; *cf. L. & P.*, xii (1), 1118. The Corporation of York wrote on 24 May, 1537, to the Privy Council welcoming the proposed royal visit. This letter, together with a detailed account of the beds and stabling available in York and Ainsty, is copied in the York municipal records (House Book xiii, fos. 96v–97).

[5] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 554; *cf. L. & P.*, xii (2), 77.

[6] *Ibid.*, xii (1), 1315; xii (2), 77 (3) (about June 12), 177, 192.

fearful heads."[1] The Privy Council nevertheless continued to delay and on July 8 Norfolk wrote somewhat more bluntly to Cromwell: "I thinke the sendyng downe of the Kinges pardon shold not be protracted any lenger, for the preparations of any noble man to comme hither therwith, unles it shold be for such one as shold succede in my rowme, *ad captandam benivolentiam*, but that the same myght be well brought hither by the Justices of Assize, or befor; and the soner the better."[2]

On 20 July Norfolk replied to an enquiry of Cromwell that he had long since sent him a list of the persons to be excepted from the proposed pardon, but now enclosed another. This list,[3] extant along with the covering letter,[4] contains all but two of the names in the bill or schedule attached to the pardon of 24 July which we print below.[5] At the same time Norfolk persistently observed that it would do no harm if space were left in the schedule for further names to be inserted by himself and his Council. It would again be convenient to except offences committed since 20 Feb. from the pardon.[6]

At last the wheels of Chancery were set in motion, and on 24 July Lord Chancellor Audley wrote to Cromwell: "I send to you by this berer xxx proclamacons conteynyng the Kynges general pardon under his Gret Seale accordyng to the contentes of your Lordshippes lettres for the same and have with all possible diligence sett al my clerkes in hand to wryte for the dispache therof."[7] These pardons were shortly sent north. Regarding their reception we know little, but may surmise that they did something to allay the prevalent feeling of insecurity. The sheriff of Cumberland wrote on 18 August that the people of the Border shires had received the proclamation, to their great comfort.[8]

The text of this pardon does not appear to have been printed, though at least five versions exist. Two of these, both perfect and final versions of the proclamation as actually issued, are preserved

[1] *Ibid.*, xii (2), 100. The original appears to be lost, but the full text is printed in L. Howard, *A Collection of Letters* (1753), p. 272.

[2] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v, 93; *L. & P.*, xii (2), 229.

[3] *Ibid.*, 291 (ii).

[4] *Ibid.*, 291 (i).

[5] The two added later were Ninian Staveley and Thomson, late vicar of Burgh. *Cf.* below, p. 415, note 2, on the indication in the MSS. at Hull and Beverley.

[6] This recommendation, which was finally adopted, rendered it unnecessary to except either a murder in which the Border families of Heron and Charlton were involved or the persons charged with treason by the informer Crane. On the latter affair *cf. L. & P.*, xii (2), pp. x–xii.

[7] P.R.O. S.P. Hen. VIII, 123, p. 80; *cf. L. & P.*, xii (2), 329 (1).

[8] *L. & P.*, xii (2), 537.

in the archives of the Corporations of Hull and Beverley.[1] Inscribed formally on parchment with Great Seals and schedules of the excepted persons still attached, they embody Norfolk's suggestion regarding the limit of 20 February. The two drafts at the Public Record Office are, on the other hand, neither final nor complete. One of them includes all offences up to the day of proclamation and omits altogether the last clause touching the exceptions.[2] The other[3] is probably a still earlier version, with corrections regarding the places to which the pardon should apply[4] and the date to which it should extend.[5] The corrections of date are probably in Cromwell's own hand, while another hand adds at the end the three sinister words "Provyded alwayes that——", which, as will be observed, introduces the exceptions clause in the complete versions. The fifth version, a signed bill amongst the grants for July, 1537, is in bad condition and largely illegible.[6]

The following transcript is from the Hull copy, while the verbal variations of the Beverley copy and of the fair, though not final, Record Office draft[7] are noted.

> Albeit dyverse and many of you the Kinges Highnes subiectes and commons dwelling and inhabyting in the counties of Yorke, Northumberlande, Cumberlande, Westmorland and the bisshoprike of Duresme and in the cities of York, Kyngeston uppon Hull, Dureham and Carlile and in[8] the sheres of the same and in all other townes and places, liberties, franchesies[9] and dales within the lymytes of the same counties, cities, Bisshopriche and dales or in eny of them, notwithstandinge his Highnes mooste gracious benyngnite, clemencye and mercye latelye extended unto you uppon youre late mooste detestable rebellion[10] and mooste ingrate insurreccion attempted[11] to the grete daunger of his mooste royall persone and of the utter ruyne and subvertion of the hole estate of this mooste[12]

[1] I am much indebted to the Town Clerk of Beverley for kind permission to collate this MS.

[2] P.R.O. Exch. T.R. Misc. Books, 118, pp. 105–108; *cf. L. & P.*, xii (2), 329 (2).

[3] P.R.O. Exch. T.R. Misc. Books, 118, pp. 109–113; *cf. L. & P.*, xii (2), 329 (3).

[4] Page 109.

[5] Page 111. The 17 and 24 of June are struck out and 'untyll the date of this present proclamacyon' is left.

[6] *Cf. L. & P.*, xii (2), 411 (37). In view of the two excellent texts at our disposal we have not thought it necessary to transcribe and collate this one.

[7] Exch. T.R. Misc. Books, 118, pp. 105–108.

[8] R.O. omits 'in.'

[9] R.O. has 'liberties & francheses.'

[10] R.O. and Beverley: 'your late most haynouse moost detestable rebellion.' Where R.O. and Beverley agree verbally, the actual spelling given is that of the latter.

[11] R.O. has 'attempted agenst his Maieste to the' etc.

[12] R.O. and Beverley omit 'mooste.'

noble realme and eftsones[1] benne seduced and deceyved and so by the false subtilite[2] and craftye means of the traytor Bygod and his complices benne trayned into suche a newe rebellion as like as youre mooste notable unkindnes therin showed anempste[3] his Maiestie and againste[4] this your owne naturall countrye had benne hable to have moved his Graces courage to have taken suche ponishmente uppon thoffenders therin for the same as might have benne terrible for all menne to have thought oon that shulde hereafter have oonlye harde the name of sedition and rebellion, had not his mooste mercyfull and benyng nature with the fervente seale[5] he hath to the preservacion of his subiectes surmounted his princelye courage in that bihalf. So the same secounde conspiracye and rebellion mought have growne to no lesse inconvenyencye thenne is bifore mencyoned in the daungioures of the firste insurrection, that is, to the distruction of the Kinges[6] noble persone and to the turnyng up so downe of the hole estate of this realme, yet the Kinges mooste royal Maiestie of his mooste tender pitie and grete desyre that he hathe to[7] preserve you from the stroke of justice immynente uppon youre desertes thenne to put you to thextremyte of the same, trusting and supposing that the ponishemente of a fewe offendors in respecte of the multitude, which have suffred onlye for an example to others to avoyde like attemptates, wolbe sufficyent for ever to make all you and all[8] youre posteryties eschewe semblable offences, of his mooste[9] inestymable goodnes, benyngnyte, mercye and pitie is contented and pleased to give and graunte and by this present proclamacion dothe give and graunte unto you all and every of you, of what estate degree or condicion so ever they bee[10] or by what name or names so ever you and[11] any of you so ever may be called, his generall and free pardone for all maner of[12] treasons[13] murders, roberyes, felonyes and[14] of all accessoryes of the same and every of theim, unlaufull assembles, unlaufull conventicles, unlaufull speking of wordes,

[1] R.O. and Beverley: 'and have eftsones.'
[2] R.O. and Beverley: 'subtill.'
[3] R.O. has 'agenst.'
[4] R.O. omits 'againste'; Beverley has 'anempst.'
[5] Beverley: 'zeale.'
[6] R.O. has 'Kinges moost noble.'
[7] R.O. and Beverley: 'he hath rather to' etc.
[8] R.O. and Beverley omit 'all.'
[9] R.O. and Beverley omit 'mooste.'
[10] R.O. has 'so ever they bee or may be called his generall and free' etc.
[11] Beverley has 'so ever you or any of you be or may be called his generall and free' etc.
[12] R.O. and Beverley omit 'of.'
[13] R.O. has 'traysons, rebellions, insurrections, misprisions of treasons, murders' etc.
[14] R.O. omits 'and.'

confederacyes, conspiracyes, ryottes, routes and all other trespasses, contemptes and offenses done and commytted by you or by[1] enye of you againste the Kinges Maiestie his crowne and[2] dignyte royall, within and from the tyme of the begynnyng of the firste rebellyon what so ever it was untyll[3] the twenteuthe daye of February laste passed and of all paynes, judgementes and of executions of dethe and all other penalities, fynes and forfatures of landes, tenementes, hereditamentes, goodes or catelles by eny of you[4] incurred by reason of the premysses or enye of theim, which fynes, forfatures, landes, tenementes, hereditamentes, goodes and catalles the Kinges saide Highnes of his especyall grace by this present proclamacion giveth to suche of you as have or shude have forfayted or looste the same by occation of the premysses or enye of theim. And also his Highnes is pleased and contented that you and every of you from tyme to tyme shall and maye have uppon youre sutes to be made hereafter in the Kinges Chauncerye his saide mooste gratious and free pardon under his Grete Seale concernyng the premisses, withoute eny farther byll or warrant to be opteyned for the same and withoute payeng eny thing for the Grete Seale thereof, and that you and every of you from tyme to tyme maye frelye and liberallye sue his saide pardone whenne and as often as it shall like you withoute eny troble vexacion or impechement[5] for the premysses or eny of theim by his Highnes or by eny of[6] his officers, mynystres or subiectes by eny maner of means or in eny maner of wise. Farthermore the Kinges mooste royall maiestye straytly chargeth and commaundeth that you and every of you shall from hensforthe like true and faithfull subiectes use your selfes in Goddes peaxe and his according to your dutyes of alligeaunce and that ye shall in nowise hereafter attempte to make or procure any suche like rebellion, unlaufull assembles, ryottes, routes and conspiracies nor at the commaundement nor by the auctoryte of any persone of what estate dignitie or degree, or for what cause so ever it bee, shall arise in eny forcible maner and arraye, onles it be at the speciall commaundement of the Kinges Highnes or his liuetenante sufficiently auctorized for the same.[7] Provided allweys that all and every persone

[1] Beverley omits 'by.'
[2] R.O. has 'or.'
[3] R.O. has 'untill the daye of the date of this present proclamacion.' *Cf.* above, p. 411.
[4] Beverley has 'by you or any of you' etc.
[5] R.O.: 'impediment.'
[6] R.O. and Beverley omit 'of.'
[7] R.O. omits the remainder. *Cf.* above, p. 411.

and persones conteyned and named in a bill herunto annexed shalbe utterly excepted and forprised oute of this pardone, so that they nor any of them shall in no wise enyoye eny parte or portion of the benefite or commoditie thereof any thing in this proclamacon conteyned to the contrary in eny wise notwithstanding. In witnes whereof his mooste gratious Highnes hath caused this his presente proclamacion to be made patente under his Grete Seale witnessing hym self at his manor of Esthampstede the xxiiij[th] daye of Julye in the xxix yere of his noble reigne.[1]

Pope.[2]

Endorsed in sixteenth-century hand: The noble Kyng Hary the viij[th] fre pardon grantyde the towne of Hull after the insurection grantyd the 29 yere of his reign 1538.[3]

Bill annexed, in another hand:[4]

Rychard Willson of Beverley
William Woodmancye of the same
Marshall late parishe clerc of Beswyke
William Waflyn, Leche } of Lyncolneshir
Bradford, Parys[5] } late monkes of Salley
Roger Hertelpole,[6] monk late of Jervaux
Helaigh, chanon of Coram
Edward Myddelton, Henry King, Symon Marshall } of Masseham
Esch, frere of St. Robertes of Knarysborowe
Nicholas Musgrave
frere of Appulby[7]
John Prestman of Lyddesdale Hall
John Prestman, sonne of William Prestman of Helnesley

[1] Beverley: 'of his most gracious raigne.'

[2] Thomas Pope, clerk of the Crown in Chancery, Treasurer of Augmentations and later founder of Trinity College, Oxford (*D.N.B.*).

[3] The Beverley copy is endorsed in a later sixteenth-century hand: "A proclamacon of pardon for the rebellion in the xxiiij (*sic*) yere of King Henrie the Eight." The R.O. draft is endorsed: "A pardon or proclamacon upon Bigottes rebellion."

[4] The Beverley bill is in the same hand and, with the insignificant exception below noted, identical in appearance.

[5] Parishe (*cf. L. & P.*, xii (1), 1034 (p. 473).

[6] Beverley: 'Hertlepole.'

[7] These last two entries appear in the Beverley bill between Coke and Staveley below.

Doctor Marmaduke Walby
Bernard[1] Towneley, late Chauncellor to the bisshop of Carlisle
Laurence Coke, late pryor of the whyte freres of Doncastre
Ninian Staveley
Thomson, late vicar of Burgh[2]

It will be observed that this pardon, exceptions apart, is not like its predecessors conditional upon individual suit in Chancery or further submission to the King's representatives. The King actually "doth give and graunte his generall and free pardon." Though he permits offenders to clear up all doubt by suing out individual pardons, this proviso in no way weakens the force of the grant, being a feature of all the general statutory pardons of the time.[3] In this case few seem to have made such suits,[4] which, after all, might attract unpleasant attention.

This story of the pardons brings out some strange and interesting features of the royal position and policy. The common impression is clearly over-simplified. We do not find during this supreme crisis of the reign a cool and statesmanlike King in constant agreement with his advisers, their every move concerted in advance and the whole plan operating to a successful conclusion. The policy of the Government, though admittedly muddling through in the end, was for long marked by divergence and confusion, inconsistency and self-contradiction. On the one hand stood the King, by nature blustering and manly, confident in the virtues of bluff, prepared to risk the issue of battle, desirous above all of preserving 'face.' On the other side Norfolk and those councillors who knew the North realised more vividly the parlous nature of their military

[1] In both copies the name Bernard has apparently been added later. It is not in the list sent by Norfolk to Cromwell (*L. & P.*, xii (2), 291 (ii)).

[2] The last two names, in paler ink, have also been added later in both copies. They were also absent from Norfolk's list. We make no attempt to supply references and particulars on these excepted persons whose adventures might well form the subject of a separate article.

[3] All the statutory pardons of Henry VIII (see above, p. 397, note 6, for a list) contain this proviso. The later statutes provide for such suit not only by individuals but by corporations. In the Hull archives there remains a Latin pardon dated 20 October, 1545, covering most imaginable offences by the Mayor and burgesses since December 7 last past.

[4] A Yorkshire example is that of Richard Bower, sherman of Bradford, who received a pardon in 1538 for all treasons, etc., committed before June 10 of that year (*L. & P.*, xiii (1), 646 (14)). He is unlikely to be the York notary of that name (*ibid.*, xii (2), 186 (50)) who was prominent in the Pilgrimage and later appears to have become an agent of Cromwell (*Cf.* Index to *L. & P.*, xi, xii, for many references to him).

situation and saw hope only in a temporising and deceptive policy by which the weaknesses of the Pilgrimage might be exploited.

Henry's own attitude commands a certain degree of sympathy. He understood better than his modern critics the necessities and conditions of Tudor government. Even his desire to except at any price victims from the pardons cannot be dismissed as mere bloodthirstiness. To a dictatorship protected by neither armies nor stormtroops, but by that hedge of Divine Right so finely exemplified in these pardons, the necessity for unbroken prestige ever remained paramount. If the frame of things were not to disjoint, rebellion must be accounted the basest of crimes. The more orderly and formidable the rising, the more fully and ignominiously it must be stamped out—this quite irrespective of any possible intention in government circles to remedy its grievances. Henry, for good or ill, had chosen his policy. To apologise, to betray lack of confidence, to leave rebels unpunished, would have meant ruin for him, as later for Protector Somerset.

The Council nevertheless perceived rightly that delay would militate against the pilgrims. A changing scene, where each day brought to birth fresh opportunities and where principles need not always be forthwith applied, confronted Tudor politicians. When, like Wolsey, like Somerset, like Mary Tudor, they adhered too closely to systems and hastened to follow them out to logical conclusions, they failed. When, like Henry VII and Elizabeth, they were content to move slowly and remain opportunists, they succeeded. The strand of opportunism in Henry VIII thus led him finally to accept the advice of his council, to defer the open demand for victims he never intended to spare, to allow Norfolk to make promises he never intended to keep, to await the inevitable excuse for vindicating his honour in blood. In making that choice he went neither above nor below the political standards of his day. Machiavelli was not alone in disbelieving that a policy consistent with traditional standards of private morality would keep a prince on his throne. Every prince in Christendom acted on that disbelief and would have felt himself least of all bound to keep promises extracted by popular rebellion. In short, the manipulation of the pardons and its sequel merit no astonishment, and only that qualified censure which we accord to imperfections seemingly inevitable in political societies.

On the broader issues between government and pilgrims it would be impertinent to offer here more than a few words of caution. Henry VIII is surely misjudged by those who will look no further

than those destructive and ungracious years between 1536 and 1539. The conciliar policy which he was then elaborating, and which inaugurated for the troubled North a new era of social justice and reform, finally proved the wisest and most practicable answer to a great problem. Yet it was not the kind of answer the pilgrims would or could have found for themselves. The justice which marked so many of their demands, the idealism of such relics as the much misused confession of Aske, the mystical exaltation which for a few days enveloped the movement as a whole, these should not blind us to the hard facts and practicalities of that age and that society. A first-hand investigation leaves little opportunity to etherealise the strongly prevalent materialism of the Pilgrimage or to explain away its fundamental disunities, its consequent lack of constructive potentialities, the anarchic nature of the institutions, monasteries apart, which it sought to preserve. Judged historically, the Government would seem to have a case. Great crises viewed in retrospect seldom prove simple struggles of good against evil.

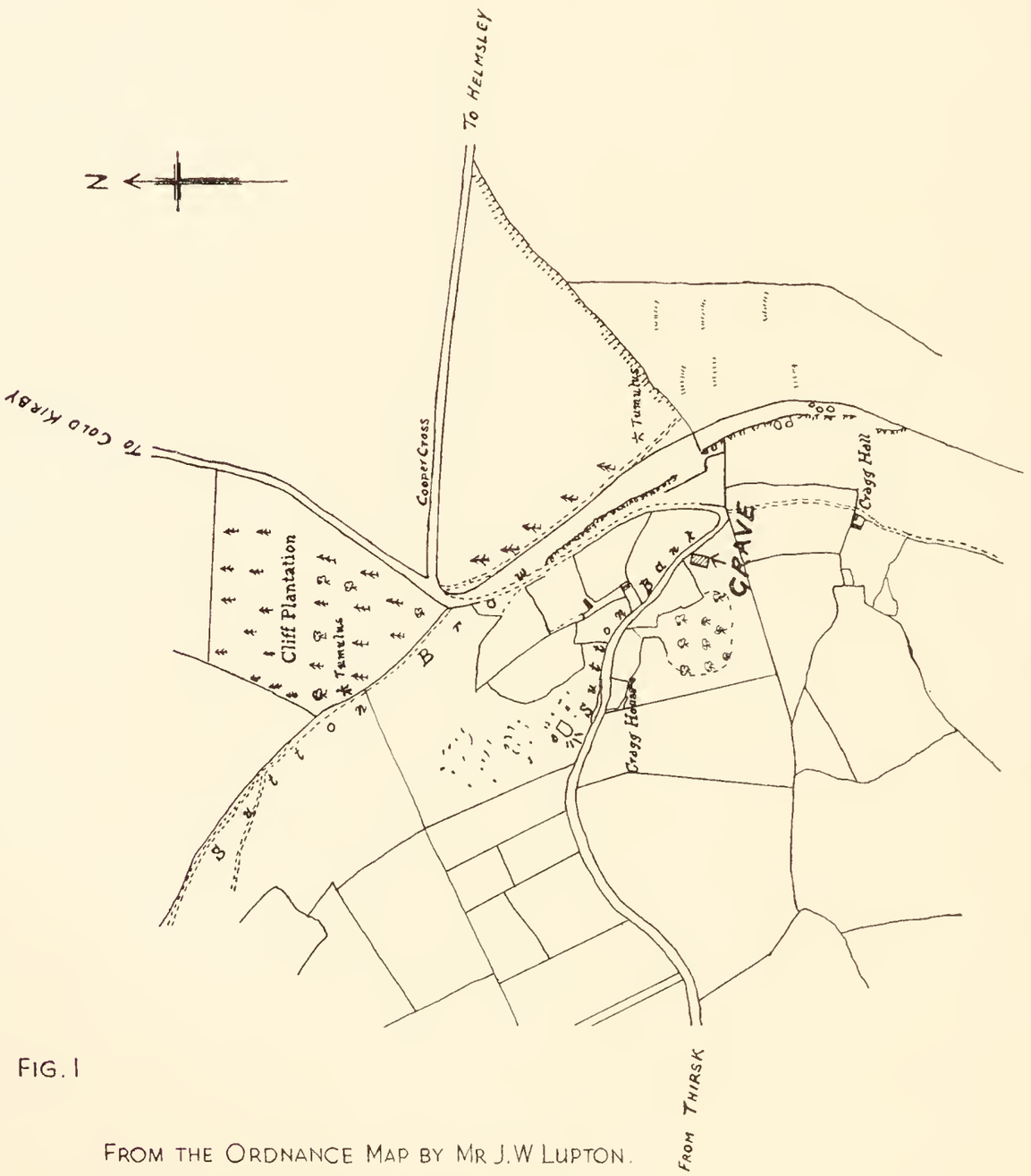


FIG. 1

FROM THE ORDNANCE MAP BY MR J.W LUPTON.
GRAVE INDICATED BY SHADED PORTION. ALMOST
DUE N AND S

REPORT ON A BRONZE AGE BURIAL AT SUTTON BANK, NEAR THIRSK, YORKSHIRE.

By Edward Fawcett, M.D., F.R.S.

My attention was drawn to this by a report in the *Yorkshire Post* when on a visit to Harrogate. On the same day I went over to Thirsk to the Police Station at which I understood the contents of the grave were. I was very courteously received by Inspector Savage, who informed me that what I was seeking was in the hands of the District Surveyor, Mr. J. W. Lupton, who, on being informed of my visit and its purpose, at once brought over the bones found

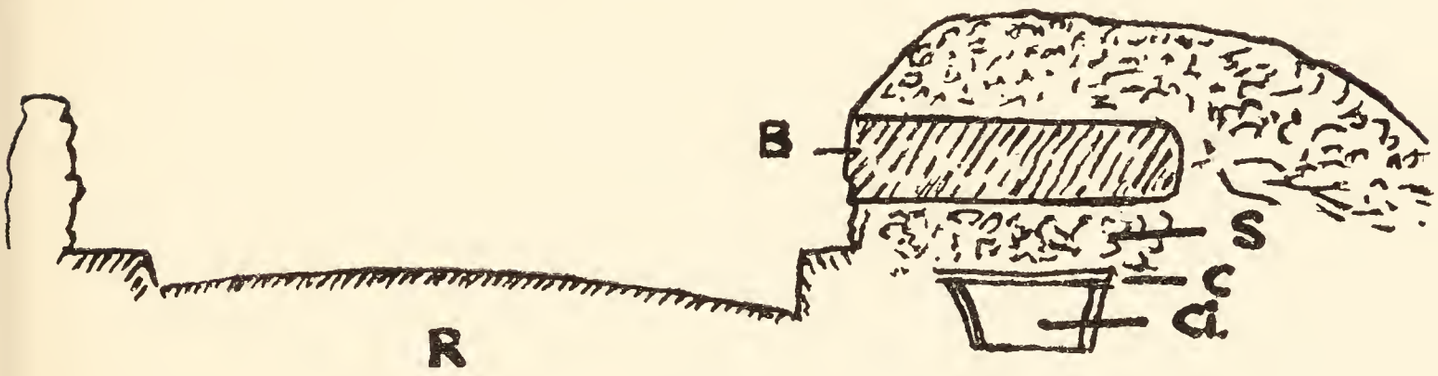


Fig. 2.

Section, by Mr. J. W. Lupton, of road, covering stone and cist.

R—Road. **B**—Covering stone. **S**—Soil. **C**—Second covering stone. **Ci**—Cist.

in the cist. Together with the bones, a number of fragments of a very debased beaker were found and brought. The cist, I was informed, had been broken into by road-men who were widening the road from Thirsk to Pickering. The map, a reduction by Mr. Lupton from the ordnance map, shews the position of the cist (Fig. 1). I was informed that in order to carry out the work they were doing the workmen had to break a great stone measuring seven feet in length, four feet in width, and three feet in thickness, and from his sectional drawing (Fig. 2) this stone was lying above the cist, but was separated from it actually by a thickness of two feet of soil. Under this soil was another stone slab, covering the cavity of the cist, which, in addition to containing a skeleton, pieces of pottery, four burnt bones, and a jet bead, was about two-thirds full of earth. I went out thereupon to see the cist, and later

took the opportunity of photographing it (Fig. 3). As the map shewed, it was orientated almost due north and south, and when measured it was 39 inches in length, 24 inches in width, and 24 inches in depth. A single slab of stone formed the west side and each end. That on the west side is well seen in the photograph (Fig. 4), as are those on the north and south sides. The east side seems to have been made of several stones. Perhaps, however, the workmen broke the stone into fragments when opening the cist, which they thought was a tank for water surface drainage. The bones found in the cist—which, by the way, had no stone slabs at the bottom—were very much broken up, and as the fractures were obviously quite recent there can be no doubt that many of the fragments which shewed a newly fractured surface had had their counterpart removed. This is, unfortunately, almost always the case when workmen, in their innocence or ignorance, dig up bones. The only bones which were complete were a left upper arm bone (the humerus) and the right outer bone of the forearm (the radius). From these it was possible to calculate the height of the individual, which amounted to about five feet one inch, and as it was possible to ascertain the sex from the hip bone there was no doubt that the skeleton was that of a female. It was interesting to note that the right radius had at some time during life been broken, an accident which is one of the commonest nowadays and is known as Colles's fracture. It is usually caused by a fall on the hand with the arms somewhat outstretched. Whoever had acted as surgeon has done his work very well; for there was a very good heal and the deformity was very little indeed. The skull bones were much broken up and were fragments from the side and front of the skull cap, as well as a fragment of the left half of the lower jaw containing a canine, two bicuspid and two permanent molar teeth. From the appearance of the upper and lower fragments of the shin bone of the leg it is clear that the individual was in the habit of sitting on the haunches—"squatting." The bones, apart from being broken, were in unusually good condition—not friable, as bones are apt to be after being buried so long. They appeared to be from a healthy individual who may perhaps have suffered a little from rheumatism in the right shoulder joint.

One of the most interesting finds, which enabled one to date with reasonable certainty this burial, was a series of fragments of well-preserved pottery, which was remarkably dry, and quite firm and hard. These fragments my old pupil Dr. H. Taylor and I reconstructed without difficulty, Dr. Taylor being remarkably

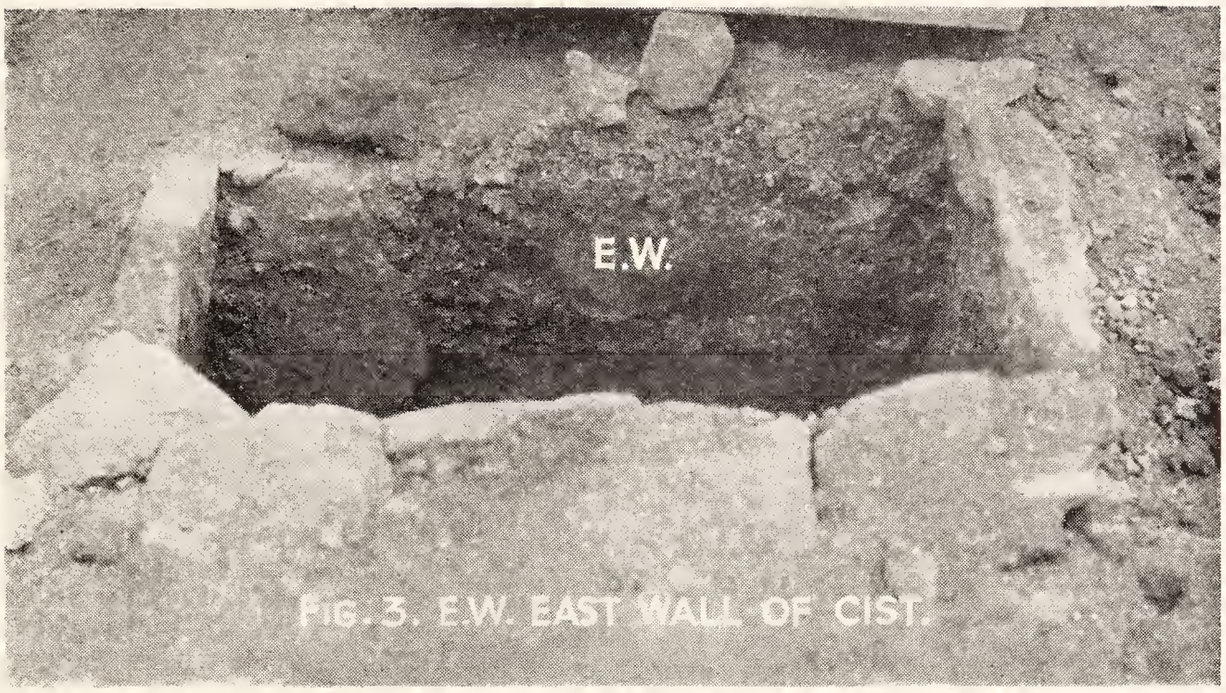


FIG. 3. E.W. EAST WALL OF CIST.



FIG. 4. W WALL OF CIST. N. NORTH WALL. S. SOUTH WALL.

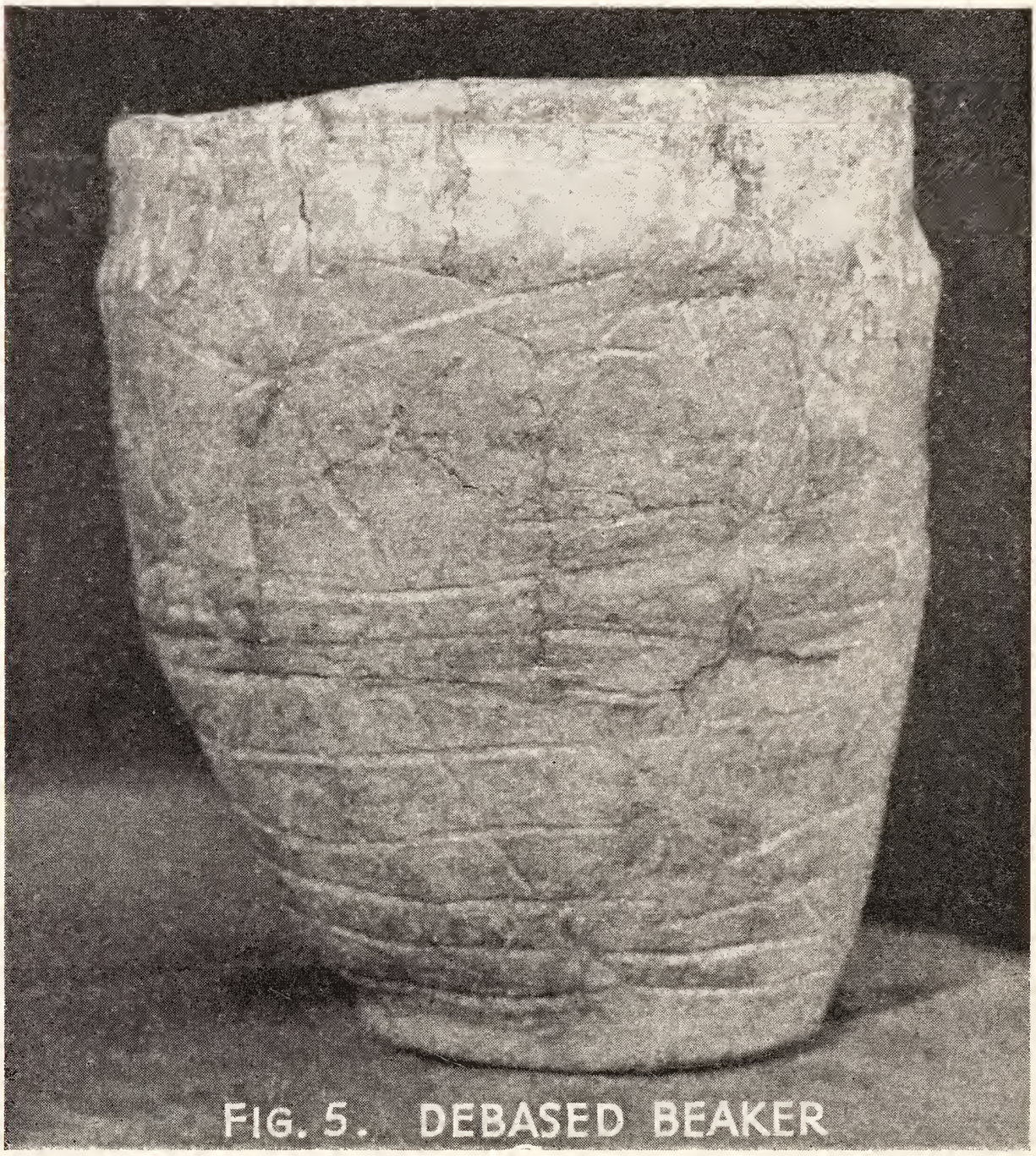


FIG. 5. DEBASED BEAKER

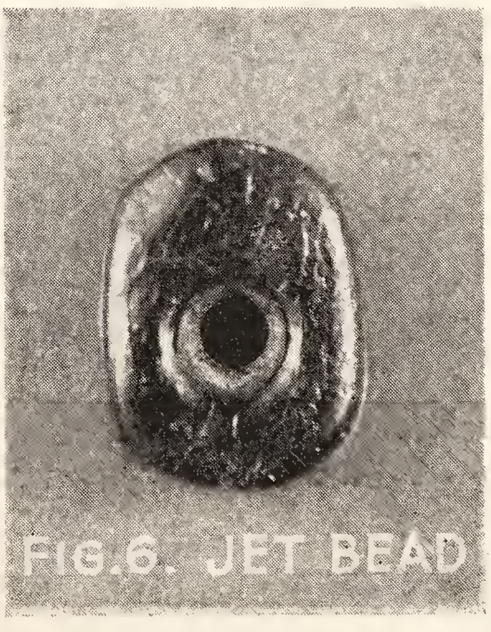


FIG. 6. JET BEAD

expert in such matters; and owing to the comparatively large size and the hardness of the fragments, there was practically no difficulty in putting them together. It was, in fact, an unusually simple jig-saw puzzle. Dr. Taylor describes this vessel in the following words:

" This urn-like pot is a debased ' Food-vessel ' of Abercromby's Type 2, characterised by a concave neck and grooved shoulder without ' stops.' Its average height is about $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, its external diameter at the rim is about $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches. It is, of course, not wheel-made. The rim is simply rounded, the neck concave externally. The groove at the shoulder is represented by a wide flattish zone between two low mouldings. The somewhat bee-hive shaped body is asymmetrical, having sagged before firing.

" The decoration is crude and irregular. It extends from lip to base. The motives are: on the neck, vertical shading; on the upper moulding, a row of oblique oval impressions; on the groove, a chevron; on the lower moulding, a row of horizontally directed oval impressions; on the body, a chevron and broken girth grooves. Many of the lines are winding or curved. Many do not fit into the scheme. In one place the interval between two girth grooves is shaded obliquely. A groove replaces the pits for a length of about two inches on the lower moulding. Sometimes the two chevrons seem to have been drawn together, the line crossing the lower moulding. The oval pits were not made by the finger-tip but perhaps by the same tool as the lines, which are shallow grooves of semicircular section.

" The ware is coarse and thick, but hard even when wet. It is burnt buff or brown externally, brownish black internally. The paste is black and contains amorphous carbon, but no obvious added grit or charcoal.

" The vessel is atypical in the absence of an external moulding and decorated internal bevel at the lip. More definitely late features seem to be the great width and shallowness of the groove, the height of the vessel and its beaker or urn-like form. Abercromby figures no very close parallels, the nearest being from the East Riding of Yorkshire (*Cf.* his No. 179, *Bronze Age Pottery*, Vol. I).

" The Dating: The dating of the later Food-vessels is still uncertain. Although early examples of Types 1, 1a and 2 have been found with Beakers of the very early Bronze Age, the types seem to have persisted into the middle Bronze Age, and certain derivatives (urns and pygmy cups) into the late Bronze Age. The present vessel seems to belong to the end of the Food-vessel series,

its form approaching some of the 'Enlarged Food-vessel' cinerary urns. Since the associated burial was unburnt it must be classed as a Food-vessel and a date around 1400 B.C. suggested."

In discussing the relative merits of this vessel as 'Beaker' or Food-vessel, Dr. Taylor says:

"Degenerate pots of most types are apt to be alike. This one can be matched quite clearly (in outline) amongst Iron Age and late Bronze Age material as well as amongst Beakers and Food-vessels. It is the height which makes it so urn- or beaker-like; but there are taller Food-vessels. Indeed, the enlarged Food-vessel urns seem to have originated from just such pots. On the other hand the co-existence of Beakers and Food-vessels (especially in the district of Yorkshire in question) may have had something to do with the shape. There may, in fact, have been mutual influence. Some Beakers present such Food-vessel characteristics as moulded rims and, I think, mouldings on the body or neck; so why should not Food-vessels shew Beaker influence?

"Fortunately this vessel is not featureless. It has three characteristics (in addition to the rounded rim and flat bottom, which do not help us)—

1. The neck—sharply concave externally.
2. The two mouldings bounding 3, above and below.
3. A flattened or slightly concave zone at the shoulder.

These are just what might be expected in a degenerate Food-vessel of Type 2, and are all foreign to Beakers.

"The decoration seems to be as much in keeping with the Food-vessel as with the Beaker theory: in fact the oval impressions or moulding seem to be commoner in Food-vessels.

"Admittedly the vessel differs from Abercromby's classical Type 2 in its unmoulded rim, but both plain and unmoulded rims are found in Type 1, which is exactly the same type but for the 'stops' in the groove."

Mr. Grimes (who has not had the advantage of seeing the vessel but the photographs only), of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, writes—"When a beaker has become so debased as this one is, it is not easy to be definite about ancestry, because the distinctive features are generally absent. I should think it probable, however, that the rather crude chevron or triangular arrangement would place this pot in the last stages of development of the 'A' group as defined by Abercromby. Another Yorkshire example (from Rudston, now in the British Museum—Abercromby, B.A.P. i, no. 110) seems to mark an earlier stage, since the decoration

seems to be better organised (in this, too, the chevron and bar-chevron are the chief motifs): and I think the Sutton Bank 'beaker' has also gone a stage further again than two other southern ones (from near Stonehenge—Abercromby, No. 18 bis; and Kinsor, Bournemouth). The Sutton Bank 'beaker' is cruder than either of these, both in form and in arrangement of the 'decoration.' The latest development seems to be indicated by such pots as B.A.P. i, no. 33 (Wildford, Barrow B), another from Linney, Pembrokeshire (now in the National Museum of Wales), and one or two in the North of England. The interesting thing about them all is that they indicate a surprisingly constant development of the beaker form over quite wide areas, finishing up with crude bucket-like pots, which are extraordinarily alike, from places as far apart as Wiltshire, the extreme south-west of Wales, and Scotland."

The Jet Bead (Fig. 6) is 30 millimetres long, 22 mm. wide, and 10 mm. thick. It has biconical perforation in it, the entrance or exit being 10 mm. wide at widest. The narrowest part of the perforation is six millimetres. The somewhat shiny appearance is due to a coat of 'Durofix' to prevent scaling off, which it shewed signs of doing when drying. Mr. Reginald Smith, Director of Mediæval Antiquities of the British Museum, dates the bead at about 1400–1500 B.C.

Before entering upon any detailed description of the skeletal material, I should like to amplify what has been said about the covering stone and cist. Mr. J. W. Lupton kindly sent me a sectional drawing of the road and the earth in which the cist and covering stone were found. I suppose we must look upon this as a cist with a large covering stone supported by nothing more than two feet of earth and covered with earth. It would appear that some ten or twelve years previous to last year (1936) the road had been widened and the northern end of this large (megalithic) covering stone had been exposed. It was the further widening in 1936 that brought the cist to view.

At this point I should like to express my very grateful appreciation of the help given to forward my work by Mr. Hubert G. Thornley, Clerk to the County Council (North Riding), who placed all the material at my disposal; by Mr. J. W. Lupton, District Surveyor, Thirsk Highway District, who not only carried out my suggestions as to further examination of the surroundings of the cist, but prepared for me the road plan and the section of the road. To Inspector Savage my thanks are due also.

To sum up, we can say that at Sutton Bank there was opened a cist, orientated north and south, covered by two feet of earth, and that by a megalith. The cist had no stone bottom to it. It contained fragments of a female skeleton, about 5 feet 1 inch in height, whose right forearm had during life been fractured and had healed very well, whose right shoulder shewed some signs of rheumatic disease. It contained, further, a debased beaker, a jet bead of about 1400–1500 B.C., some burnt bones, and fragments of two flint flakes.

Detailed Examination of the Skeleton.

Skull. Right lower part of frontal bone, including external angular process.

A small piece of the left parietal bone.

A small piece of the right parietal bone, shewing the superior temporal ridge.

A fragment of the left half and symphysis of the mandible, containing a canine, two bicuspid, and two molar teeth. The teeth were worn at the crown, the wear extending down to the pulp.

Spinal Column. Thoracic vertebræ, 3, 4, 5; Lumbar vertebra 3, 4; 1st Sacral vertebra, right half.

Ribs. There were a few fragments.

Upper Limb. There were no collar bones nor scapulæ (shoulder blades). The left upper arm bone (humerus) was sufficiently complete to allow of measurement, and its maximal length was 309 millimetres=12$\frac{1}{5}$ inches. The stature, calculated by Pearson's method, amounts to 1,565.7 mm. As the humerus is about $\frac{1}{5}$ of the stature of the body, then 12$\frac{1}{5}$ × 5=61 inches, or 5 ft. 1 inch. There was a fragment of the right humerus.

The right outer bone of the forearm (radius) was complete, though it had been fractured and had healed during life with but little shortening. Its length amounted to 228 mm. or 9 inches. Calculated by Pearson's method, the stature amounts to 1,574 mm. This, then, would represent a height, as calculated from the radius, of 5 ft. 2 inches. If we take the mean it would be 5 ft. 1$\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is near enough. Only the upper two-thirds of the left radius was present. The inner bone of the forearm, the ulna, was fragmentary, only a part of the right one and of the left being present. There were no wrist or hand bones at all.

Lower Limb. There was a fragment of the right hip bone,

but enough to shew the sex, which was female. The fragmentary left hip bone likewise shewed the parts essential to recognition of sex. The thigh bones, from which one usually expects so much by way of calculating height, were too fragmentary for that purpose. The right one shewed at the upper part of its shaft a slight flattening from before backwards, which is called Platymeria. The lower extremity of the right femur is in very perfect condition and shews above the back of the internal condyle a very well-marked tuberosity. The transverse condylar width is 77 mm., whilst the transverse epicondylar width is 72 mm. The inferior platymeric width, taken 40 mm. above the upper angle of the patellar facet, is 42 mm., the lateral antero-post diameter is 29 mm., and the median antero-post diameter is 23 mm.

Of the left femur there is a fragment of the upper part. The diameter of the head is about 43 mm., which signifies a female. The lower fragment gives a bicondylar width of 72 mm. and a biepicondylar width of 76 mm. The internal epicondylar tuberosity noted on the right femur is as well developed on the left one.

There is a right knee-cap (patella): it is in excellent condition. The left shin bone (tibia): the upper two-thirds present. The facet on the lateral tuberosity is very convex from above downwards—a 'squatting' result. The side to side flattening of the tibia, when present to a sufficient extent, is known as platycnemia, and is determined by measuring the antero-posterior width at the level of the medullary foramen and the transverse width of the shaft at the same level. In this case the antero-posterior diameter was 32 mm., the transverse diameter 22. 22 forms 68% of 32, so that the platymeric index 68 indicates a fair degree of platycnemia. The right tibia is similar at its upper end to the left one: its platycnemic index is 71. The splint bones (fibulæ) are wanting, save the upper half of the left.

Foot Bones. The right astragalus is complete. There is a small fragment of the left one.

Os calcis. The left half of the right one is present. There is a fragment of the left scaphoid.

The metatarsi are represented by the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th right ones and the 3rd and 4th of the left side. There are some odd toe bones (phalanges).

It is a pity that so few of the bones were preserved. It may be that the hands were never buried, as none of the bones are present. Neither collar bones nor shoulder blades are present, and only fragments of ribs are in the collection.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE, 1937.

Owing to pressure on the space in the present volume, joined to the fact that "Roman Yorkshire, 1937" promises to be particularly copious, it has been decided to hold over this section until the next volume. But, for the information of those members of the Yorkshire Archæological Society who are *not* members of the Society's Roman Antiquities Committee, the following summary of news is appended.

Conference. On July 10 the R.A.C. organised a Conference on "Roman Yorkshire" at St. William's College, York, which was thrown open to the public. Mr. I. A. Richmond, F.S.A., Lecturer on Romano-British Archæology at Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, gave a lecture on "the Place of Yorkshire in the Roman Empire." Reports of excavations at Aldborough, and Rudston, were given by Messrs. J. N. L. Myres, F.S.A., and K. A. Steer, and on Brough, E.R., by Mr. P. Corder, F.S.A. (*in absentis*). Lt.-Col. E. Kitson Clark, F.S.A., Mr. A. M. Woodward, F.S.A., Hon. F.R.I.B.A., and Dr. C. E. Whiting, F.S.A., Professor of History at Durham University, presided at three successive sessions. The President of the Society was unfortunately prevented at the last moment from presiding.

The meeting was highly successful and was attended by 150 persons, among whom the Harrogate Group were prominent, as we now expect them to be. The meeting covered its own expenses, in spite of special reductions to parties and schools.

Meeting of the Roman Society. On October 15 and 16 the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies met for the first time outside the London district.

By joint invitation of the Leeds Branch of the Classical Association and the R.A.C., the meeting was held at Leeds. It included a lecture by Mr. A. H. M. Jones on Jerash, followed by a conversazione, at Leeds University on the 15th; and on the 16th a council meeting, and an expedition to Aldborough (*Isurium Brigantum*) conducted by Mr. K. A. Steer and Miss Kitson Clark. The 1937 excavations were left open for this visit. Twenty-three members of the Roman Society attended from London, Oxford, Nottingham, Manchester, etc.

Well Pavement. The affixing of a fragment of tesselated

pavement from the Well villa to the wall of Well church was paid for by the R.A.C., partly out of funds and partly out of monies collected for the purpose.

Excavations. In 1937 Mr. K. A. Steer directed excavations at Aldborough and Rudston, and Mr. P. Corder and Mr. T. Romans conducted excavations at Brough (E. Yorks.), where their fifth season was graced by the discovery of one of the most interesting inscriptions found in Britain in recent years. Small scale excavations proceeded at Adel (Mr. B. J. W. Kent), Greetland (Mr. Wade), Grinton (Mr. Pedley), Skipton (Mr. Wade), and Dr. Villy continued his examination of the Roman road system of the Pennines.

Finds. During 1937 Roman finds of varying importance have been reported—from York, from Alwoodley, Castleford, and Ribston in the West Riding; from Eastburn (Driffield), Knapton, Norton, Shipton-Thorpe Gravel pit, Watton Abbey, in the East Riding; in the North Riding from Gilmonby, Guisborough, East Harlsey, Ivelet, Thornaby, and Thornton Dale. This list is not exhaustive, as several doubtfully Roman finds have been excluded.

Mary Kitson Clark.

[The Section, Reviews, Transactions, etc., of Yorkshire Societies, and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. Crossley, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed. He will be glad to have his attention drawn to any items which may have been omitted.]

REVIEWS.

The History of Methley. By The Rev. H. S. Darbyshire, M.A., and G. D. Lumb, F.S.A. Leeds, Thoresby Society; Vol. xxxv, 1934.

This volume, initiated by the late Archdeacon Armstrong Hall, Rector of Methley, and carried on by the Rev. H. S. Darbyshire, Incumbent of Mickletown, who died before its completion, was brought to a successful termination by Mr. G. D. Lumb, F.S.A., Editor of the Thoresby Society, who added an account of the History of the Manor of Woodhall.

The parish of Methley in the West Riding of Yorkshire lies seven miles south-east of Leeds, five miles north-east of Wakefield, and the same distance north-west of Pontefract.

Little or nothing is known of the place until the time of Domesday (spelled Doomsday), when Osulf and Cnut held 8 carucates of land for 5 ploughs, to be displaced by Ilbert de Lacy, a follower of the Norman conqueror.

The importance of Methley in 1379, when the Poll Tax was levied, may be obtained by comparing the amount paid by neighbouring places. Methley paid 36*s*., Leeds township 40*s*., Pontefract £14 8*s*., Wakefield £3 15*s*. 8*d*., Huddersfield 19s. 4*d*., Castleford 15*s*. 10*d*.

In Chapter II a very full account of the Lords of the Manor is given. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the manor passed to the family of Methley, who probably held it from the de Lacys, and of whom much information, not hitherto published, is given.

William de Ferriby, Prebendary of Bilton 1341, Rector of Kippax 1355, Archdeacon of Cleveland 1355, and Canon of York, complained in 1367 that Adam de Rotherfield of Queldale, John de Methley, chaplain, and others, arrayed in manner of war, assaulted him at Brotherton, chased him into the church there, and he for fear of death did not dare to come out for a long time. Also that they took away his waggon with two horses, worth 60*s*., sank his ship loaded with lime worth £20, took away his goods, and having assaulted his servants kept them in prison until he had paid 100 shillings for their release. If this John de Methley, chaplain, was of this family, he was certainly of a violent nature and used the Canon ill.

The next owner of the manor was the Hospital of St. Nicholas at Pontefract, probably by gift of de Lacy, and in 1410 Thomas Towton, then Master of that Hospital, exchanged the manors of

Methley and Marsden in Lancashire with Robert Waterton for the advowsons of Gosberton in Lincolnshire and Wath in Yorkshire. On page 29 it is stated that it is not known how Robert Waterton acquired the church of Wath. This is copied from Hunter's *South Yorkshire*; but in *Yorkshire Deeds III*, p. 145, it is shown that the advowson of Wath passed from Sir Thomas Fleming, knt., of Wath on Dearne, to Robert Waterton on July 24 1406, and on November 10, 10 Henry IV (1408), Waterton presented John Fraunceys to the living of Wath and one month later he appointed Thomas Towton, who had held the living from 1402 (when he was presented by Sir Thomas Fleming) until 1408.

An interesting account is given of the church, with good illustrations of the Waterton chapel, but scant mention is made of the late fifteenth-century glass which James Fowler so carefully described in the first and second volumes of the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* in the years 1871–3, and which is there illustrated in colour. This glass was then in the east window of the chancel and the east and south windows of the Waterton chapel. Mr. Fowler mentions a choir of Seraphim (two of which are shown) as are also figures of St. Jerome and Ambrose, and descriptions are given of Saints John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Christopher, Catherine, Margaret, Augustine and Gregory. The crowned monogram, read by the authors as I D, is noted by Mr. Fowler as T D, the initials of Sir Thomas Dymoke, who married Margaret daughter of Cecilia Waterton and Lionel Lord Welles, to whom in the division of Sir Robert Waterton's estate the manor of Methley came.

A very unusual document and one of great interest is printed on page 43; an order issued in 1593 to all persons entitled to seats in the parish church, calling upon them to carry out necessary repairs, with the number and position of their seats; this incidentally shows the position of the altars of St. Nicholas and St. Margaret.

The list of Rectors from 1272 to the present day, with short biographical notices of them, follows the history of the church.

The volume has been made of great historical value by printing complete transcripts of the Manor Court Rolls, which begin in 5 Edward III (1331) and are continuous to 1590. In these rolls is shown much of the life of the village, wherein mention is made of cock-fighting, a game called 'clogginge,' another called 'kewstringes': football was not to be played within the town, and penalties were laid upon those who played cards or 'bowles.' In 1543 two men were summoned to appear before the Court to show what right they had to keep 'two fiers in a house wheare one should but be of right, contrary to custom, without licence of the lord.' In 1453, it is recorded that "the Lady Beatrice Waterton (wife of Robert Waterton) came to the Manor Court and bought from Lionel, Lord Welles (her sister-in-law's husband), the marriage right of Margaret Norman, a nief." One wonders what was the object of this transaction—was Margaret the Lady's maid, or one

in whom she was particularly interested, or was it a commercial transaction? An unusual entry occurs in the Church Registers under the year 1629, recording the private baptism of an infant by a woman, later publicly received into the Church.

The Pye Roll recording the election of the Graves of the Manor is well worth preserving, and a good deal of information regarding the parish is given in Chapters VIII and IX, with interior and exterior views of Methley Hall.

Only three printers' errors have been noticed: on p. 29, l. 13, for 7 read 71; p. 30, l. 14, for *Famillae* read *Familiae*; and on p. 37, l. 19, for 'if' read 'of.'

A good Index of persons and places, which is indispensable in a work of this nature, brings the volume to a close.

The book is one of the best accounts of a Yorkshire village that has been issued from the press for many years, and Mr. Lumb is to be congratulated on the completion of a very valuable contribution to local history. J.W.W.

The Complete Peerage. By G.E.C., revised and much enlarged; edited by H. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden. Volume ix, MOELS to NUNEHAM. London, the St. Catherine Press, 1936.

It is some measure of the special importance of the present volume that it includes articles on Mowbray, Neville, Norfolk, Northampton and Northumberland. But it is rather to the Yorkshire interest of some of the titles and the families which held them that this notice must be confined. Thus, the earldom of Moira was created in 1762 in favour of John, Lord Rawdon, descended from the Rawdons of Rawdon near Bradford. The ancestor of the present Duke of Northumberland in the male line was Hugh Smithson of Stanwick in Richmondshire, who was created a baronet in 1660. The earldom and barony of Mulgrave recall the name of the historic stronghold of the Mauleys. The holder of the Irish viscountcy of Mountgarret, dating from 1550, obtained a United Kingdom barony in 1911, being created Baron Mountgarret of Nidd in the West Riding; on him and his son had devolved the estates of Miss Rawson of Nidd Hall. The title of Monk Bretton of Conyboro and Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, is noticed by the editors as an example of geographical incongruity, though no indication is given of the reason why Monk Bretton as a title was actually chosen.

There is an excellent account of the Newmarch family, which is traced from the closing years of the eleventh century to the middle of the fifteenth, the representation eventually passing to the Wentworths. In Yorkshire the family held tenancies of the honours of Tickhill, Conisborough and Pontefract. Although an Adam de Newmarch was summoned to Montfort's parliament in 1264, neither his son nor any of his descendants were summoned to parliament subsequently; but the title of Baron of Newmarch was one of the titles conferred on the Wentworths, Earls of Strafford.

It is pleasant to find good use made in this article of such of our Society's publications as the Pontefract, Monkbretton and Sallay Chartularies; but we cannot claim, as is printed on p. 546, that the Guisborough Chartulary is one of our own publications. It is, indeed, so unusual to detect a slip in this carefully edited work that we note with surprise on p. 45 a reference to Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, co. *York*, the Gawthorpe in question being on the outskirts of Burnley in Lancashire.

The account of the Neville families fills more than thirty pages. Though Lincolnshire in their origins several branches have an immediate connection with Yorkshire history. The chart pedigree of some of the branches, with elaborate notes, clears up many doubtful points which have been the subject of much discussion and perplexity in the past; and Miss Stokes, who is responsible for so large a part in the preparation of the volume, particularly in respect of the medieval period, is to be congratulated on their solution. The parentage of Geoffrey de Neville, who married the Lungvillers heiress and was the ancestor of the Nevilles of Hornby, co. Lancaster, possessing land in the West Riding, has been left undetermined in the absence of a positive proof of his being a younger son of the house of Raby; and this is an example of the commendable caution which accepts no tradition without precise documentary evidence.

For the article on Mowbray the manuscript material for the history of the Mowbray fee, left by Dr. Farrer and now in the possession of our Society, was put at the disposal of the editors; and perhaps a more detailed survey of the lands which constituted the fee in Yorkshire would have been welcomed by Yorkshire readers. Farrer's material, valuable as it is for elucidating a pedigree, is of even greater importance in providing the topographical evidence for the constitution of the larger tenancies-in-chief. And if, for example, we search for even the *caput* of the Yorkshire lands which passed to Nigel d'Aubigny, Roger de Mowbray's father, after the forfeiture of Robert de Stuteville in 1106, and were the subject of a Stuteville claim in 1200, we do not find that the information is precisely stated. But it is difficult to underestimate the value of this article on the genealogical side, the success of which is largely due to the admirable use made of French sources. For it is becoming increasingly evident that the origins and connections of many families in the period between the compilation of the Domesday survey and the loss of Normandy in 1204 must depend on a careful comparison of French and English records. The use of the former is again illustrated in the note on the relationship between the families of Mortimer and Warenne which constitutes Appendix A—an expansion by Mr. L. C. Loyd of an article which he recently contributed to this *Journal* on "The Origin of the Family of Warenne."

A useful addition to this splendid volume is a consolidated list of the appendixes printed in Volumes I to IX. C. T. Clay.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Charters and Manorial Records relating to lands in Tankersley, Fanshawe Gate, Dinnington and Longshaw, in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, with illustrations, genealogies and notes, compiled by T. Walter Hall, Hon. M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.S.G. Sheffield: J. W. Northend, Ltd., 1937. 10*s*.

Part I of the Catalogue gives an abridged transcription of the lease, dated 1653, of Tankersley Park granted to Richard Fanshawe. The text serves for some most interesting biographical notes of a Royalist baronet, who as a diplomat rendered special service to Charles I and Charles II. Part II contains translations and transcripts of almost one hundred deeds from the Athorpe and Wheat collections which have been presented to the Sheffield Public Library. There are notes added to each transcript, and in most cases a note of the "Genealogy deduced." Maps from the Fairbank Collection are reproduced to illustrate the deeds.

Part III is the story of the Sheffield Planting Company, founded in 1823 to develop part of Longshaw. The land was planted with timber, but the company was dissolved in 1858, the land being sold to the Duke of Rutland. The volume containing the deed of settlement, the minutes of the company, and the share transfers has also been presented to the Sheffield Public Library.

This is the nineteenth volume of Sheffield records that Mr. T. W. Hall has published, and this work is of the utmost importance to students interested in the history of that corner of Yorkshire. The catalogue also emphasises the fact that the public libraries of our great cities are forming collections of original manuscripts that will ultimately rival the collections of our national libraries. T.W.H.

TRANSACTIONS, Etc., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society, Local Record Series, Vol. iii, Part 1, contains Court Rolls of the manor of Haworth; Vol. iv, Part 1, contains Registers of the Independent Chapel of Kipping in Thornton, parish of Bradford.

The Hull Museum Publications contain: No. 191—The *Sirius*: The First Steamer to cross the Atlantic, by T. Sheppard. No. 193—A Roman and Saxon Site at Elmswell, East Yorks., by A. L. Congreve. No. 194—Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire, 1936, by P. Corder and T. Romans.

The Teesdale Record Society: Part 2 contains The Antiquities of Gainford, by J. R. Walbran (continued). Part 3—Chantry Survey of Henry VIII, by G. W. Waine.

The Thoresby Society's Transactions, Vol. xxxv, contains The History of Methley, by H. S. Darbyshire and G. D. Lumb. Vol. xxxvi contains The Parish Register of Aberford, co. York (1540–1812), by G. D. Lumb.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS, ETC.

The Antiquaries' Journal, Vol. xvii, includes A Pair of Fourth-century Romano-British Kilns near Crambeck, by P. Corder. With a Note on the Distribution of Crambeck Ware, by Margaret Birley (p. 392).

Antiquity, Vol. xi, No. 43, includes The Horn of Ulph, by T. D. Kendrick.

The Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Vol. vii, Part 1, includes Mount Grace Priory, by John Gibson.

The English Historical Review, Vol. lii, includes Two East Yorkshire Wage Assessments, 1669, 1679, by R. Keith Kelsall (p. 283); The Marriage and Character of Archbishop Holgate, by A. G. Dickens (p. 428).

The Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society, Vol. xiii, includes Aaron of York, by Michael Adler.

The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, includes Richard Rolle and a Bishop, by S. J. F. Arnould.

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[*Note.*—Books and Pamphlets are included in this list which have been issued from 1 Jan., 1925. The compiler will be glad to hear of any which may have escaped his notice.]

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A Short History of the Parish Church of St. Oswald, Collingham, Yorkshire; by G. E. Kirk; $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 35; Leeds: John Whitehead & Son, Ltd., 1937.

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The Story of St. Nicholas Church, Hornsea; $6\frac{1}{2}\times4$; pp. 24; Gloucester: The British Publishing Company, Ltd., *n.d.*

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INDEX.

The letter *n* denotes that the name is in the notes to the page.

Aaron, the Jew of York, 375*n*
Abbott, William, 393*n*
Acastre, Akastre, John, 239, 240, 276, 277; Isolde, 240, 276, 277
Acerh, 356
Acomb, 260; John de, 156, 238
Acton, William de, 353
Adamson, Nicholas, 18
Addingham, 35; church of, 200
Adel, church of, 199, 200; excavations at, 427; Roman site, 215
Adyngton, William de, 152
Ailesbury, Lord, 212
Ainderby Steeple, church, 200
Aire, river, 13, 14, 25, 44, 141, 196; Gap, 48
Airedale, families of, 11, 12; Lower, 348; Upper, 348
Aislabie, arms of, 377*n*; family of, 377; George, 377*n*; John, 377*n*, 394*n*; William, 377*n*, 394
Ake, Ellen de, 279; John de, 279, 280
Alan, Count, of Richmond, 364*n*; Ribald, brother of, 364*n*
Albert, archbishop of York, 229
Albetarwe, John, 281
Alcuin, 229
Aldbergh, William, 282
Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, church, 200; cross at, 343; excavations at, 426, 427
Aldefield, *see* Aldfield
Aldfeldebanke, woods of, 373
Aldfield, Aldefield, Aldfelde, Awdefield, 354, 355*n*, 356, 357, 371, 373, 374*n*, 392*n*; chapel, 200, 372; Elsley of, 394*n*; manor of, 359, 371, 372, 373*n*, 376, 377*n*
Aldfield, Aldelin de, 372*n*; family of, 368*n*, 372, 375; John de, 132, 372, 373; Nigel de, 366; Robert de, 372, arms of, 372; Thesancia, 372, 373*n*; William de, 355*n*, 356, 372, 376
Aldfield North House, 371
Aldredrode, 14, 17
Aleman, family of, 360*n*, 376, 377
Alexander III, Pope, Bull of, 5, 6, 13; IV, Pope, 158
Alfred, Rada, son of, 373*n*
Alkbarrow, John, 159
Allanson, Mrs., 370
Allcroft, A. Hadrian (author), 57, 71
Allen, H. (artist), 201; W. W., 212
Allerthorp, John, 285
Allerton, Juliana, 281
Allerton Mauleverer, church, 200
Alleyn, John, 307*n*
Allington, 153
Almondbury, church, 200; Wellowe, Peter de, rector of, 149
Alnaf, 362*n*
Alne, 260
Alnewyk, Alan, 160; Maud, 160
Alnwick, Abbey, 149; Castle chapel, 149; Percy of, 88
Aluescage, *see* Ellershaw
Alwoodley, Roman finds from, 427
Alyngton, Robert de, 152, 153
Amotherby, N. Riding, chapel of St. Helen, chantry in, 283
Ampleford, Robert, 240, 242
Ampleforth, 224
Angrum, 362*n*
Anne, Major Crathorne, 58, 59
Annesley, co. Notts, 141; chantry at, 141, 247
Annesley, Hugh de, 281; John, 141*n*; Sir Robert, 141*n*; Thomas de, 281
Appleby, Musgrave of, 414
Appletreewick, 383*n*; manor of, 311
Aprice, *see* Price
Aqua, John de Bella, 281
Archil, 371, 372*n*, 374; son of Gospatric, 351*n*; Richard, son of, 384
Ardsley, Bosville of, 261
Arkendale, church, 200; Dickinson of, 188, 190
Arkengarthdale church, 200
Armayn rode, 18
Armitage, Armytage, John, 384*n*; Mrs., 218
Armitage Bridge church, 201
Armley, Leeds, Old Chapel, 201
Armroyd, a shepherd, 315; close, 315
Arms, coats of, Aislabie, 377*n*; Aldfield, 372; Dougill, 386; Mallory, 377*n*; Mancester, 375*n*; Mowbray, 352; Percy, 374*n*; Plumpton, 374*n*; Slingsby, 376*n*; Studley, 375*n*; Winksley, 379; Yorke, 383*n*
Armytage, *see* Armitage
Arncliffe, church, 201; Colville of, 262
Arthington, 35
Arundale, F. (artist), 213

Arundel, archbishop of York, 138
Aserla, *see* Azerley
Asheton, John, 147
Ashfoldside, *see* Heathfield
Ashton, Roger, 13; William, vicar of Belton, 13
Ashton Keynes, Wilts., chantry at, 125
Ashwath, 390
Aske, Christopher, 402; Richard de, 283; Robert, 9, 401, 417; Sir Robert, 298
Askern, colliery, 79; earthworks near, 57
Askham, John, 282
Askrigg, church, 201
Askwith, 39; flint site near, 37
Askwith Moor, 291, 295; flint site on, 37
Asserle, *see* Azerley
Astre, Alice de, 283; John de, 283
Atheling, Edgar, 351*n*
Athelstan, King, 138
Athorpe, collection of deeds, 432
Atkinson of Bilbrough, 215
Aton, *see* Ayton
Attecrosse, John, chantry priest, 130
Atwick, 89
Aubigny, Saint-Martin d', dep. Manche, 352*n*
Aubigny, Nigel l', 351, 353, 354*n*, 365, 372*n*, 431; Samson, 354*n*; William, 387*n*
Audley, Lord Chancellor, 410
Aughton Castle, 110
Aumale, William d', earl of York, 288
Aurelius, Marcus, coin of, 85
Austerlands, old road, 1
Austwick, chapel, 201; Gamel, lord of, 385*n*; Uctred de, 385*n*
Awburn, 92
Awdefield, *see* Aldfield
Axholme, Axiholm, Isle of, 12; Mowbray of, 381*n*
Axiholm, *see* Axholme
Aymunderby, John de, 283
Ayscoght, Christopher, 307*n*
Aysgarth church, 201
Ayton in "Pickering Lithe," Chapel of St. John, chantry in, 284
Ayton, Aton, Gilbert de, 258; William de, 284
Azerlagh, *see* Azerley
Azerlawe, *see* Azerley
Azerley, Azerlagh, Azerlawe, Aserla, Asserle, Haserlai, 355*n*, 357*n*, 359*n*, 361*n*, 366, 367, 368, 369, 375*n*, 378, 392*n*; Dawson of, 367; Forester of, 379*n*; manors in, 359, 365, 367
Azerley, Margaret de, 376*n*; Richard de, 376*n*; Sampson de, 376*n*
Azerley Grange, 368
Badsworth, Brampton, John de, rector of, 261
Baggewyth, *see* Bagwith Brae
Bagwith Brae, Baggewyth, 360
Baildon, W. P., 7, 32
Baildon Common, cup and ring marked rocks, 110; tumulus, 110
Bain, Agnes, 283
Bainbridge Roman camp, 110
Bainbridge, Dennis, 98; Jane, 98
Bainton, 98, 249; church, 98, chantry in, 249; Broclesby, William de, rector of, 249; Facon, Robert, rector of, 99; Smallwood, Sir John, rector of, 92
Baker, Agnes, 135; H., 348; William, 135
Balar, Henry, 356
Bank, Sir John, Prior of Grosmont, 94
Bankfoot church, 201
Bank Lane, near Grassington, 168
Bardsey, church of, 199, 201
Barker, Agnes, 245; John, 263; William, 245
Barkisland church, 201
Barmby, Rev. James, rector of Melsonby, 209
Barnard Castle, 227; Bowes museum, 224, 226; Yeoman of, 201
Barnborough, John, rector of, 257
Barneby, Alice, 241; Henry, 240; Richard, 241
Barningham church, 201
Barnoldswick church, 201
Barnsley, 235
Barroby, 153
Bartilmewe, Robert, 93
Barton, church, 201; Cholmley of, 100; Henry, 282, canon of York, 245; John de, 283; Patrick, rector of Catwick, 128, 130, 260
Barton Underhill, co. Lincoln, 252
Barwick-in-Elmet, church of, 199, 201
Basedale, nunnery at, 26
Baskerville, Geoffrey, 393*n*
Bastone Cliff, 20
Basy, Richard, 263, 282
Bateson, Christopher, 21
Batley, Copley of, 312
Battye, William, 186
Batty Moss, 217
Bawtry, 257; Morton of, 256
Baxter, Jeremiah, 236; Robert, 252*n*
Bayne, Agnes, 29, 31, 32; family of, 390*n*
Beacon House, 45
Beaufiz, Henry, 362
Beauner, *see* Beltoft
Beckermote, 387
Beckingham, Simon de, 145, 151
Beckwithshaw, Kent of, 45

Bedale, church, 201; cross at, 343; parson of, 272
Bedall, John de, 281
Beeston, co. Notts, 248; Bekeford of, 248; St. Katharine's chantry at, 248, 249, priest of, 132, 140; Sir John de, 248; William de, 248*n*
Bekeford, William de, rector of Cotgrove, 248, 252
Bell, H. E., 5; John, vicar of Rothwell, 211
Bellerby church, 201
Bellester in Tyndale, manor of, 88
Bellun, *see* Beltoft
Bellund, *see* Beltoft
Beltoft, Bellun, Bellund, Beauner (?), Egidia de, 366; family of, 368*n*, 379; Geoffrey de, 366*n*, 380; Hugo de, 366; John de, 379; Marjery de, 366*n*; Maud de, 379; Nicholas de, 366*n*, 378, 379, 380; Peter de, 366*n*; Robert de, 366*n*; Roger de, 356, 366; Thomas de, 355*n*, 356, 366
Belton, church of, 12, 13; Ashton, William, vicar of, 13; Beltofts of, 366*n*
Belvoir, castle, 387*n*; priory near, 387*n*
Bempton, Sir John de, 250
Bendbowe, Henry, vicar of Scarborough, 283
Bennett, W. T., 58, 59, 71, 318, 348
Benson, George (author), 105; Peter, 180, 181, 184, 186, 187, 189, 194; Thomas, 384*n*
Bentham church, 201
Bentley, manor of, 163; John de, 135, 163
Benyngton, Roger de, 347
Berewick, Hugh of, 15
Berington, Roger de, 253
Berkeley, James, Lord, 353; the lady of, 381*n*; William, Marquess of, 353
Berye, Roger, 153
Berryngholme, John, 282
Besby, Michael, 306*n*
Best, Henry, 370; William, 310, 313
Bestwick, Daniell of, 94
Beswick, Beswyke, Marshall of, 412
Beurelie, *see* Bewerley
Bevan, W., 203, 206, 209
Beverlaco, Robert de, canon of Beverley, 283
Beverley, 164, 303*n*, 306; Chapel of St. Mary, chantry at, 282; Chapel at Thearne, chantry in, 282; Chapter of, 163, 164; chantries at, 124, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 155, 161, 163, 164, 244; Cross Garths, 280; corporation of, 162, 411; fishmarket, 164; Gild of Corpus Christi, 162; Gild of St. George, 272*n*; Gild of St. Helen, 270; Gild of St. Mary, 270, 272; houses in, 279; Keldgate, house in, 279; Keldgate Bar, hospital without, 280*n*; Minster, 134, 138, 139, 165, chantries in, 281; St. Nicholas' Hospital, 162*n*, chantry in, 284; Trinity Hospital at, 279; shops in the High Street, 164; Ake of, 279; Beverlaco, Robert de, canon of, 283; Burton, John de, canon of, 281; provost of, 163; Hugate, Nicholas, provost of, 162; Lowthorp, Robert, vicar of, 252; Weton, John, vicar of, 252
Beverley, Joan, 281; John de, 160, 281; Kechyn of, 401; Margaret, 281; Robert de, 164; Willson of, 412; Woodmancye of, 412
Bewerley, Beurelie, near Pateley Bridge, 349*n*, 381, 383, 384, 389, 394*n*; Hardcastle of, 311, 312; Morehousenghouse of, 382*n*
Bewerley Hall, 384; stream, 384
Bigars, 362*n*
Biggin, Bigging, Byggynge, Conesage, 360, 361*n*
Bigod, Bigott, Bygode, 301, 408, 409, 412; family of, 414*n*; Sir Francis, 303, 306, 307; Hugh, 288, 289; Sir John, 264
Bigott, *see* Bigod
Bilbrough, Atkinson of, 215; Basy of, 263, 282
Bilton, 157; Ferriby, Prebendary of, 428
Bilton, John, 161, 257, 281
Bilton Park, Slingsby of, 180
Bird, a shepherd, 315
Birkin, 141
Birkin, Birkyn, Adam de, 17; Thomas, 263, 281
Birley, Eric, F.S.A., 72, 321
Birmingham, Heraldic Exhibition at, 118
Birnebeha, *see* Brimham
Birstall, Birstal, church, 201, chantry in, 252; church books, 118; house in, 252; Canon H. T. Robinson, vicar of, 118; Davy, Robert, vicar of, 252
Bishop Monkton church, 201
Bishopside, High, 381*n*, 390; Low, 381*n*, 390
Bishop Thornton, 378*n*, 381*n*; church, 201
Bishopthorpe, 229
Black Death, 88, 136
Black Prince, 160
Blayshaw, 388
Blazedale, 363*n*
Blenberg church, 201

Blyth, co. Nottingham, 257; Hospital of St. John, chantry in, 284
Blyth, Blythe, Henry, 258; Richard de, 284
Bockliff, *see* Rawcliffe
Bogg (author), 229
Bog Ridge, flint site on, 46
Bohun, family of, 396
Bolingbroke, Sir John de, 258
Bollershaw, 385
Bolton, Robert, 252, 279
Bolton-by-Bolland, Bolton-by-Bowland, 8; church, 202
Bolton-by-Bowland, *see* Bolton-by-Bolland
Bolton-in-Craven, 28; Abbey at, 146, 147, 154, 202; prior of, 14; Castle, 149, 150, 151
Bolton-on-Dearne, church, chantries in, 143, 252; school at, 143
Bolton-on-Swale church, 202
Bonomi & Cory (archts.), 213
Boons, 362*n*
Booth, W. T., 33
Boothroyd, 245
Borel, Roger, 386*n*
Boroughbridge, 352, 357, 381; church, 202; Tankred of, 367
Bosville, Francis, 312; Sir John, 261; Thomas, 261
Bottesford, co. Leicester, Coddington, Henry, rector of, 249
Boulard, Robert, 367
Boulogne, siege of, 23
Bourethwaite, *see* Bouthwaite
Bourge, John, 283
Bouthwaite, Bourethwaite, 381*n*, 382*n*, 386; Bold Robin of, 393*n*
Bower, Richard, 415*n*
Bowers (artist), 200
Bowes, 227, 392*n*; Castle, 343; Roman altar, 224, 226
Bowes, Sir Robert, 402*n*, 403
Bowet, archbishop of York, 277*n*
Bowfall, 360
Bowling church, 202
Bowman, J. D. (artist), 202
Bowthwaite, 392*n*
Boyle, Mary, 121
Boyne, William, F.S.A., 199
Boynton, Sir John, 312; Leonard, 312; Stephen, 310, 312
Braam, Simon de, 16
Bracewell, church, 202; Tempest of, 377*n*
Bracken Hall Green, stone circle on, 110
Bradeford, *see* Bradford
Bradewath, *see* Braithwaite
Bradfield, 111
Bradford, Bradeford, 201, 202, 203, 206, 212, 214; church of, 199, 202; diocese of, 199; Lister Park Museum, 43; Bower of, 415*n*; Mallinson & Healey of, 201, 202, 208, 209, 212; Sir Richard, vicar of, 25
Bradford, monk of Salley, 414
Bradshaw, Mr., 393*n*
Braithwaite, Braithweit, Brathwait, Braythwayt, Braythewyt, Bradewath, Brathway, 355*n*, 356, 366, 368
Braithwaite, arms of, 368*n*; family of, 368
Braithwaite Hall, 368, 392*n*
Braithweit, *see* Braithwaite
Bramham, 2, 260; cross-head in church of, 2; Roman site, 216; Hicks, Rev. F. W., vicar of, 3; Sanderson, vicar of, 3
Bramhope, church of, 199
Bramley, Bromley, Grange, 364, 392*n*
Brampton, manor of, 150
Brampton, John de, rector of Badsworth, 261
Branketre, John, 281
Bransby, Cholmley of, 102
Bransholme, 89
Branston, Fred, 213
Brantingham, manor of, 304*n*
Brasses: Salvin, Geo., Lowthorp church, 89; Salvin, John, Whitby church, 91
Brathwait, *see* Braithwaite
Brathway, *see* Braithwaite
Braun, Hugh, 287
Braunsberg, East Prussia, disc wheel found at, 73
Brawley, John, 285
Bray, Braye, John, 145, 248
Braythewyt, *see* Braithwaite
Braythwayt, *see* Braithwaite
Brayton, Maunsell, vicar of, 401
Brearley, Lacy of, 111
Breres, William del, 252
Brerey, Jane, 30
Brerhagh, 390
Breuil, Abbé Henri, 121
Brideshall, Bridesall, Brygenhale, Bryghale, Briggenhale, John de, 281; Richard, 263, 264, 285; Thomas de, 239
Bridlington, 313; drift flint near, 36, 40, 45, 47, 48
Briggenhale, *see* Brideshall
Briggesle, Henry, 260
Briggs (artist), 200
Brigham, chapel of, chantry in, 283
Brighouse, 383; ancient chest from, 236; church, 202
Brignal, church, 202; Kilvington, O. W., vicar of, 200*n*
Brimham, Birnebeha, Byrnebem, 385, 386; manor of, 384, 385

Brimham Lodge, 386
Brimham Grange, 386
Britain, Roman invasion of, 57
Britain, North, Bronze Age route across, 48
Brittany, Count Stephen of, 353; John, Duke of, 388*n*
Broclesby, William de, rector of Bainton, 249
Broddesworth, *see* Brodsworth
Brodsworth, Broddesworth, John de, 160, 281
Brogger, Dr. A. W., 198
Brograve, John, 190, 191
Bronze Age, 73, 293, 297; beaker, 119, 120, 421; burial at Sutton Bank, 419; flint sites, 35, 44, 45, 47, 174; Plaitford barrow, 73; route across North Britain, 48; tumuli, 171
Brotherton, 428; church, 428
Brough, excavations at, 426, 427; pottery from, 328, 333, 335; Roman site at, 219, 321; Roman road, 221
Broughton church, 202
Brown, Browne, Sir Anthony, 306; Baldwin (author), 196; Brother John, 128; Richard, 284
Bruge, Walter de, canon of York, 259, 264
Bruis, Robert de, 360*n*, 365
Brumehill, 389*n*
Brygenhale, *see* Brideshall
Brygge rode, 20
Bryghale, *see* Brideshall
Buckhurst, Buchurst, Sackville, Thomas, Lord, 311
Buckler, E. H. (artist), 211; J. (artist), 210
Buerby, *see* Buerley
Buerley, Buerby, 310, 392*n*
Buhere, Walter de, 353
Bull, William, 253
Bullock, Ann, 184; Lancelot, 313; Thomas, 310, 313; William, 184
Bulmer, Catherine, 97; family of, 97; Sir John, 97; Margaret, 97; Sir William, 97
Bungay castle, co. Suffolk, 286, 287, 288, 289
Burdekin, James L. (author), 108
Burgh, Richard de, 353; Thomson, vicar of, 410*n*, 415
Burghwallis Hall, 58, 59
Burley, 10, 15, 16
Burley Moor, flint site near Grubstone shooting box on, 43
Burmantofts church, 202
Burnand, Burnande, Mr. (bailiff), 180, 181; Robert, 381*n*
Burneston church, 202
Burnsall church, 202
Burnt Yates, Nidderdale, 190
Burraden, Northumberland, Constance de, 369*n*; Walter de, 369*n*; William de, 369*n*
Burton, Wyvill of, 394*n*
Burton, Alice de, 160; (author), 5, 5*n*, 6; Joan, 31, 32; John, 283, 284, rector of Huggate, 160, canon of Beverley, 281; Nicholas, 282; Richard de, 160
Burton Agnes, 250
Burton-in-Lonsdale, excavations on Castle Hill, 218; manor at, 352
Burton, North, ch. chantry in, 283
Burun, Ernegis de, 383, 384
Busbye, John, 186
Buttershaw church, 202
Byggynge, *see* Biggin
Bygode, *see* Bigod
Byland, 357*n*, 382*n*, 389; Abbey, 229, 354*n*, 361, 362*n*, 369, 382, 388, 389; Liberty of, 354*n*
Byrnebem, *see* Brimham

Calder Valley, 348
Caldwell, Isabel, 144, 152; Robert, 131, 152, 153
Calfalhouses, *see* Covelhouse
Calfgill, *see* Thievesgul
Calkhill, Hallam of, 301
Callander, J. Graham, 116
Calverley, 21, 23, 204, 207; church of, 10, 199, 202
Calverley, Elizabeth de, 8; family of, 7, 10, 12; Isabella de, 8; John, 7, 10, 14; Robert, 10; Walter, 12, 23; Sir Walter, 11; William, 10
Cambridge, Anatomy School, 76; Jesus College, 76; Parliament held at, 267; Trinity College, 314, 354
Candishe, John, 300
Cantelupe, family of, 366; William de, 366*n*, 368
Capplesmire, 362*n*
Carlesmoor, Carlemore, Carlsmore, 356, 360, 392*n*
Carleton, *see* Carlton
Carliel, Carliell, John, 313; Tristram, 310, 313
Carlisle, 411; bishop of, 415; Kirkby, John, bishop of, 251
Carlsmore, *see* Carlesmoor
Carlton, 18, 22; church, 202
Carlton, Carleton, Robert de, 361*n*
Carnaby, 101; Anne, 100; Launcelot, 100
Caroë, W. D., 314, 317
Carpenter, Edward, 310; Richard the, 346
Carpley Green, Wensleydale, Bronze Age implement from, 115
Carr House, Kerhagh, 369*n*

Carter, William, 256
Carteret, Lady, 203
Carthorpe, 148
Carton, Eleanor de, 375*n*; William de, 375*n*
Cartwright, family of, *alias* Vicars, 312; Thomas, 312
Casson, Francis, 183
Castellon, Hugh, 381*n*
Casthorpe, 153; manor of, 153
Castione, in Parma, disc wheel from, 75
Castleford, church of, 199; Poll Tax, 428; Roman finds from, 427
Castleia, William de, 384
Castles — *see* Alnwick; Aughton; Belvoir; Bowes; Kirkby Malzeard; "Maiden Bower," Topcliffe; Thurland
Castle Steads camp, 110
Catterick, 206, 213; church, 202; Croft, Rev. John, vicar of, 213
Catton, John de, 160
Catwick, Barton, Patrick, rector of, 130, 260
Caunton, co. Notts, 126*n*, 152; church of, chantry in, 247; manor of, 247
Caunton, Robert, 126*n*, 247
Cautley chapel, 203
Cautsfield, Cauncefeud, co. Lincs., John de, 385*n*
Cave, William de, 281
Cave, North, 156; Cottingham, John de, rector of, 159
Cawood, 148, 163, 229, 254
Cawthorne church, 203
Cawton, Roos of, 99
Cay, William, 253
Cecil, Rev. Henry, 109
Chamberlain, Chaumberleyn, William le, 366*n*
Chantrell, J. B., 204
Chapel Allerton church, 203
Chapel-le-dale, 217
Chapelthorpe old chapel, 203
Chapman, Herbert, 121, 348
Charles I, 99; the Great, 198
Charlton, G. V., 58; family of, 410*n*
Château Gaillard, 387*n*
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 266
Chaumberleyn, *see* Chamberlain
Chawmont, William, 263
Chelleray, family of, 7; Richard de, 15, 18
Cherleton, Humphrey de, archdeacon of Richmond, 264
Cherry Burton, Cheryburton, Northburton, house in, 312; Hodgson of, 310, 312
Cheryburton, *see* Cherry Burton
Cheseman, Peter, 256
Chesterfield, Roger, 159
Chesterholm, pottery from, 333
Chester-le-Street, 226
Chevin, 45
Chichester, chantry at, 125
Childe, Prof. Gordon, 75
Chiltenham, Walter, vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull, 260
Chirchebi, *see* Kirkby
Cholmley, Anne, 102; family of, 93; James, 100; Jane, 98; John, 100; Margaret, 98; Marmaduke, 102; Sir Richard, 98, 100
Christine, Thomas de la, 356
Church Fenton church, 199
Civil War, 176, 178, 193
Clapham church, 203
Clapham, A. W., 3; George, 360*n*, 368
Clarence, Lionel, Duke of, 259
Clarencieux King-of-Arms, 402*n*, 408
Clareton, 365*n*
Clark, Lt.-Col. E. Kitson, F.S.A., 426; Mary Kitson, 59, 71, 72, 116, 171, 215, 321, 348, 426, 427
Clarkson (author), 229
Claro, manors in, 385*n*
Clay, C. T., 309, 350
Clayton church, 203
Clayton, David, 20
Clayworth, co. Nottingham, ch., chantry in, 284; Daubeny, Nicholas, rector of, 284
Cleasby church, 203
Clementhorpe, Priory of, 313
Clerc, *see* Clerk
Clerk, Clerc, Adam, 142; William, 284
Cleveland, Ferriby, William, archdeacon of, 257, 428
Clifford, Marshall of, 3
Clifford, George, earl of Cumberland, 175, 186, 187; John, 259; Margaret, 12
Clint, 357*n*
Clitheroe, 348
Cloon Finloch, Ireland, 121
Clotherholme, 357*n*, 367, 374*n*, 378*n*; Baron Way at, 357*n*; chapel at, chantry in, 249; manor of, 377*n*; Clotherum of, 373*n*; John de Clotherholme, lord of, 249; Percy of, 374*n*; Pygot of, 367, 374
Clotherum, Clutherum, Dolfin de, 373*n*; family of, 368*n*, 372*n*, 374*n*, 380; Gilbert de, 373*n*; Godwin de, 372*n*; John de, 372, 373*n*; Nicholas de, 373*n*; Rainald de, 373*n*; Robert de, 373*n*; Roger de, 373*n*; Simon de, 373*n*
Clovgh, Franceis, 3; John, 3
Clutherum, *see* Clotherum
Clyff, Dr. William, 28
Clynt, John, priest, 138, 140, 244
Cnut, 428
Cockeland, John, 237

Cockerell, George, 100
Coddington ch., chantry in, 249
Coddington, Henry, rector of Bottesford, 249, 252; John de, 145
Coghill, Marmaduke, 180
Coins, Roman, 85, 166, 215, 216, 220, 221, 222, 223, 228, 324, 331, 338
Coke, Henry, 401; Laurence, prior of Doncaster, 414*n*, 415
Cokewald, John de, 355*n*
Cokyn, Agnes, 31
Coldestanfaldhouses, 382*n*
Coldstone Beck, 43
Coldstones, 383
Coley church, 203
Colier, Colyer, John, 22, 248; Richard, 257
Colling, J. K., 204
Collingham church, 199, 203
Collingwood, Prof. R. G., 169, 226
Collins, ——, 348; Dr. Francis, 193; R. (artist), 207
Coll Rods, 20
Colthouse, 388
Colville, Joanna, 262; Sir William, 262
Colyer, *see* Colier
Commenynge, 20, 21
Conesage, *see* Biggin
Congreve, A. L., 221
Conisborough, castle, 287; honour of, 430
Conistone, Craven, church, 203
Constable, Fulk, 283; John, 378*n*; Sir John, 304, 308; Marmaduke, 250; Sir Robert, 298, 304*n*, 404; Sir William, 304, 308
Constable Burton, Wyvils of, 201*n*
Conyers, family of, 377*n*; Margaret, 98; William, Lord, 98
Cooke, Ann, 98; Thomas, 98
Cooper, T. P., 105; T. S. (artist), 211
Copgrove church, 203
Copley, Avery, 312; Dorothy, 312
Coppendale, Francis, 98; Mary, 98
Coram, Helaigh, canon of, 414
Corbett, Dr., 58
Corbridge, pottery from, 333
Corbridge, Thomas, archbishop of York, 25
Corder, Philip, F.S.A., 219, 221, 222, 321, 328, 331, 335, 426, 427
Coril Wood, 362*n*
Costa Beck, 347; pottery from, 328, 333
Cotesmore, *see* Kexmoor
Cotgrove — Bekeford, William de, rector of, 248
Cottingham, 278
Cottingham, John de, rector of North Cave, 159
Coulton, Dr., 9
Coundon, William de, 380*n*
Covelhouse, Calfalhouses, 382*n*, 386
Coverdale, Dawsons of, 367*n*
Coverham, 206; church, 203; Robert de, 284
Coverley, Sir Roger de, 12
Cowen, J. D., 196
Cowghyll, *see* Cowgill
Cowgill, Cowghyll, church, 203
Cowling, E. T., 35, 291, 348; J. S., 36, 43
Cowpercote, Cowpercott in Craven, Proctor of, 310, 311
Cowthorpe church, 203
Cowton, Cutuna, East, 363; church, 203
Cowton, South, church, 203
Cradget, 362*n*
Cragg Vale church, 203
Crakefal, 372
Crakehall, church, 203; Raven, Rev. T. M., vicar of, 201
Cramanvill, Constance de, 369*n*; family of, 369*n*; Isabel de, 369*n*; Ralph de, 369*n*; Robert de, 369*n*
Crambeck, N.R. Yorks., 119; kiln near, 227; pottery from, 331
Crane, —— (artist), 206
Craven, 384, 388, 389*n*; manors in, 385*n*
Craven Lowlands, 348
Crawford, Dr. O. G. S., 167
Creuequer, William, 378
Crimpledale, 363*n*
Cripple Hole, 362*n*
Crispin, John, 306*n*
Croft church, 203
Croft, Rev. John, vicar of Catterick, 213
Croft Place, flint from, 46
Croide, Gamel, 380; Swain, 380; William, 380
Crompton, family of, 376; Robert, 103
Cromwell, Oliver, 25; Sir Oliver, 180; Thomas, 298, 302*n*, 304*n*, 305, 410, 411, 415*n*
Crooks, 362*n*
Cropwell, 249
Crosland church, 203
Crosses—"The Abbot's Hand," near Greenhow, 357*n*; Aldborough, 343; Bedale, 343; Bramham, 2; Carrgill Head Cross, 357*n*; Cinderhow Cross, 357*n*; Clotherholme Cross, 357*n*; Dallow Moor, High Cross on, 357*n*; Frost Stone, 357*n*; Hayland Cross, 357*n*; Headless Cross, 357*n*; High Hayland Cross, 357*n*; Kettleston Cross, 357*n*; Kirkby Malzeard, 395*n*; Low Langwith Cross, 357*n*; Masham, 110; Ossett, 209; Pilsden Cross, 357*n*; Rey Cross,

343; Studley Cross, 357*n*; Towton, 2; Ulfkill, 110; Writhen Stone, 357*n*
Crossland, R. W., 227
Crossley, E. W., 110
Crossley feld, 20
Cross Stone church, 203
Crouch, Gilbert, 101
Croull, Robert, 280
Crowther, John, of Grassington, 166, 167; Mr., of Bradford, 43
Crow-well Ridge, 39, 40
Croxdale, co. Durham, Salvin of, 88
Crump, W. B. (author), 111
Cullingworth, 17
Cumberland, 405, 411; earl of, 383*n*, 402; Clifford, George, earl of, 175, 186, 187, 188; Henry, earl of, 176; Margaret, countess of, 190; sheriff of, 410
Cundall church, 203
Curwen, Dr., 167; Sir Thomas, 307
Cutuna, *see* Cowton

Dacre, 349*n*, 378*n*, 381, 382*n*, 383, 384, 386*n*; church, 203
Dala, *see* Dallowgill
Dalby, Thomas de, archdeacon of Richmond, 161
Dale Head church, 204
Dalehouses, 355*n*
Dalhagha, *see* Dallow
Dallagill, *see* Dallowgill
Dallow, Dalhagha, 381*n*, 387
Dallowgill, Dala, Dallagill, 349, 361, 386, 387*n*, 392*n*, 395
Dalton, Richard, 264
Dalton Parlours, Roman villa site, 343
Danby Wiske, 214; church, 204
Danefield Wood, 45
Danes, The, 351*n*
Daniell, Anne, 94; William, 94
Darbyshire, Rev. H. S., incumbent of Mickletown, 428
Darcy, 403, 407; Sir Arthur, 311; family of, 386
Darell, William, 263
Darley Beck, 383*n*; "Monk Wall" near, 357*n*
Darley Beck Grainge, 381*n*
Darlington, cemetery at, 196
Darnay, Thomas, 251
Darton church, 204
Daubeny, Nicholas, rector of Clayworth, 284
Davies, J. W., 166
Davis, J. Scarlett, 202
Davy, Robert, vicar of Birstall, 252
Dawkins, Prof. W. Boyd, 166, 171
Dawson, arms of, 367*n*; Elizabeth, 98; family of, 367; Gilbert, 367; James, 98
Day, ——, 58; & Haghe, 210, 213; & Son, 203
Dayet Crofte, 20
Dean, William the, 125
Deanhead church, 204
Deanholme Gate church, 204
Dearncombe Beck, valley of, 39
Deighton, North, Howe Hill (tumulus), 110
Dene, Peter de, 232
Denmark, flint axes in, 117
Dentdale, Roman remains, 216
Denton, church, 204; John de, 244
Denton Moor, flint sites on, 39, 41
Derby, earls of, 392, 394; Stanley, Thomas, earl of, 353
Derelove, Richard, 20
Deringhouses, 382*n*
Derley, Robert de, 261
Derthyngton, John de, 278
Derwent, river, 120
Dewsbury, 209, 235; church, 204; monuments at, 317; West Town church, 213
Dey, Walter, 147
Dicconson, *see* Dickinson
Dickens, A. G., 298, 397
Dickinson, Dicconson, Elizabeth, 190; Henry, 186, 188, 190; William, 190
Dinner Dales, Dinadills, 362*n*
Dinnington, 432
Disseford, John de, 141*n*
Dixon, John (artist), 200
Dobson, J. (archt.), 205
Docketlofthouse, 368*n*
Doctor Head, 1
Dodds, Dr. George, 316; H. M., 405; R., 405
Dod Park, 293
Dodsworth, Roger, 2, 32, 315
Dogeson, Agnes, 31, 32; Barbaria [*sic*], 31
Dolphin, Dolfin, son of Torphin, 351*n*, 371, 372*n*
Domitian, coin of, 85
Don, river, 57
Doncaster, 235, 299, 403, 405; Corbett of, 58; Grammar School, 58, 59; White Friars of, 415
Donington, Donyngton, 157; Brother William de, 127
Donyngton, *see* Donington
Dorset, Sackville, Thomas, earl of, 311*n*
Doubleday, H. A., 430
Dougill, Dougil, Hall, 386; arms of, 386; family of, 386; John, 386; Thomas, 386
Douglas, R. (artist), 211
Douter, 389*n*
Dover, Maison Dieu at, 23
Dowkerbottom cave, Wharfedale, 169

Downay, James, 305, 306*n*
Downholme church, 204
Dragon, Rouge, 408
Draycotes, John, 372
Driffield, 235
Duck, George, 104
Duckworth, Dr. W. L. H., 76, 77
Duffelde, William, 380*n*
Duffield, North, Salvin of, 87, 88
Duggleby Howe, flint axe from, 117
Durand Pot, 389*n*
Duresme, *see* Durham
Durham, Duresme, bishopric of, 405, 411; Coke of, 401; University, 63; Bonomi & Cory of, 213; Hatfield, Thomas, bishop of, 251; Puisit, Hugh du, bishop of, 352; Richard, bishop of, 381*n*; Skirlaw, Walter, bishop of, 164
Durham, Robert, 160, 244
Dutton, Elinor, 98; Thomas, 98
Dymoke, Lady Margaret, 429; Sir Thomas, 429

Earlsheaton church, 204
Earthworks—Baildon, north of, 110; Castle Steads camp, 110; Foston, moated site, 343; Gayles Yarlsber camp, Ingleton, 110; Grassington, 166, 171; Green Dike, 121; Ingleborough, 216; Kirkby Malzeard castle, 350, 352, 357, 358; Manor Garth, Sherburn-in-Elmet, moated site, 110; Otley, north of, 291; Penygent, 318; Snowden Craggs, 39; Sutton Common, 57
Easby, 212; abbey, 150, 151, 230; church, 204
Easingwold, 103; Raynes of, 103; Salvin of, 104
Eastburn (Driffield), Roman finds from, 427
Eaveston, 375*n*; manor of, 377*n*
Eddison, ——, 195
Ede, Robert de, rector of Kirkby Overblow, 148, 149
Edington, William, bishop of Winchester, 251
Edward, II, 156, 245, 349*n*; III, 135, 159, 239, 251, 259, 276, 285, 388*n*; VI, 308
Egbert, archbishop of York, 229
Egglesbury, 368
Eggleshaw, F., 58; J. H., 58; M., 58
Egton, 100, 101; bridge, 99; church of, 93, 101, 102; fulling mill, 100; manor of, 87, 89, 91, 94, 99, 100, 103, 104; Marshall of, 99
Eholm, 14, 17
Elfoninghouses, 382*n*
Elgee, F., 48, 228, 348; H. W., 48
Elizabeth, Queen, 208, 416
Elland, 136, 141*n*; chantry at, 255*n*; chapel at, 141
Elland, John, 300*n*, 304*n*, 305, 306*n*
Ellars Wood, 293, 295, 297
Ellerker, Ralph, 25; Sir Ralph, 301, 304, 306, 308, 402*n*, 403; Ursula, 98
Ellerker Pike, 39
Ellershaw, Aluescage, 364*n*
Ellerton, nunnery at, 26
Ellerton, Hugh, 90, 91
Elmswell, excavations at, 221
Elsley, family of, 394; Gregory, 393*n*; William, 394*n*
Eltofte, Edmonde, 118
Elvelye, 156
Ely cathedral, monument in, 317
Embsay church, 204
Emley church, 204
Emonson, George, 186
Enfield, Middlesex, 311*n*; Middlemore of, 311*n*
Epperstone, Thomas de, 248
Eppeworth, *see* Epworth
Epworth, Eppeworth, Isle of Axholme, manor at, 352, 381*n*
Eryholme church, 204
Escrick, 48
Esheholt, *see* Esholt
Esholt, Esheholt, Esschehold, 13, 15, 18, 21, 22, 23; manor of, 14, 24; Priory of, 5–17, 23–32; Inventory of, 25; plan of, 4; Prioress of, 7; Agnes, prioress of, 17; Pudsay, Eliz., prioress of, 31; Wodehall, Juliana de la, prioress of, 7, 8, 27
Esk, valley of the, 89
Esnebern, 373, 375
Esschehold, *see* Esholt
Etherington, Richard, 370
Etton, Thomas de, 163
Eure, Sir Ralph, 95, 96, 97, 98; William, Lord, 98
Evans, ——, 116
Evelyn, Dr., 105
Evesey woode, 20
Ewcross, manors in, 385*n*
Ewe Close, Westmorland, 169
Eyholme, 20

Facon, Robert, rector of Bainton, 99
Fairbank, collection of maps, etc., 344; family of, 344; Josiah, 344; William, 344
Fairfax, Frances, 98; George, 98; Lord, 179, 184; Nicholas, 98
Fanne, John, 147*n*
Fanshawe, Richard, 432
Fanshawe Gate, 432
Farnham, 141, 366*n*; church of, 141, 204; Lestowe, William de, rector of, 127

Farnley church, 204
Farrer, Dr. Wm., 350, 369, 390, 431
Farrewestfeld, or Shepeclose, 20
Fauner, Richard de, 355*n*
Fawcett, Edward, 419
Fawchey, Thomas, 22
Faweather, 32
Fawkes, Elizabeth, 190
Felebriggebec, *see* Fellbeck
Fellbeck, Felebriggebec, 385, 390; Half Moon Inn at, 385*n*
Fencotes, Fencoats, church, 204
Fencotes, Thomas de, 362*n*
Fenwick, Hastings of, 93
Ferriby, 156
Ferriby, John, 161, 281; Richard, 257; William, 156, 257, 283; canon of York, 428
Ferrybridge, 196, 197
Fetherby, Roger de, 364
Feukerhenges, 369*n*
Fewston church, 204
Fewston, family of, 190
Fidlers Leas, 362*n*
Filey, Greene of, 310, 313
Fingerfield, 363*n*
Fishlake—Mauleverer, Richard, rector of, 148
Fitzalan, family of, 352
Fitz Aldelin, Ralph, 372*n*; William, 372*n*
Fitz Hugh, Henry, 352
Fitz Randolf, family of, 364; Randolf, 364*n*; Roger, 378*n*
Fitz-William, Lord Admiral, 403; John, 251; Sir William, 141*n*
Flamborough, chantry at, 250
Flamborough, Emma, 251; Robert, 251
Flathow, *see* Shenerhowe, East
Fleetwood, Sir William, 180
Fleming, Alan, 153; Alice, 151; Sir Thomas, 429
Flockton chapel, 204
Florence, 179
Floteman, 360*n*
Flower, William, 118
Folk, John, vicar of Scarborough, 284
Folkerthorp, John, 282
Folkingham, John, 310, 312; Thomas, 312
Folliott, Richard, 356, 379
Forcett church, 204
Ford, Lionel, dean of York, 231
Forester, Thomas, 379*n*
Fossard, arms of, 92; family of, 87, 92; heritage, 89; Johanna, 94
Foster, John, 90
Foston, 283; moated site at, 343
Foston, John de, 263; Thomas, 256
Fouke, Nicholas, 281
Fouleschagh, 382
Foulgate Nook, Fulgate Leez, 364*n*
Fountains, 351*n*, 357*n*, 382*n*, 386, 387; abbey, 354, 357, 360*n*, 361, 363, 364, 366, 368, 369, 371, 373*n*, 377*n*, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386*n*, 389, 391, 396; abbot of, 355, 356, 362, 363, 372, 381*n*, 385, 386; Hall, 386; Liberty of, 354, 355*n*
Fountains Earth, 381, 386, 387, 394
Fournays, Adam de, 282
Fowberry, ——, 301, 303*n*
Fowler, James, 429
Frankland, Mr., 348
Franklin, Richard, 305, 306*n*
Fraunceys, John, vicar of Wath-on-Dearne, 429
Frazer, Prof. J. E. S., 77
Freeman, Nicholas, 15
Freer, Henry, 186
Fridaythorpe, prebendary of, 280
Fritscadrod, 17
Frodingham, North, 89
Frost, Isabel, 241; William, 241
Frostildhau, 387
Frothyngham, John de, 163
Fulgate Leez, *see* Foulgate Nook
Fulsham Lane, 381*n*
Fulton, Dr., 121

Gairdner, author, 298, 401
Galghah, *see* Galphay
Galgheberg, *see* Galphay
Galhache, *see* Galphay
Galland, Galon, Robert, 243
Gallows Hill, 362*n*
Galon, *see* Galland
Galphay, Galghah, Galhache, Galgheberg, Gauthway, 355*n*, 359*n*, 365, 368, 369, 378*n*, 379, 392*n*
Gamel, 379, 387; Uctred son of, 379
Gamelbar, 384, 386*n*
Gant, Alice de, 384, 391
Garforth church, 204
Gargrave, 311; church, 204
Garrowby reservoir, 222
Garsdale, church, 205; vicarage, 205
Garside, K., 33
Garthom, 164
Garton, Robert de, 279; Thomas de, 238
Gascoigne, Anne, 93; Elizabeth, 94; Sir William, 93
Gaunt, John of, 251, 253, 274; charter of, 246; register of, 347
Gauthwaite, 392*n*
Gauthway, *see* Galphay
Gawk-Hall Ridge, 39
Gawthorp, Gascoigne of, 93; Shuttleworth of, 431
Gayles Yarlsber Camp, Ingleton, 110

Gemelyng, Thomas de, 281
Ghimsker, 360
Ghorbal, Gertrude, 111, 112
Giffard, archbishop of York, 27
Giggleswick, 205; church, 205
Gilboy, Mrs., 49, 51, 53
Gilds, 265–273—Gild of the B.V.M., at Hull, 268, 270; Gild of St. Christopher, at York, 272; Gild of Corpus Christi, at Beverley, 162; Gild of Corpus Christi, at Hull, 270; Gild of Corpus Christi, at Newark, 267*n*; Gild of Our Lady, St. Wilfred and All Saints, at Ripon, 271; Gild at Ripon, 272; Gild of St. George, at Beverley, 272*n*; Gild of St. Helen, at Beverley, 270; Gild of St. Mary, at Beverley, 270, 272; Merchant Gild, at York, 277
Giled, 369*n*
Giliot, Nicholas, 367
Gill, Rev. Canon A. A. R., 342, 350
Gillamoor, 227
Gill Head, 43
Gilligan, Prof., 44
Gilling, church, 205; Harpham, Walter, vicar of, 250
Gilmonby, Roman finds from, 427
Girlington, Dorothy, 100; John, 100
Gisburn church, 205
Gisburn, Ellen, 282; John, 282
Givendale, Ripon Prebend of, 371*n*
Glaisdale, 100
Glastonbury Lake village, 75
Glenluce Sands, Bronze Age implements from, 116
Gloucester, Richard, Duke of, 353, 381*n*
Glover, R., 118
Glynne, Sir Stephen, 200
Goddard, T. Russell, 77; Thomas, 263
Goderick, Viscount, Marquess of Ripon, 395
Golcar church, 205
Goldsborough, 365*n*; church, 205
Golthwaite, family of, 382*n*
Gomersal church, 205
Gonthwaite, 310
Goodrick, family of, 363
Gormire, 362*n*
Gosberton, co. Lincolnshire, 429
Gospatric, 351, 359, 360*n*, 361*n*, 362, 364, 365, 371, 373, 375, 378, 383, 384, 386*n*; Archil, son of, 351*n*
Gothicus, Claudius, coin of, 85
Gowland, Tom S., 349
Gowthwaite, 388, 392*n*; Golthwaites of, 382*n*
Gowthwaite Hall, 383*n*
Goxhill in Holderness, Ch. of St. Giles, chantry in, 284
Grace, Isabella la, 356
Grainge (historian), 382, 384, 386, 388, 394
Grancete, James de, 131
Gransmoor, chantry at, 250
Grantham, Maud, 238; William, 238
Grantley, 355*n*, 356, 357, 360, 375*n*, 390*n*, 391; manor of, 377*n*; Nortons of, 373*n*, 386
Gras, family of, 360*n*, 376, 377; Isabella le, 374; John, 355
Grassington, earthworks at, 166, 167, 169, 174; Crowther, John, of, 167
Gravedale, Grovedale, 363*n*; Farm, 363*n*
Graver, ——, 188, 190
Gray, Alice, 89; Joan, 89, 239; John, 239; Katherine, 239; Laurence, 239*n*; Richard de, 355*n*; Thomas, 239; Sir Thomas, 89; W. (artist), 207; William, 239, 241
Great Asby—Castle Folds, site at, 219
Great Driffield, 89
Great Haw, 387*n*
Greaves, 1
Greaves, Robert, 1
Green, Greene, Caroline, 206; William, 310, 313, 393*n*
Green Cragg Slack, barrows on, 43; flint site on, 43, 44, 45
Green Dike earthwork, 121
Greenfield, Archbishop of York, 9, 28
Green Hammerton, 229
Greenhow, 357*n*
Greenwich, mayor of, 304, 308
Greenwich, East, manor of, 370
Greenwood, C. J. (artist), 204
Greescroft, 16
Greetland, excavations at, 427
Greig, J. (artist), 200
Gresham, Sir John, 386; Sir Richard, 393*n*; Sir Thomas, 383*n*
Grewelthorpe, Growelthorp, Gruelthorpe, 355*n*, 356, 357*n*, 362, 363, 364, 392*n*, 395*n*; manors in, 359, 362, 364
Grey, Avice de, 148; John de, 148; Walter de, archbishop of York, 375*n*
Greynham, Richard, 281
Greystock, Mary, 93; Ralph, Lord, 93
Griffiths, Dr. B. Millard, 63
Grimes, of the National Museum of Wales, 422
Grimsby, 299*n*
Grindall, 159
Grinton, excavations at, 427
Groom, R. (artist), 204
Grosmont, priory of, 92, 94
Growelthorp, *see* Grewelthorpe
Gruelthorpe, *see* Grewelthorpe
Grundebeof, Robert, *see* Stuteville, Robert de

Gryvel, Elizabeth, 363*n*; William, 363*n*
Guisborough, 250; prior and convent of, 244; Priory, 250, 343; Roman finds from, 427
Guiseley, 21, 23, 210, 214; church, 205; Ward, Sir Nicholas, rector of, 27
Gunpowder Plot, 179
Gunthorp, William, 164
Gunthwaite, Bosville of, 312; Rolleston of, 312

Hacker Gill, 216
Hackfall, 357*n*, 391, 395
Haddlesey, 140, 141
Hadrian, cardinal of London, 97
Haget, Bertram, 384; Geoffrey, 384; William, 384
Haggenridyng, 364
Halam, *see* Hallam
Haldenby, W. Riding, chantry at, 252
Haldenby, Robert, 253
Haley Hill church, 205
Halifax, 141, 201, 203, 206, 209, 212, 339, 348; Bankfield Museum, 339; church, 199, 205; Shibden Hall, 339; Vicarage, 205; Hoppey of, 23; Mallinson & Healey of, 214
Hall, Armstrong, Archdeacon, rector of Methley, 428; Henry, 100; T. Walter, F.S.A., 111, 423
Hallam, Halam, Halom, ——, 408, 409; John, 301, 302, 303, 304*n*, 305, 306, 307
Hallams, Hallum, 362*n*
Halom, *see* Hallam
Halsham—Nuttle, Hugh de, rector of, 284
Haltemprice, monastery of, 12, 13, 125
Halton, Northumberland, Carnaby of, 101
Halton, Robert, 282
Halton Gill church, 205
Hambledon Street, 224
Hambleton Hill, Hameldun, 387
Hameldun, *see* Hambleton Hill
Hamerton, Nicholas, 305, 306*n*
Hammond, Ann, 99; Gervase, 99
Hampole, nunnery at, 26
Hampstead, Talbot of, 103
Hampstead, East, manor of, 414
Hampsthwaite church, 205
Hanley, William de, 153
Hanover, disc wheel near, 73
Hansard, Sir Robert, 257
Harcourt, E. V. V., Abp. of York, 213
Hardcastle, Marmaduke, 310, 311, 312
Hardcastle in Dacre-cum-Bewerley, 311*n*
Hardcastle Garth, 385
Hardwick, Hardwyk, Thomas, 21, 22, 281
Hardwyk, *see* Hardwick
Harewood, 147; chantry at, 146, 147, 154; chantry priest of, 131, 136, 145, 146; church of, 200
Harewood, Earl of, 118
Hargrove (author), 175, 176, 178, 179
Harker, J. Bailey, 166, 171
Harland, R. S., 227
Harlsey, East, Roman finds from, 427
Harpham, Walter, vicar of Gilling, 250
Harpley, Norfolk, church of, 276
Harrington, Sir John, 9
Harrison, S. E., 224
Harrogate, 121, 235, 348; churches in, 205; Clarence Drive, 116; Duchy Road, 116; flint implement from, 116; Harlow Hill, 216; Ladies' College, 116; Medicinal waters of, 180
Hartishead, *see* Hartshead
Hartshead, Hartishead, church, 205
Hartwith, 386, 392*n*, 395*n*
Hartwith-with-Winsley, 357, 381, 384
Harwood Dale Moor, Penny Howe (tumulus), 110; Pye Rigg Howe (tumulus), 110
Haserlai, *see* Azerley
Hastings, Anne, 93; Edmund, 93; Elizabeth, 93; family of, 93, 366*n*; Sir Hugh, 93; Mary, 93; Sir Ralph, sheriff of York, 264
Hatfield, near Doncaster, 200*n*
Hatfield, Thomas, bishop of Durham, 251
Hathelsay, Stapleton of, 128
Haukeswyk, John de, 367
Haura, 349*n*
Haverah, Haywra, Park, near Harrogate, 349*n*
Hawes old chapel, 205
Hawkes, Christopher, 73, 75
Hawkeswell, West, church, 206
Hawkins, G., 210
Hawkswell church, 206
Hawksworth, land in, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 23
Hawksworth, Anne, 21, 23; Beatrice de, 8, 27; family of, 7; Martin, 14; Thomas, 10; Walter, 10
Hawkwood, Sir John, 276
Haworth church, 206
Hay, C. W. (artist), 203; Elizabeth, 283; John, 283; Robert del, 272
Hayshaw, 383
Haysthorpe, Thorneholme of, 118
Haywra Park, *see* Haverah Park

Headingley, church, 206; Patefyn of, 10, 16
Healey, 354*n*; Chapelry District of, 354*n*; church, 206
Healey (Archt.), 201, 202, 208, 209, 212, 214
Heathfield, Hyrefelt, Hyrefield (Ashfoldside), Nidderdale, 380*n*, 382*n*, 384; Beck, 388, 389; forest of, 387, 389
Heaton, Northumberland, Gray of, 89
Hebden church, 206
Hebden, Joan, 239; Sir Richard, 239
Hebden Bridge church, 206
Hedley, W. Percy, 321
Hedon in Holderness—chapel of St. Augustine, chantry in, 284; Clerc of, 284
Heholm, 17
Helaigh, canon of Coram, 414
Hellwath, near Studley, Baron Way at, 357*n*
Helmsley, 251; church, chantry in, 251; Flamborough of, 251; Prestman of, 414
Hemmyngburgh, Sir John de, rector of St. Wilfrid's, York, 28
Henlock, Matthew, 180
Henry, I, Robert brother of, 351; IV, 229, 352; VII, 12, 93, 95, 398, 416; VIII, 94, 176, 301, 306*n*, 308, 398, 409, 412, 416
Heptonstall church, 206
Herle, John, rector of Tankersley, 141*n*
Hermit Rode, 315
Heron, family of, 410*n*
Herswell, Salvin of, 87, 88
Hertelpole, Hertlepole, Robert, 414
Hertlepole, *see* Hertelpole
Hertlington, Joan de, 8
Heselarton, Heslarton, Simon de, 250; Thomas, 250, 285
Heslarton, *see* Heselarton
Hewick, Hewyk, 375*n*
Hewick, Roger de, 381*n*
Hewyk, *see* Hewick
Heywood, Oliver, 236
Hierode, 18
Higham (artist), 200, 205
High Close, near Grassington, 166, 168
High Hoyland church, 206
High Melton—chapel of St. James, chantry in, 283; parish church, chantry in, 283
High Street, 224
High Thurston Clough, 1
Higson, J. D. E., 33
Hildyard, E. J. W., 216, 219, 224
Hill, Robert del, 239, 240; Roger, 244; S., 58, 59; Thomas del, 261
Hilliarde, Sir Christopher, 304, 308
Hinchliffe, J., 86, 321
Hinderwell, 103
Hirsch, Mr., 215
Hodgson, Richard, 310, 312
Holayn, Thomas de, rector of Holmpton, 131*n*
Holbeck, church, 206; stream, 45
Holborn, St. Andrew's, 311*n*
Holderness, 348; lake village at, 79
Holdrode, 18
Hollynraws, Joan, 31
Holme, 157
Holme, Robert, 242; Thomas, 239, 240
Holme, South, Southelme, in Hovingham, Bullock of, 310, 313
Holmes, ——, 316
Holmpton, 136; altar of St. John, 124; chantry at, 136; chantry priest of, 131; Holayn, Thomas de, rector of, 131*n*
Holsters, 368
Holtby, Mrs., 221
Home, Gordon (author), 229
Hoppey, Edward, 23
Hopton church, 206
Horbury church, 200
Horeslay (Horsley Gates Farm), 372
Hornby (Catterick), church, 206; Best of, 310, 313
Hornby, co. Lancaster, Nevilles of, 431
Hornby, Horneby, Joan, 238; Ralph, 238; Richard de, 281; Thomas, 251; William, 251
Horncastle, Leach of, 400*n*
Horneby, *see* Hornby
Horner, ——, 205; family of, 390*n*
Hornsea, 89, 221, 235; church, 258; Titlot of, 258
Hornsea Burton, 89
Horseforth church, 206
Horsehouse church, 206
Horseman, Arthur, 393*n*
Horsfall, Dr., 367
Horsley heraldic collection, 118
Horton (Bradford) church, 206
Horton, Isabel, 131; Robert, prior of Bolton, 131; Thomas, 131
Horton-in-Ribblesdale church, 206
Hospitals, 273–280
Hotham, 156
Hoton, Alan de, 256; Thomas de, rector of Kirby Misperton, 255, 256; William de, 141*n*, 256
Hotonwandesley—Newby, Robert de, rector of, 363
Hotspur, 149
Houldsworth, William, 393*n*
Houme, Richard, 276
Houom, Howom, Katharine, 238; Robert, 238, 276, 278; Thomas, 278

Housesteads, pottery from, 333
Houton, Henry de, chantry priest, 130
Hove, tumulus at, 116
Hoveden, Roger de, 351*n*
Hovingham, 313; Roger de, 281
Howard, H. E., 211; Thomas, duke of Norfolk, 303*n*
Howdenshire, 404*n*
Howgill chapel, 206
Howom, *see* Houom
Howsham, Coppendale of, 98
Hubberholm church, 206
Huby, Abbot, 380*n*
Huddersfield, 111, 204, 205, 214, 348; church, 200, 206; Poll Tax, 428; Allen of, 212; Wath, John de, vicar of, 141*n*
Hudson, Canon Egbert C., 314
Hudswell church, 206
Hugate, Nicholas de, canon of York, 157; provost of Beverley, 162
Huggate—Burton, John, rector of, 160
Hull, 50, 52, 298–302, 303*n*, 304*n*, 306–308, 412; Corporation, 244, 298, 405, 411; Gild of B.V.M., 268, 270; Gild of Corpus Christi, 270; grain prices, 51–55; Guildhall, 298, 299; Holy Trinity church, 260, 270, 279*n*, 305, 306*n*, chantry at, 136, 244; houses in, 278; Mortimer Collection at, 117; Museums in, 221, 348; Briggesle of, 260; Chiltenham, Walter of Holy Trinity, 260; Constable, Sir Robert of, 299*n*; Ferriby of, 257; Rogers, mayor of, 304, 308; Scott of, 5; Swinflet of, 260
Hull, M. R., 328
Humber, river, 299*n*
Humbler, William, 401
Hunsingore church, 207
Hunslet church, 207
Hunte, Thomas, 281
Hunton church, 207
Hurley Hole, 363*n*
Hussey, Anne, 90; Sir Giles, 312; Sir William, 90
Hustedes, 17
Hutton, Dame Joan, 28, 29, 31, 32; Richard, 180; Sir Richard, 179; of Snape, 401
Hutton Conyers, Mallorys of, 377*n*, 383*n*
Hutton Magna church, 207
Hyrefelt, *see* Heathfield

Idle, church, 200, 207; land in, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21
Idle, Jordan of, 17; William, of, 17
Idol Stone, 44
Ilkley, 215, 235; church, 207; church of St. Margaret, 292; Moor, 293, 297; Museum, 43; Waterworks, flints from, 43
Implements—bone, 170; bronze, 170, 348; cast lead, 170; flint, 78, 171, 172, 173, 174; iron, 170, 196, 221; stone, 115, 116, 348
Ingelby, *see* Ingleby
Ingilby, *see* Ingleby
Ingleborough, 217, 218; earthworks on, 216
Ingleby, Ingelby, Ingilby, family of, 384; John, 244; John, rector of Lowthorp, 250, 251; Sir William, 180, 184
Ingleton, church, 207; Gayles Yarlsber camp, 110
Ingmanthorpe, chapel of, 259; Roos of, 367
Ingulph, 229
Inman, family of, 386*n*; Robert, 386*n*
Ireland, rebellion in, 309
Iron Age, 169, 293, 331; bones, 318; pots, 422; settlement near Addleborough, 115; sites, 171; tumuli, 171
Isabella, Queen, 135, 285
Ivelet, Roman finds from, 427
Iwdene, 387

James I, 376*n*
Jenkins, Henry, monument of, 202
Jenkinson, Jenkynson, Joan, 31, 32; Richard, 30
Jenkynson, *see* Jenkinson
Jerash, 426
Jerusalem, 390; Hospitallers of St. John of, 314, 385
Jervaulx, abbey, 354*n*; monk of, 414
John, King, 351*n*
Johnson, S. (artist), 213
Jones, A. H. M., 426; G. Fowler, 204; O. M. Clement, 33; O. N., 223, 321
Jordan, cardinal of St. Eustachio, and dean of York, 158, 159
Jutland, Dystrup Bog, 73; Tindbaek, 73

Kanazar Field, 362*n*
Karliolo, Richard de, 381
Kaye, Mrs., 117; W. J., 116
Kechyn of Beverley, 401
Keeling, a shepherd, 316
Keighley, 210; church, 207
Keighley, Kighley, Peter, 180, 186
Keith, Sir Arthur, 318
Keldbeck, 365
Keldholme, nunnery at, 28
Kelham, 152
Kellington, church, 314–316, chantry chapel, Serpent Stone in, 314;

Lowthian, Rev. John, vicar of, 315; Mann, Rev. Joseph, vicar of, 315
Kelsall, R. Keith, 49
Kemp, archbishop of York, 10, 25
Kenarsforde, *see* Skelden
Kendall, 401
Kendall, Hugh P., 87, 228, 339, papers by, 340–342; Thomas, vicar of Louth, 400*n*
Kent, B. W. J., 45, 117, 348, 427; John, 261
Kerhagh, *see* Carr House
Ketilsmoor, *see* Kexmoor
Ketsmore, Ketesmore, Kettesmore, *see* Kexmoor
Kettlewell, J. C., 219
Keux, J. Le, 213
Kex Beck, 349, 365
Kexmoor, Ketsmore, Ketesmore, Kettesmore, Ketilsmoor, Cotesmore, 355*n*, 356, 365, 392*n*
Kid, Sam, 393*n*
Kighley, *see* Keighley
Kildale, Major Turton of, 347
Kildwick church, 207
Kilham, church, chantry in, 283
Kilham, Salvin of, 89; Alan de, 283
Killam, Richard, 279
Killome, 92; Foster of, 90
Kilnwick, 89
Kilvington, John, 200*n*; Hon. Maria Margaret, 200*n*; Orfeur William, vicar of Brignal, 200*n*, 205, 206, 211, 212
King, Henry, 414
Kingston-upon-Hull, Kyngeston, 49, 305, 406, 408*n*, 411; Import duties at, 56; mayor of, 88; monastery and hospital outside, 278
Kinsor, Bournemouth, beaker from, 423
Kippax church, 200, 207; Ferriby, Wm., rector of, 428
Kirby Misperton, Hoton, Thomas de, rector of, 255
Kirk, G. E., 3, 199, 350; J. L., 331
Kirkburton church, 207
Kirkby, Kirkeby, Chirchebi, John de (chaplain), 379*n*; John, bishop of Carlisle, 251; Robert, 263; Thomas, 285
Kirkby Fleetham, 204; church, 207
Kirkby Hill (Kirkby-on-the-Moor), 372*n*; church, 207
Kirkby Malham church, 207
Kirkby Malzeard, Kyrkbye-malsarde, Malesart, 349-396; castle, 350, 352, 357, 358, 361; church, 207, 349, 350, 354*n*, 361*n*, 362, 370, 396; Court Leet, 392; honour of, 349, 350, 351, 353, 359, 373, 392; manor of, 350, 352, 353, 357, 359, 361, 370, 377*n*, 381*n*, 391, 394; market at, 395; market cross, 395*n*; Mowbray House, 350; lord of, 355; Sanderson of, 367
Kirkby Moorside, 227, 351*n*; Newton, Walter de, vicar of, 263
Kirkby Overblow, Kyrkeby Overblavers, 136, 149, 158, 210; church of, 148, 157, 207; Ede, Robert de, rector of, 148
Kirkby Ravensworth church, 207
Kirkby Wiske church, 207
Kirk Deighton church, 207
Kirkeby, *see* Kirkby
Kirkham, Abbey, 154, 229; William, prior of, 93
Kirk Hammerton church, 207
Kirkheaton church, 207
Kirklees, nunnery at, 26, 28, 29, 30; Park, Roman camp, 343
Kirklington, church, 207; Mustres, Robert, rector of, 148
Kirkstall, Abbey, 200, Abbots of, 7; church, 207
Kitchen, executed at Hull, 304*n*
Knapton, Richard, 263; Roman finds from, 427
Knaresborough, Knarysborowe, 175, 179, 180, 184, 190, 191, 195, 235, 374; castle, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194; Castlegate, 183; Castle Steade, 193; church, 208, chantry in, 282; Cockhill House, 180, 181, 183; "Cockpitt Hill," 181; Cock Place, 182, 195; Cock Place Hill, 183; Courthouse, Old, 193, 194, 195; courts at, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194; Forest of, 357*n*, 381*n*, 387; Forest Liberty of, 384*n*; Honour of, 175, 176, 180, 186, 187, 193; Horner House, 183, 184; manor of, 181, 185, 190, 191; Market Place, 181, 183, 184; "the Monk Wall," 384*n*; Police Station, 183; prebendary of, 163; prison at, 184; Roper Hill, 183; St. Robert of, 127, 128, 154, 183, 414; Tolbooth, 181, 182, 184, 185, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195; Town Hall, 181, 183, 184, 195; Weavers' Shops, 180; Margaret of, 276; Robertson of, 282
Knarford, *see* Skelden
Knarysborowe, *see* Knaresborough
Knevett, William, 19, 23
Knight, Stephen, 258
Knight Templars, 314, 363
Knolles, Lady Constance, 274*n*; Sir Robert, 133, 274
Knowles, John A., 230, 231, 232; William, 300

Knowsley, chapel of, 264
Königsberg, Prussian Museum, 73
Kynalton, Annesley of, 281
Kyngeston, *see* Kingston
Kyrkeby Overblavers, *see* Kirkby Overblow

Lacy, family of, 428; Ilbert de, 428; John, 111
Ladyfall, woods of, 373
Lady Hill, 362*n*
Lagrams, 362*n*
Lair Close, 362*n*
Laithkirk church, 208
Laithwaite church, 208
Lamberd, Nicholas, 355*n*
Lambert, George, 59; L. A., 59
Lamplough, Sir John, 307
Lancashire, 406; grain prices, 54; wages in, 51
Lancaster, Lancastre, 48, 406; Duchy of, 178, 184, 190, Records, 94, 99, Grammar schools in, 143*n*
Lancaster, Duke of, 253, 264, 348, 352; Edmund, Earl of, 347; Henry, Duke of, 253, 282; Herald, 399, 408; John, Duke of, 246, 283; Thomas of, 87; Thomas, Earl of, 245
Landforth, 355*n*
Langcliffe church, 208
Langdale, T., 211
Langelay, *see* Lumley
Langerode, 20, 21
Langford church, 354*n*
Langshaw Beck, 43; Dam, 43
Langthorne, 201
Langton, Langeton, pottery from, 333, 335; Roman villa at, 83, 328, 329; Sandale, John de, parson of, 15
Langton, John, 241; Nicholas, 241
Langton-on Swale church, 208
Larder, ——, 126*n*; Geoffrey, 379
Latham House, 394
Latimer, Richard, Lord, 381*n*
Lauertone, *see* Laverton
Laueton, *see* Laverton
Laver, river, 349, 357*n*
Laverton, Lauertone, Laueton, Layrton, 355*n*, 360, 365*n*, 386, 387*n*, 392*n*
Lawrance, Mrs. H., 322; Rev. H., 235, 311, 321, 327
Lawson's Wood, 45
Layrton, *see* Laverton
Layton, Richard (commissioner), 6, 23, 29, 31, 302*n*
Le, Dr. 23
Leach, Robert, 400*n*
Lead chapel, 200
Lea Green, near Grassington, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172
Leathley church, 200, 208
Leche, ——, 414
Ledsham church, 200
Leduin, 374
Lee, archbishop of York, 28, 29
Leeds, 12, 201–203, 205, 207, 214, 348, 426; churches in, 200, 208; Church Institute, 199; Museum, 297; Poll Tax, 428; Public Reference Library, 199; Chantrell of, 204; Dobson of, 205; Folkingham of, 310, 312; Masser of, 204, 210; Oliver, Rev. Wm., vicar of, 199; Pulleyn and Hunt of, 209; Shaw of, 204
Leeds, John de, rector of Methley, 257; Robert, 258
Leeming Chapel church, 208
Legh, *see* Leigh
Leigh, Legh, A. B., 199; Sir Thomas (commissioner), 6, 23, 29, 31, 302*n*
Leland, 229
Lenton, 248; prior and convent of, 248
Leonerd, Seynte, 20
Lestowe, William de, rector of Farnham, 127
Letteby, Richard, 158
Leven, William, rector of Lockington, 256, 257
Liddesdale, 401
Lilling, East, Hall of, 100; Towey of, 100
Limley, Bayne of, 390*n*
Lincoln, 405; archdeacon of, 163; bishop of, 153; cathedral, 163; chantry at, 125; prebends in, 163; prior of, 153
Lincolnshire, Pardon granted to, 397, 405; Leche of, 414; Waflyn of, 414
Lindebi, *see* Linderick
Linderick, Lindebi, near Aldfield, 373*n*
Linforth, ——, 212
Linley, Ann, 3; Nicholas, 3
Linney, Pembrokeshire, pots from, 423
Linthwaite church, 208
Linton by Balkholme, Chapel of St. Mary, chantry in, 283
Linton-in-Craven, 206
Lion, William the, King of Scotland, 352
Lisle, John de, lord of Rougemont, 146, 147, 154; Sir John de, 131; Margaret de, 131; Sir Robert de, 131
Lister, Christiana, 258; John, 368*n*; Sir John, 305*n*
Littester, William, 13
Little Pightell, 20
Little Wilbraham, cemetery at, 196

Liverpool, Alsop High School, 223, 321
Liversedge church, 208
Lockdiddy Hill, 217
Lockington, 93; church, 256; Leven, William, rector of, 256, 257
Lockton, Agnes, 263
Locktondykes, 94
Lockwood church, 208
Lodge, John, 393*n*
Lofthouse, Loftus, 382*n*, 386, 387 389*n*
Loftus, *see* Lofthouse
Lollards, 254
Londesborough, 222
London, 102, 103, 118, 142, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 197, 251, 310; Bedford House, 189, 190; Guildhall, 49; St. Mary's Hospital, 77; St. Paul's, 163; shops and houses in, 274; Whitefriars in, 276; Hadrian, cardinal of, 97; Savage of, 238
Long, Longe, Robert, 188, 190, 192
Longelay, *see* Lumley
Long holme, 20
Longley, 22, 392*n*
Longshaw, 432
Longvillers, Sir John, 147; Sir Thomas, 147
Longwood church, 209
Lord, Mr., 348
Lordenshaws, co. Northumberland, 293*n*
Lothersdale church, 209
Louth, Kendall, Thos., vicar of, 400*n*
Love, John, 22
Lovell, William, 282
Low Badger Gate, flint sites near to, 41
Low Dunsforth church, 209
Low Snowden, barrows at, 37
Lowthian, Rev. John, vicar of Kellington, 315
Lowthorp, church of, 89, chantry in, 250, 251; manor of, 250; Ingelby, John de, rector of, 250
Lowthorpe, Robert, vicar of Beverley, 252, 281; Thomas de, 149, 157*n*
Lowys, Thomas, 186
Loyd, L. C., 431
Lucius III, Pope, 6
Lumb, G. D., F.S.A., 428, 430
Lumley, Langelay, Longelay, Lungley, 372, 372*n*
Lumley, Thomas, 18, 22
Lumley Moor, Lungley, Lungle, 355*n*, 361
Lund, 244
Lungle, *see* Lumley
Lungley, *see* Lumley
Lupton, J. W., 419, 423
Lutton, John de, 263
Lychgate, 202
Lyddesdale Hall, Prestman of, 414
Lythe, 104; rector of, 103

Malesart, *see* Kirkby Malzeard
Malhamdale, 348
Mallard Grange, Malur, 372
Mallinson (archt.), 201, 202, 208, 209, 212, 214
Mallory, arms of, 377*n*; Christopher, 383*n*; family of, 373*n*, 377, 379*n*; Sir John, 383*n*; Sir William, 377*n*
Maltby, 250
Malthous, Nicholas del, 386*n*
Malur, *see* Mallard
Mancester, arms of, 375*n*; family of, 375; William de, 375*n*
Manchester, 50; British site s.w. of, 226; Shellard of, 213
Manfield church, 209
Mann, Rev. Joseph, vicar of Kellington, 315, 316
Manningham church, 209
Mansford, F. Herbert F.R.I.B.A., 118
Man's Mire, Mannesmire, 368
March, Edmund, earl of, 259
Mare, Thomas la, canon of York, 159
Markenfield, Andrew de, 355*n*, 379; Sir Thomas, 381*n*
Market Weighton, Skelfrey Park Farm, 221
Markington, church, 209; manor, 367
Marmion, John, 148; Maud, 145, 148
Marsden, co. Lancashire, manor in, 429
Marshall, Alick, 3; Matilda, 263; parish clerc of Beswyke, 414; Ralph, 99; Symon, 414
Marshland, 404*n*
Marske, Duck of, 104
Marske-in-Swaledale church, 209
Marston Moor, battle of, 193
Martiall, Dame Margaret, 32, 33
Marton Priory, 154
Marton in Burgesir, 17
Marton-in-Craven church, 209
Marton-cum-Grafton church, 209
Marvell, Andrew, 305, 306*n*
Mary Tudor, 32, 416
Masan, Robert de, 281
Masham, Masseham, 206, 209, 354, 359, 363, 389*n*, 395; church, 209, 350*n*, 354*n*, 396; manor of, 353, 354, 355*n*, 361; market cross, 110; Marshall of, 414; Myddelton of, 414; vicar of, 354*n*
Mashamshire, 353, 357
Masser, J. E. (artist), 204, 210
Maude, Mawde, Elizabeth, 31, 32
Mauleverer, Agnes, 88; Richard,

rector of Fishlake, 148; Sir Robert, 88
Mauley, arms of, 92; Elizabeth, 89; family of, 87, 92, 94, 100, 103, 430; heritage, 89; Peter de, 94; Peter, Lord, 89
Maunsell, vicar of Brayton, 401
Maupas, Henry, 279, 284
Mawde, *see* Maude
Mawer, Ric., 186
Meanwood, near Leeds, church, 209
Mekeley, *see* Mickley
Mellor (author), 216
Melmerby, Pigott of, 312
Melsonby, church, 209; Barmby, Rev. J., rector of, 209
Melton, archbishop of York, 9, 25, 155, 281, 374; John, 283
Menhow, 389*n*
Mercuragon, on Lake Maggiore, Stone and Bronze Age finds, 73
Merkenfield, *see* Markenfield
Metcalfe, family of, 374*n*; John, 393*n*
Methley, 428; church, 200, 257; Hall, 430; manor of, 428, 429; Poll Tax, 428; Hall, Archdeacon Armstrong, rector of, 428; Leeds, John de, rector of, 257
Methley, family of, 428; John de, 428
Michael Howe, Howe Hill, near Fountains, 370*n*
Micklehawe, *see* Mickley
Micklehay, *see* Mickley
Micklethwaite, 21
Mickletown, Rev. H. S. Darbyshire, incumbent of, 428
Mickley, Mekeley, Micklehawe, Micklehay, 355*n*, 361*n*, 365, 368, 369, 370, 392*n*, 394, 395*n*; church, 209; Court Leet held in, 370, 371*n*; manor of, 370, 371; Mowbrays of, 369*n*
Mickley Barrows, 370
Middilwode Sprynge, 20
Middleham, church, 209; lords of, 364*n*; rebels of, 398
Middlemore, Edward, 311*n*
Middlesmoor, 382*n*, 383*n*, 389, 392*n*; church, 209, 389, 395*n*
Middleton, 347; church at, 3, 200, 209
Middleton, Peter de, 363; William de, 363
Middleton Moor, flint site at, 41
Middleton-iuxta-Rothwell, houses in, 246
Middleton Tyas church, 209
Midhope, 111
Mikelhowe, 356
Milford, Leeds of, 258
Miller, J. (artist), 203
Millington, 222; Beck, 222; Thieve's Sty, 222
Milner, Stephen, 95, 96, 97
Milnes Bridge church, 209
Mirfield, 206
Misise, *see* Missies
Misses, *see* Missies
Missese, *see* Missies
Missies, Missese, Misise, Misses, 355*n*, 361, 392*n*
Moira, earldom of, 430
Monk Bretton, 28; Priory at, 343; Lord, 430
Monkhouse, W., 202, 203, 206, 209, 211
Montgomerie, —— (author), 218
Moore, 183; (artist), 200, 202; Sir Fred, 359
Mordaunt, Sir Lewis, 384*n*
Morehousenghouse of Bewerley, 382*n*
Moressone, John, 283
Morley, J., 195
Morpley Gate, 362*n*
Mortemer castle, 287
Mortimer, family of, 396, 431
Mortmain, Statute of, 14, 125
Morton, near Bingley, church, 209
Morton, Marjery de, 366*n*; Richard de, 366*n*; Robert, 256; Wm. le Chaumberleyn of, 366*n*
Motterbie, John, 186
Moulbray, *see* Mowbray
Mountgarret, Ireland, Baron and Viscount of, 430
Mount Pellon church, 209
Mouwath, 391
Mowbray House, 395
Mowbray, Moulbray, Mubray, Lady Anne, 353; arms of, 352; family of, 351, 352, 353, 357, 358, 359, 361*n*, 369, 372, 377, 382, 383*n*, 385, 388*n*, 389, 396, 430, 431; Lady Isabel, 353; John de, 352 353, 360*n*, 361, 362, 373, 379*n*, 381*n*, 385, 388, 389; John, Duke of Norfolk, 353; Nigel de, 366*n*, 378, 385, 387*n*; Robert, 385, 387*n*, Earl of Northumberland, 352*n*; Roger de, 351*n*, 352, 354*n*, 355, 359, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 369, 372, 378, 381*n*, 384, 385, 386, 387*n*, 388, 390, 391; Thomas, 352, 353, Duke of Norfolk, 391; William de, 351*n*, 375, 378, 385, 387
Mubray, *see* Mowbray
Mud, James, 310, 313
Mulgrave, earldom and barony of, 430; Radcliffe of, 99
Mulgrave Castle, Mauley of, 89, 94
Mulhou, Mole, Mull, 363
Müller, Sophus, 73
Mullmandel, G., 202
Mulwith, near Newby on Ure, 391
Musgrave, Nicholas, 414; Sir William, 24, 25

Musters, Mustres, Robert de, 373*n*, rector of Kirklington, 148
Mustres, *see* Musters
Myddelton, Edward, 414
Mylne feld, 20
Myres, J. N. L., F.S.A., 426
Mytholmroyd church, 209
Myton, outside Hull, leper house in manor of, 278

Naburn, chapel of, chantry in, 283
Nafferton, Salvin of, 89; Walter de, 285
Napier, Francis 7th Lord, 200*n*; Hon. Maria Margaret, 200*n*
Nappa, in Wensleydale, Metcalfes of, 374*n*
Napperton, *see* (?) Nafferton
Narrikeld, 369*n*
Naseby, battle of, 103
Nattelfold, 382*n*
Nedardale, *see* Nidderdale
Nelson, W. (artist), 210
Neresforde, *see* Skelden
Nessefeld, *see* Nessfield
Nessfield, Nessefeld, William de, 127, 128, 132, 381*n*, charter of, 128
Nesswick, 93, 98; manor of, 92
Nessyngwyk, Roger, 282
Nether Hutton, Darell, Wm., chaplain of, 263
Netheryedon, 18
Neville, Alice, 89; archbishop of York, 138, 153, 163, 238, 240, 274, 282; family of, 352, 364*n*, 369, 430, 431; Geoffrey de, 431; John de, 131*n*, lord of Raby, 367; Ralph de, 131, 154, 284; Ralph, Lord, 90; Thomas de, 157*n*
Neville's Cross, battle of, 88, 151
Newark, 142, 144, 145, 151, 153, 154; chantries in, 130, 131, 133*n*, 136, 142, 144, 145, 151, 152, 153, 154, 268*n*; church, 153; Corpus Christi Gild at, 267*n*; vicar of, 152
Newbiggin, 89, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 102; chapel of, 92, 97; manor of, 92, 93, 101, 102, 103, 104; Salvin of, 87, 88, 90, 92, 95, 99, 100
Newbigin, N. (author), 120
Newbo, near Grantham, 153; Abbey, 153, 154
Newburgh Priory, 26, 354*n*, 360*n*, 361, 365, 368, 369; Prior of, 356; Robert, prior of, 360*n*
Newby, Neweby, Robert, 243, rector of Hotonwandesley, 363
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 406; Armstrong College, 59, 77, 78; Hancock Museum, 77
Newclose, 20
Newclosehede, 20
Neweby, *see* Newby
Newerk, Nicholas de, 281
Newhouse, 589
Newmarch, Adam de, 430; family of, 430
Newport, William, 259, canon of York, rector of Bishopwearmouth, rector of Spofforth, 149, 158, 161
Newstead, Priory of, 147
Newton, near Nidd, manor of, 373*n*
Newton, Walter de, vicar of Kirkby Moorside, 263
Nicholfal, 372
Nicholson, executed at Hull, 304*n*
Nickson, Thomas, 181
Nidd, church, 209; Hall, 430; river, 176, 357*n*, 382*n*, 384, 387, 388, 389*n*, 390; valley, 351; Baron Mountgarret of, 430
Nidderdale, Nedardale, 348, 349, 357, 362, 363, 367, 383*n*, 385, 386, 387, 392, 393*n*, 394; chase of, 349, 351, 353, 357, 359, 380, 381*n*; Forest of, 380, 388, 389; lead mines, 386; Todde of, 388
Nidderhou, 389*n*
Nonewick, *see* Nunwick
Nonnewode, 20
Nonwick, *see* Nunwick
Norfolk, Ravenser, Richard, archdeacon of, 163
Norfolk, Duke of, 301*n*, 303, 396, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 407, 409, 410, 411, 415, 416; family of, 430; Mowbray, John, 4th Duke of, 353
Norman, Margaret, 429
Normanholme, 20
Normanville, Brian de, 15
Norsemen, The, 351*n*
Northall, near Leeds, Folkingham of, 312
Northallerton, Thornley of, 119
Northampton, family of, 430
Northburton, *see* Cherry Burton
Northcloses, Elsley of, 394*n*
Northcroft in Hawksworth, 14, 17
Northern Rising, The, 400
Northowram, Baxter of 236
Northumberland, 405, 411; Duke of, 430; Earl of, 301*n*, 374*n*; Henry, Earl of, 381*n*; Mowbray, Robert de, Earl of, 352*n*; Percy, Henry, Earl of, 149, 157, 245; family of, 430
Northwaite, Norwick Pasture, 362*n*
Northwestfeld or Oxeclose, 20
Norton, Roman finds from, 427
Norton, family of, 360*n*, 373*n*, 386; John, 373; Richard, 352, 373*n*
Norton-le-Clay church, 209
Norton Conyers, Norton of, 373*n*
Norwell Palacehall, 164
Nostell, Priory of St. Oswald, 24, 275

Notewyth, *see* Nutwith
Nottingham, 402; St. Mary's church, 144; tenements in, 248
Nottinghamshire, chantries in, 122, 237
Notyngham, John de, 284
Nova Scotia, 193
Nunewode leys, 20
Nunkeeling, nunnery at, 26
Nunnespies, 16
Nunns, R., 321
Nunwick, Nonewick, Nonwick, Robert de, 356, 365; Roger de, 355*n*; Nunwick of, 377*n*
Nuttle, Hugh de, rector of Halsham, 284
Nutwith, Notewyth, Common, 364
Nutwith Edge, 357*n*

Ogden, Jas. R., 121
Oglethorpe in Bramham, 2
Oglethorpe, Oglethorp, Eleanor, 2; John, 2; Nicholas, 2; Robert, 2
Oiseller, Robert de, 375*n*
Oldenburg, disc wheel near, 73
Oliver, Rev. William, vicar of Leeds, 199
O'Neil, St. John, 321
Orm, a King's thane, 365
Ornaments, Romano-British, 170, 324, 337
Osborne, George, 306*n*
Ossett, church, 209; cross, 209
Ossett, South, church, 209
Osulf, 428
Otley, Ottelay, 45, 46, 47, 204, 210, 235, 290, 291; church, 200, 210; Linley of, 3; sandbeds near, 35; Wood of, 9
Otley, Ottelay, Adam de, 15; Custancia de, 15; Helias de, 15; Roger de, 15
Ottelay, *see* Otley
Oulton, church, 210; house in, 246
Ouseburn Magna church, 210
Ouseburn Parva church, 210
Ouslet Plantation, 45
Oxeclose, *see* Northwestfeld
Oxeleyes, 372
Oxenhope church, 210
Oxford, Trinity College, 414*n*
Oxley, Judith, 369
Oxton, 249
Oyselour, Alan le, 356

Paddock church, 210
Padside Beck, "Monk Wall" near, 357*n*
Pagram, M. (artist), 205
Painsthorpe Wold, 222
Palliser, Thomas, 186
Panhale—Scakelthorp, Thomas de, rector of, 28
Pannal church, 210
Parishe, Parys, monk of Salley, 414
Parisii, Invasion of the, 328
Parkelathe, manor of, 152
Parker, Colonel John, 118, 348
Parkinson, Edmund, 186
Park Stile, near Grassington, Grass Wood near, 166, 171
Parkynson, Margaret, 30
Parris, E. T. (artist), 212
Parsons, Rev. Daniel, 176*n*
Parys, Parishe, monk of Salley, 414
Patefyn, Patefyn, Elizabeth, 10, 11, 16; Richard, 363*n*; Thomas, 10
Pateley Bridge, 360*n*, 380*n*, 390; church, 210; Collins of, 348
Patrick Brompton, Elsley of, 394*n*
Paytefyn, *see* Patefyn
Peaseholm, 263
Peate, Iorwerth C., 75
Pedley, ——, 427
Penhill, Pennel, Wensleydale, 363; chapel of, 363, 368
Penistone, 111; church, 210
Pennel, *see* Penhill
Pennines, Roman road system of the, 427
Penygent, Giants' graves, 318, 343
Percy, arms of, 374*n*; family of, 186, 302, 373, 374, 375, 377; Henry de, 87, 148, 149, 157, 158, 374; Sir Henry de, 88; Sir Richard, 243; Walter of, 17; William, 243, 373, 374
Perkin & Backhouse (archts.), 209
Perkyn, William, 153
Perotts, John, 262
Pese flatte, 20
Petersen, Jan, 197, 198
Petit, E. G. (artist), 202; Rev. John, 211
Peverel, John, 131
Pexsall, Ralph, 408*n*
Philippa, Queen, 127, 132, 135, 160, 277, 285
Phillips (author), 218, 219
Physick, W. (artist), 205
Pickering, 347; castle, chantry in, 252, 253, 347; hospital of St. Nicholas, 253, 347; manor of, 93; road to Thirsk, 419; Royal Forest and Honour of, 94; Vale of, 227
Pickering, family of, 389; John, 262, rector of St. Mary, Castlegate, York, 261; Sir Thomas, Abbot of Whitby, 91
Piercebridge, 226
Pierowall, Orkneys, Viking cemetery at, 198
Pigot, Pigott, family of, 312*n*, 374, 375; Sir Randall, 374; Thomas, 312

Pilgrimage of Grace, 9, 95, 298, 398, 415*n*, 416, 417; Royal Pardons for the, 397–417
Piper Garth, 362*n*
Plantaganet, family of, 352, 396; Geoffrey, 352
Plennell, Plennil, W., 206, 208
Plumpton, Hall, 374*n*; Plumptons of, 374
Plumpton, arms of, 374*n*; Alice de, 374*n*; deeds of, 7; family of, 7, 10, 11, 13, 16, 374, 375, 376; Nigel, 7, 11, 14, 17; Sir Robert, 374*n*; William de, 162, 363, 364, 374*n*
Pocklington, 89
Poictou, Mauley of, 92
Pole, Cardinal, 32; Edmund de la, 279*n*; Michael de la, earl of Suffolk, 278, 279*n*; Sir Richard de la, 251
Pontefract, 245, 400, 404; Chapel on the Hill, chantry in, 245; College of the Trinities at, 146*n*; honour of, 430; Hospital at, 273; Hospital of St. Nicholas, 428, Towton, Thos., Master of, 428; Knolles' Almshouses at, 133, 275; Lascy's Honour of, 372*n*; Old Hall, 110; Priory, 246; Priory church, 245; Poll Tax, 428; St. Helen's, chantry in, 282
Pontefract, Ella, 229
Pont l' Evêque, Roger de, archbishop of York, 352
Poole church, 210
Pope, Thomas, 414
Popleton, Nidderdale, 380*n*, 386*n*, 387
Popleton, William de, 378
Porter, Emma, 18
Pottery—Iron Age, 327, 328; Roman, 84, 85, 166, 169, 170, 216, 220, 221, 223, 224, 227, 323, 324, 325, 327, 331, 333; Saxon, 221
Poulton, Mary, 98; Richard, 98
Powell, Messrs., 195
Power, Eileen, 26
Prehistoric, cup and ring marked rocks, 110, 120, 121, 291–297; Dikes, 110; flints, 36, 40–48, 116, 172, 173, 348; Giants' graves, 318, 343; stone circle, 110; tumuli, 110, 343
Prestman, John, 414; William, 414
Preston in Holderness, church, chantry in, 284; Roos of, 310, 313
Preston, Alice, 264; John, 264; W., 216
Price, Aprice, Apric, Sir John, 301, 302, 302*n*, 305, 307
Priestley, Mr., 348
Procter, *see* Proctor
Proctor, Procter, E. K. (artist), 205; John, 311; Sir Stephen, 386; Thomas, 310, 311, 393*n*
Pry, 363*n*
Pudsay, Elizabeth, 8, 9, 31
Pudsey, church, 200, 210; Radcliffe Lane, 210
Puiset, Hugh du, bishop of Durham, 352
Pulleyne, Pulleyn, ——, of Leeds, 209; Francis, 186; John, 186; Samuel, 186
Pullowe, William, 282
Purton, Adam de, 125
Pye. J., 210
Pygott, Pygot, John, 360*n*; Ralph, 367, 381*n*; Richard, 381*n*

Queensbury church, 205
Queldale, Rotherfield of, 428
Quenby, John, 264
Quixley, Thomas de, 239

Raby, Neville of, 90, 367, 431
Rada, son of Alfred, 373*n*
Radcliffe, Charles, 100; William, 99
Raistrick, Dr. Arthur, 43, 47, 59, 78, 166, 169, 229, 235, 318, 348
Rammesgill, *see* Ramsgill
Ramsgill, Rammesgill, 349*n*, 382*n*, 388, 389, 392*n*; church, 210, 395*n*
Rathmell church, 210
Raudon, Alice de, 15
Raven, Rev. T. Milville, vicar of Crakehall, 201, 202, 209, 210, 211, 212
Ravenscar, cup and ring stone on Stoup Brow Moor, 120
Ravenser, Emma, 244; John de, 163, 285; Richard, 133, 135, 136, 138, 155, 163, 164, 244, 279*n*, 284, 285; Robert, 244
Ravensthorpe, manor of, 366
Rawcliffe, Rockliff, Bockliff, par. Snaith, Boynton of, 310, 312
Rawdon, 15, 21, 22; church, 200, 210; Oglethorpes of, 2
Rawdon, John, Lord, 430; Rawdons of, 430
Rawson, Miss, of Nidd Hall, 430
Raygill, 388
Raynes, Anne, 103; John, 103
Redmire church, 210
Redshaw, Richard, 182, 183, 184, 195
Reinhou, 363
Religious Houses—*see* Alnwick, Basedale, Belvoir, Bolton, Bolton-in-Craven, Byland, Clementhorpe, Ellerton, Esholt, Fountains, Grosmont, Guisborough, Haltemprice, Hampole, Jervaulx, Keldholme, Kirkham, Kirklees, Kirkstall, Lenton, Marton, Monk Bretton, Newbo, Newburgh, Newstead, Nostell,

Nunkeeling, Rievaulx, Rufford, Salley, Sinningthwaite, Swine, Thurgarton, Warter, Welbeck, Worksop
Relph, Dr. Arthur, 216
Retford, East, 140, 142, 242; chantry at, 143; church of St. Swithin, 261; Usher of, 260
Rey Cross, cross at, 343
Rhine, river, 198
Rhodes, John (artist), 200; Joseph (artist), 200
Ribald, brother of Count Alan, 364
Ribblehead, 217
Ribblesdale, Upper, 348
Ribston, Goodrick of, 363; Roman finds from, 427
Richard II, 251, 276, 283; III, 12, 93
Richborough, ornaments from, 337
Richmond, Rychemund, 229, 235, 383*n*, 408; archdeaconry, 141; church, 210; Grey Friars Tower, 210; Honour of, 353, 354; manor of, 300; rebels of, 398; Cherleton, Humphrey de, archdeacon of, 264; Dalby, Thomas de, archdeacon of, 161
Richmond, Ian A., F.S.A., 80, 226, 327, 426; John de, 264; Peter de, 381*n*
Richmondshire, manors in, 385*n*; rebellion in, 306
Riddlesden church, 210
Ridley Causeway, 391*n*
Rievaulx, Abbey of, 17, 229, 251; Abbot of, 382*n*
Riffa Wood, flint site near, 46
Riggeton, *see* Rigton
Righton, 92
Rigton, Riggeton, 355*n*; church, 210
Riley, Marjorie A., B.A., 122, 237, 347
Rilston church, 210
Ripley, 385; church, 210; market at, 192; Inglebys of, 384
Ripon, 145, 212, 213, 249, 260, 348, 349, 350, 359, 369, 371, 392, 395; Borough Court of, 355*n*; burgage houses in, 377*n*; cathedral, 126, 138, 139, 140, 161, 165, 211, 244, 264, 364, 375*n*, 383; chantry at, 125, 126, 138, 145, 155, 161, 162; chapter of, 126, 245, 354, 369, 371, 377, 379, 380*n*; churches, 211; diocese of, 199; Episcopal Palace, 199, 210; Gild at, 272; Gild of Our Lady, St. Wilfred and All Saints, 271; Hospital of St. John, 378; Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, 378, 391*n*; Hospital of St. Nicholas, 280*n*; Lady Church in Stamergate, chantry in, 244; Liberty, 359, 369, 376, 385, 390; Liberty of St. Wilfred, 354; manor of, 359, 360, 374*n*, 376, 377*n*, 381*n*, 390; St. Agnesgate, 378*n*; Stammergate, 378*n*; Stanbrigate in, 258, 264; Tavener of, 264; Thorpe Prebend House in, 367*n*; Wakeman's House Museum at, 357; archbishop of, 128; Dawsons of, 376*n*; Langdale of, 211; 1st Marquess of, 395; Sherwood of, 161
Robertson, John, 282
Robin Hood's Bay, cup and ring stones from, 121
Robinson, John, 393*n*; W. R. (artist), 200
Robson, H., 321, 323
Rockliff, *see* Rawcliffe
Roecliffe church, 211
Rogergate, 369*n*
Rogers, William, 304, 308, 408
Rokeby church, 211
Rokeley, Robert de, 261
Rolleston, Dorothy, 312; James, 312; Lionel, 312
Romaldkirk church, 211
Roman remains—Camps, 79, 110, 166, 218, 222, 223, 343; finds, 427; Forts, 110, 224; Gravel pits, 224; Roads, 216, 217, 221, 222, 227, 343, 427; Sites, 170, 215, 216, 219; Villas, 320, 343, 427; *see also* Coins, Ornaments, Pottery
Romans, Rev. Thomas, 219, 427
Romesden, William, 22
Ronaldshay, North (Orkneys), Viking cemetery on, 198
Rooke, W. J. E. (artist), 201
Rooks, Richard, 21
Roos, Ros, Ross, Rosse, Francis, 99; George, 313; Margaret, 88; Richard, 310, 313; Robert, 99, 367; Robert, Lord, of Wark, 88; Sir Robert de, 259; Sir Thomas, 163; Sir William, 368*n*
Ros, *see* Roos
Rosen, family of, 368*n*
Rothbury, co. Northumberland, 293*n*
Rotheham, archbishop of York, 157*n*
Rotherfield, Adam de, 428; Grey of, 148
Rotherham, 235; Gild of the Holy Cross at, 268; Roman Ridge (Roman road), 343
Rothwell, church, 200, 211; tenements in, 246; Bell, John, vicar of, 211
Roucliff, near York, 160
Rouclyff, John, 277; Sir Robert de, 262
Rougemont—Lisle, John de, lord of, 146
Roundell, family of, 180

Roundhay church, 200, 211
Routhmire, 365
Rowlston, Lynell, 310
Roxby, Cholmley of, 98
Royte, Thomas, 22
Rudston—coins from, 338; excavations at, 426, 427; monolith at, 110; ornaments from, 337; pottery from, 331–335, 422; Roman villa at, 81, 223, 320–338; Romano-British work at, 79
Rufford, Abbey, 154; Abbot and covent of, 152, 248
Rumbalds Moor, 291, 297; flint site on, 43, 45
Russell, Sir John, 404; Lady Margaret, 190; William, 355*n*
Ruth-hau, 365
Ruthven, General, 178
Rutland, Dukes of, 388*n*, 432; Earl of, 253
Rychemund, *see* Richmond
Ryllington, Robert, 243

Sackville, Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, 311*n*
Saddlewick, stone tenter posts in, 1
Saddleworth, Castle Shaw, Roman Fort, 110
St. Eustachio, Jordan, cardinal of, 158
St. William, Shrine of, 229
Salisbury, chantry priests at, 134; Waltham, John, bishop of, 253
Salley, Abbey gateway, 110; monkes of, 414
Salley, William de, 276
Salvayne, *see* Salvin
Salvin, le Silvan, Salvayne, Agnes, 88; Alice, 88, 90; Anne, 90, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103; arms of, 92; Barbara, 99; Catherine, 97; Dorothy, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103; Edward, 98; Elinor, Eleanor, 98, 99, 100, 101; Elizabeth, 89, 90, 93, 94, 98; family of, 87, 90, 92, 94, 97, 99, 104; Frances, 98, 99; Francis, 98, 102; Sir Francis, 98; George, 89, 94, 97, 98, 99; Gerald, 87, 88; Sir Gerald, 88; Isabella, 99, 100; Jane, 98, 99; Joan, 89, 90, 92, 93, 98; John, 88, 89, 90, 94, 98, 99, 102; Sir John, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93; Margaret, 88, 90, 91, 97, 98; Margery, 94; Marmaduke, 102, 103; Mary, 93, 98, 99, 102, 103; Mathew, 98; Peter, 90; Ralph, 93, 95, 98, 99, 100; Sir Ralph, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98; Richard, 88; Robert, 87, 88, 90; Robert [Graves], 98; Sybil, 90; Thomas, 90, 91, 93, 98, 102, 103, 104; Ursula, 98, 102; William, 90, 91, 92, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
Sandal Magna church, 211
Sandale, John de, parson of Langeton, 15
Sanderson, Christopher, vicar of Bramham, 3; Richard, 367
Sandford, William, 251
Sandhall, manor of, 87
Sands, Harold, 287
Sandwald, 369*n*
Santon, Richard, 283; William, 238
Savage (Inspector), 419, 423; William, 238, 239
Saville, Sir John, 141*n*, 261
Sawley, church, 211; manor of, 377*n*; Nortons of, 373*n*
Saxton church, 200
Scakelthorp, Thomas de, rector of Panhale, 28
Scarborough, 96, 97, 242, 299*n*, 303*n*; Castle, 286–288, Constable of, 95; chantry at, 140, 142; St. Mary's church, 261, 263, chantries in, 243, 283; St. Mary Magdalene, "le Charnell," chantry in, 243, 283; tenements in, 243; Bendbow, Henry, vicar of, 283; Folk, John, vicar of, 284; Wawan of, 261
Scar Street, Grassington, 174
Scarthingwell, Hammond of, 99
Scawsby, Scausby, in Brodsworth, Vicars of, 310, 312
Scheldene, *see* Skelden
Schupton, *see* Shipton
Scotherskelf, John de, 126
Scotland, William the Lion, King of, 352
Scott, Scot, J., 321; Sir John, 261; Leonard, 3; Susanna, 3
Scottish Marches, 95, 98, 149
Scotton, 127, 130, 136, 145, 154; chantry at, 127, 128, 129, 132, 141; Morton of, 366*n*
Scotton, William de, 139
Scout Head, 1
Scriven, Screven, 180, 376; Henry de, 376*n*; Johanna de, 376*n*; Slingsby of, 376*n*, 379; Thomas de, 366*n*
Scrope, Sir Richard, 259; archbishop of York, 123, 141*n*, 245, 254, 280, 352; Richard le, 149, 150, 151; William, execution of, 229
Scruton church, 211
Sculthorp, near Walsingham, church of, 276; manor of, 274*n*
Seacroft church, 200, 211
Seamer, 398; hoard of axes, 117
Sedbergh, 203; church, 211
Segrave, family of, 352
Seine, river, 387*n*
Selby, Agnes, 261; William de, 242

Serjeantson, J. (artist), 202
Settle, 205; church, 212
Settle Cave, finds at, 169, 170
Sevenhous, John de, 281
Sewerby, Seuerby, near Bridlington, manor of, 313; Carliel of, 310, 313
Shadwell church, 212
Sharow church, 212
Shaw, Thos. (archt.), 204
Sheffield, 111, 344, 432; Cathedral, 3; City Library, 111, 432; Planting Company, 432; University, 108
Shelf church, 212
Shellard, E. H., 213
Shenerhowe, East, *alias* Flathow, 100
Shepeclose, *see* Farrewestfeld
Shepley church, 212
Sheppard, T., 221
Sherborne, co. Gloucester, Dutton of, 98
Sherburn, 260
Sherburn, Robert, 162*n*
Sherburn-in-Elmet, church, 200; manor of, 157; Manor Garth, Rest Park, 110
Sheriff Hutton, 131, 136; chantry at, 154; manor of, 136
Sherwood, John, 161, 162
Shipton, Schupton, Shupton, Shypton, Peter de, 355*n*, 379; Richard de, 363; Robert de, 363
Shirley Pool, 79
Shirthwayt, 93
Shrewsbury, earl of, 401, 407
Shupton, *see* Shipton
Shuttleworth, Richard, 431
Shypton, *see* Shipton
Sibelle, John, priest, 152
Sicklinghall, Robert of, 368
Siggesworth, *see* Sigsworth
Sigsforth, 381*n*
Sigsworth, Siggesworth, 382*n*, 386, 392*n*
Silkstone church, 212
Silvan, *see* Salvin
Singelston, Nicholas, 164; Sir Thomas, 164
Sinningthwaite, 5, 6, 13; nunnery at, 26, 27, prioress of, 5
Sisset church, 212
Sixtus iv, Pope, 93
Skeeby chapel, 212
Skelden, Scheldene, Skelding, Knarford, Kenarsforde, Neresforde, 355*n*, 360, 390*n*, 392*n*
Skelden, High, 387
Skelden Head, 390
Skelding, *see* Skelden
Skell, river, 357*n*
Skelton church, 212
Skelton, John de, 258; Abbot of Whitby, 90
Skinner, Skynner, John, 311*n*; Vincent, 311
Skipton, 179, 235, 402; church, 212; Craven Museum, 167, 171; excavations at, 427; Fair, 402
Skipton-Thorpe Gravel pit, Roman finds from, 427
Skirbeck, Skirbec, 369*n*; Hall, 369*n*
Skirlaw, Walter, bishop of Durham, 164
Skoles, Wm., 23
Slaidburn, 204
Slater, Thomas, 186
Sleights, "Woodlands," stone fonts at, 92; "Woodlands," Yeoman family of, 104
Sleningford, Slenningforth, 355*n*, 357, 369*n*, 378*n*, 383*n*, 391; Hall, 369*n*; Mowbrays of, 369*n*
Slenningforth, *see* Sleningford
Slingsby, Agnes, 375*n*, 376; arms of, 376*n*; family of, 376; Francis, 176, 181, 183, 184, 192, 193; Henry, 175, 176, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194; Sir Henry, 178, 179, 180, 181, 193, 194; Joan de, 379; Johanna, 376*n*; John, 374*n*, 375*n*, 376; Major J. W., 195; Margaret, 376*n*; Peter, 176; William, 179, 180, 194, 376*n*, 379
Smallwood, Sir John, rector of Bainton, 92
Smeaton church, 212
Smelthouse in Hartwith, 386
Smetheley, Anthony, 304*n*, 305*n*; John, 305*n*; Richard, 304, 305*n*, 308
Smith, Abraham, 393*n*; A. H., 229; John, 186; Reginald A., 423; Thomas, 393*n*; William, 21
Smithson, Hugh, 430
Smythe, Dr. J. A., 78
Snaith, 312
Snape, 367; Hutton of, 401
Sneton, Richard, 99
Snowden, Snowdon, Low, 292
Snowden, Snowdon, Carr, 293, 295, 297
Snowden, Snowdon, Craggs, 293; flint site near, 39
Snowden, Snowdon, Moor, 291; flint site near, 37
Snowdon, S. (artist), 203
Solloway, Canon, 105
Somerset, Duke of, 398; Protector, 416
Southelme, *see* Holme, South
South Sea Bubble, 377*n*
Southwell, 249; cathedral, 130, 134, 137, 139, 140, 151, 165, 247; chantry at, 125, 131, 155, 161, 164, 281

Sowerby, church, 212; Pudding Pie Hill tumulus, 343
Sowerby Bridge, Kendall of, 339
Spain, invasion by, 309
Spaldington, Dawson of, 367*n*
Sparowe, William, 282
Speed (historian), 405
Speight, E. E., 166; H., 229, 382, 390, 393*n*
Spelman (antiquary), 23
Spennithorne, church, 212; Fitz Randolph of, 364; Rev. E. Wyvill, rector of, 212
Spitalmires (field-name), 347
Spofforth, church, 212; Newport, William, rector of, 149, 158; Woderowe, William de, rector of, 149, 158
Spridlington, co. Lincs., manor of, 111
Sprotborough, church, chantry in, 251; hospital of St. Edmund, 251
Stainburn church, 212
Stainforth, church, 212; Ulfkill cross base, 110
Stainley, North, 391; church, 212
Stainley, South, 373*n*; church, 212
Stainmoor, Staynmore, 360
Staintondale, 95; Burnt How (tumulus), 110; Raven Hill, 110; Springfield Farm (tumulus), 110, 343
Staintondale Moor—Beacon Howes (tumuli), 110; Double Dike, 110; Edlington Green Dike, 110
Stakesby, Cockerell of, 100
Stakkclose, 20
Stallingbusk church, 212
Stanfield, J. A., 321
Stanford, Richard, 248
Stanley, near Wakefield, church, 212
Stanley, Thomas, earl of Derby, 353
Stanwell, R. H., 223, 321
Stanwick in Richmondshire, church, 212; Smithson of, 430
Staple at Calais, Yorke, Sir Richard, mayor of, 382*n*
Stapleton, Stapylton (author), 10; Brian, 186; Miles de, 128
Stapylton, *see* Stapleton
Star Chamber, court of, 95, 96, 383*n*
Starre, William, 367
Startforth church, 212
Staveley church, 212
Staveley, family of, 351*n*; Ninian, 410*n*, 414*n*, 415
Stayngate, Emma, 160; Joan, 160; John (sadler), 159, 160
Staynmore, *see* Stainmoor
Stean, 388, 389*n*
Steel, Arthur, M.Sc., 77
Steer, K. A., 59, 81, 222, 321, 426, 427
Stene, John del, 388*n*
Stenningforth, 355
Stenton, E. Lothian—Bronze Age implement from Mieklerigg, 116
Stephen, Dom., curate of Whitby, 90, 91
Stillingfleet, chantry at, 283
Stittenham, William de, 244
Stiveton, Robert de, 372
Stock Beck, 360
Stodeley, *see* Studley
Stodley, *see* Studley
Stokes, Miss, 431
Stokesley, 140, 250; church, chantry in, 250
Stokesley, William de, 250
Stone Age, 73; causeways on Neolithic sites, 65; flint sites, 35–48; human skull, 76; implements, 78, 116, 117
Stonebeck Down, 381, 387, 389
Stonebeck Up, 381, 389
Stoneferry, 89
Stonehenge, beaker from, 432
Stonehouse oxgang, 18, 21
Stoneygate, 391*n*
Stoop Hill, 295
Stoup Brow Moor, Ravenscar, cup and ring stone on, 120
Strafford, Wentworths, earls of, 430
Strangford, 14, 17
Strangilfrith, 20
Strickland, Katherine, 9; Walter, 8
Studley, Stodley, Agnes de, 356, 375*n*, 376; arms of, 375*n*; family of, 375, 376; John de, 356, 375; Richard, 375*n*; Roger de, 375*n*; William de, 368*n*, 375*n*
Studley Magna, Stodley Roger, in Ripon, 355*n*, 356, 357, 361*n*, 372, 374*n*, 375, 376, 377*n*, 378, 387, 392*n*; Chapel of St. Leonard, 378*n*; manor in, 359, 373, 374, 375; mill of, 378; Ripon Chapter at, 354; Aislabie of, 394; Slingsby of, 376*n*, 379; Talpe of, 379*n*; Tempest of, 377*n*; Wollore, David de, prebendary of, 126
Studley, "Neither," manor of, 374
Studley, North, 374; manor of, 375; Mancester of, 375*n*
Studley Parva, 374
Studley Royal, 377*n*
Stuteville, Robert de, 351, 431; William de, 351*n*
Suatone, *see* Swetton
Suffolk, Duke of, 399, 404, 405; Pole, Michael de la, Earl of, 278
Surflete, Simon, 153, 268*n*
Surtees, Rev. Scott F. (author), 57, 70
Sutton, 391
Sutton, Hugh, 282; Matilda, 282; Nicholas, 282; William de, 281

Sutton Bank, near Thirsk—beaker from, 423; bronze age burial at, 419–424; skeleton from, 424
Sutton Common—earthworks at, 57–80; stone implements found at, 75, 76; Lambert of, 59
Sutton Courtenay, 80
Sutton-on-Hill, tumuli, 343
Sutton-in-Holderness, 89
Sutton Passeys, chapel of, chantry in, 248, 249
Swale, John, 381*n*
Swanland, 156; Nicholas, 282
Sweetside, near Grassington, 166, 168, 169
Swetemouth, Robert, 156, 237, 238*n*; William, 237
Sweton, *see* Swetton
Swetton, Sweton, Suatone, 355*n*, 356, 361, 392*n*
Swillington church, 200
Swine, nunnery at, 26
Swinflet, Thomas de, 260
Swinnithwaite, Wensleydale, chapel near, 363*n*
Swinton, Swynton, 364; Thomas de, 283
Swynescliffe (Cliff Grange), 390
Swynton, *see* Swinton
Syke, 386
Symeon, Simon, 245, 246
Syther, John de, 261, 263

Tadcaster, chantry at, 129*n*, 135*n*, 245, 282; parish church, 129; Roman coffin found at, 219
Tait, A. F., 202
Talbot, Edward, 103; Mary, 103
Talpe, William, 379*n*
Tamworth, John, 24
Tanckard, Thomas, 186
Tanfield, 145; church, 148; Maud Marmion's chantry at, 136, 148
Tanfield, Adam de, rector of Wintringham, 148
Tanfield, West, 148, 365*n*; church, chantry in, 283
Tankersley, 432; Park, 432; Herle, John, rector of, 141*n*
Tankred, William, 367
Tanshelf, Rolleston of, 312
Tate, E. R., 105
Tatefield Hall, 45; Museum at, 117
Tavener, Alice, 264; John, 264
Taylor, Tayllor, ——, 311; Dr. H., 420, 421, 422; T., 208
Tempest, family of, 377, 379*n*; Richard, 377; Sir Richard, 149
Templars, The, 363, 373, 384, 385
Tetlow (author), 315
Thackray, Christopher, 98; Margaret, 98
Thatcher, Walter the, 364
Thievesgul or Calfgill, in Sutton, 392
Thirkill, T., 350
Thirlby, 394*n*
Thirsk, Tresk, Treske, 351*n*, 366*n*, 394; barony of, 351, 359; bronze age burial near, 419; castle of, 352, 359; manor at, 352; road to Pickering, 419; Barker of, 263
Thompson, 181; Edward, 23; Prof. Hamilton, 123, 235; Henry, 11, 19, 20
Thomson, vicar of Burgh, 410*n*, 415
Thoresby, archbishop of York, 126, 131*n*, 138, 144, 147, 157, 158, 238, 245, 248, 250, 281; family of, 351*n*; Ralph, 11, 12; Richard, 12
Thornaby, Roman finds from, 427
Thornborough, 365*n*
Thorne, near Doncaster, 252; chantry at, 252; John de, 252; Richard de, 252
Thorneholme, John, 118
Thorner, 212; church, 200, 212
Thornes, near Wakefield, church, 212
Thornhill church, 212
Thornley, Hubert G., 119, 423
Thornton, Alan de, 263; H., 59
Thornton Abbey, co. Lincs., 311*n*
Thornton Beck, " Monk Wall " near, 357*n*
Thornton with Bishopside, 390
Thornton College, 311*n*
Thornton-in-Craven church, 213
Thornton-le-Dale, pottery from, 238, 333; Roman finds from, 427
Thornton-in-Lonsdale church, 213
Thornton Steward church, 213
Thornton Watlass, church, 213; Gospel Hill tumulus, 343
Thorp Arch, Oglethorp of, 2
Thorp-le-Street, Shipton, gravel pit near, 224
Thorpe, 386
Thorpe, Thorp, Adam de, canon of York, 281, 284; Aikil de, 363; Richard de, 364; Thomas de, 245; Sir William, 247
Thorpe Audlin, 372*n*
Thorpe-by-Newark church of St. Lawrence, chantry at, 247
Thorpe Salvin, church, chantry in, 251; house in, 251; Salvin of, 98
Thorpe-by-Scotton, 129
Thorpe by Wainfleet, Skinner of, 311*n*
Throlam, pottery from, 331
Throstle Hill, 387*n*
Thurgarton, Priory of, 154; prior of, 152
Thurland Castle, Girlington of, 100
Thwaite House, 386
Thwaites, Henry, 92

Tickell (historian), 301
Tickhill, chapel of Holy Trinity, 124; honour of, 430; monuments at, 317
Tiddeswell, *see* Tiddswell
Tiddswell, Tiddeswell, John, 22; Robert, 21, 22
Tinchebrai, 351
Tinghocroft, 369*n*
Tison, Cuthbert, 384
Titlot, Robert, 258; William, 258
Tocketts, Tocketts of, 98
Tocketts, Dorothy, 98; Roger, 98
Todde, William, 388
Todini, Toeni, Berenger de, 387; Ralph de, 387*n*; Robert de, 387*n*
Toeni, *see* Todini
Tomlinson, G. D. (artist), 214
Topcliffe, "Maiden Bower" castle, 110
Torphin, Dolphin, son of, 351*n*
Torre, James, 230
Towey, Francis, 100
Towneley, Bernard, 415
Towton, battle of, 11; cross-head near, 2
Towton, Thomas, vicar of Wath-on-Dearne, 429
Tranmire, 362*n*
Traprain Law, Romano-British site at, 170
Tregonwell, Dr., 302*n*
Tresk, *see* Thirsk
Treswell, 143
Trismans, 362*n*
Tunder, William, 282
Tunstalhou, 363
Tunstall church, 213
Turnham, family of, 87; heritage, 89; Johanna de, 94; Robert de, 94
Turnpike Trusts, 344
Turton, Major R. B., 347
Tutbury, Adam de, 244
Tuxford, co. Notts, 143, 145, 147; chantry in the church, 147, 148*n*, 247
Tyndale, 401

Uctred, son of Gamel, 379, 385
Ugthorpe Hall, Radcliffe of, 99
Ulfkill, Stainforth, cross base, 110
Ulleskelf, prebend in York Minster, 149, 158
Ulveswath, *see* Woolswath
Upper Austby, flint site at, 41
Upper Thong church, 213
Upton, co. Notts, church of, chantry in, 247, 248
Urban VI, Pope, bull of, 274
Ure, river, 357*n*, 370
Usher, Robert, 260
Utting, 380

Vavasour, Mauger, 186
Veillechen, Philip, 378
Vicars, Viccars, Viccard, family of, 312; Robert, 310, 312; Thomas, 312
Viccard, *see* Vicars
Viking, cemetery, 198; period, 197
Villy, Dr., 216, 427

Wacaldesheng, 382*n*
Waddington, Quintin, 321
Wade, ——, 427; Lawrence, 310, 313
Wadman, John, 143
Waflyn, William, 414
Wakebridge, William, 153; Sir William, 141*n*
Wakefield, 205, 399; Bridge Chapel, 143, 213, 253; church of, 200, 213; Diocese of, 199; Grammar School, 59; Poll Tax, 428; Higham of, 205; Kent of, 261
Walbran (historian), 376, 377, 393
Walby, Dr. Marmaduke, 415
Walden, Lord Howard de, 430
Waldsee-Aulendorff, in Wurtemberg, solid wheel from, 75
Wales, National Museum of, 75; Henry, Prince of, 180
Walescroft, 391*n*
Walker, G. B., 227
Walkingham, Alan de, 356, 366; John de, 355*n*, 356, 366, 368
Walkingham Hill, 366*n*
Wallace, 88
Waller, D. H., 227
Wallerswath, *see* Woolswath
Wall Hill, 1
Walling, Mr., 216
Waltham, John, 282, 285, bishop of Salisbury, 253
Waltheof, 351*n*
Walton, Wauton, John de, 355*n*; Nicholas, 98
Walworth, co. Durham, Hansard of, 257
Wandesford, Geoffrey, 258; John, 258; Roger, 258
Wanseye, Beatrice, 152; Richard, 152; William, 152
Wansford, E. Riding, Chapel of St. Nicholas, chantry in, 284
Ward, ——, 393*n*; arms of, 9; Christofer, 6, 11; Sir Christopher, 24, 381*n*; family of, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16; Joan, 8, 10, 11; Maud, 5, 8, 13; Nicholas, 15; Sir Nicholas, rector of Guiseley, 27; Sir Roger, 11; Simon, 5, 6, 7, 13, 27; Sir Simon, 11; William, 5, 6, 13, 16
Wardeby, Richard de, 276
Warenne, Wareyne, family of, 431; John de, 355*n*

Wareyne, *see* Warenne
Wark—Robert, Lord Ros of, 88
Warrener, John le, 375*n*
Warter, 222; Priory, 222
Washburn, flint implement site at, 47; stream, 35, 36, 291, 297
Washington, 377*n*
Wateby, Joan, 239; Richard, 239
Waterton, Lady Beatrice, 429; Cecilia, 429; Robert, 429
Wath-on-Dearne, 429; church, 429, Waterton chapel, 429; Faunceys, John, vicar of, 429; Fleming, Sir Thos. of, 429; Towton, Thos., vicar of, 429
Wath by Ripon church, 213
Wath, John de, vicar of Huddersfield, 141*n*
Watton, Priory, 302*n*; Roman finds from, 427; prior of, 92, 93
Wauton, *see* Walton
Wawan, John, 261
Ways, 362*n*
Wayte, John, 21, 22
Weeton church, 213
Weighton, 164
Welbeck, abbot of, 251
Well, church, 213, 427, chantry in, 284; grammar school at, 143; Hospital of, chantry in, 284; Roman villa, 427
Welles, Hugh de, 125; Lionel, Lord, 429; Margaret, 429
Wellowe, Peter de, rector of Almondbury, 149
Wells, college at, 140*n*
Welton, Colonel, 102
Welwick, John de, 252
Wensley, 150; church, 150, 213; College of Holy Trinity of, 150; hospital at, 150
Wensleydale, 348
Wentworth, family of, 430
Western, Squire, 7
Westmorland, 405, 411; village sites in, 169
Weston Moor, 291; Greystone Plantation, 291
Westoyver, John de, 378
Wetherby church, 213
Weton, John, vicar of Beverley, 252
Wharfe, river, 35, 36, 46, 291
Wharfedale, 167, 348; Dowkerbottom cave, 169; flint implement sites in, 35–48, 172, 174; Lower, 348
Wharfe-Washburn watershed, flint site on, 41, 46
Wheat, collection of deeds, 432; John B., 111
Wheater (author), 175
Wheatley, church of, 164
Whecher Field, 362*n*
Wheeldale, 100; beck, 100
Wheeler, Dr. R. E. M., 196, 197
Wheldrake church, chantry in, 284
Whernside, Great, 350, 389*n*; Little, 389*n*
Whettlay, John de, 257; Margaret, 258; Matilda, 258
Whitaker, Dr., 229, 318, 358, 367, 393
Whitby, 87, 90, 91, 228, 339; Abbey of, 90, 91, 98, 121, 229, Chartulary of, 91, Abbot of, 90, Skelton, Abbot of, 90, Pickering, Abbot of, 91; Cholmley of, 100; Stephen, Dom., curate of, 90, 91; Stokesley of, 250
Whitby Strand, 121
Whitcliffe, manor of, 377*n*
White, H. M., 218
Whiting, Dr. C. E., F.S.A., 57, 348, 426
Whitkirk church, 200, 213
Whitley church, 213
Whitley, Sir Edward, 222
Whitlock, Robert, 263
Whittock, N. (artist), 205
Whitwell, 227
Whitwell Hill, N.R. Yorks, Bronze age beaker from, 119, 120
Whixley church, 213
Wibsey chapel, 214
Widdale Foot, 216
Wigfull, James R. (author), 108
Wildford, pots from, 423
Wilkinson, Thomas, 305, 306*n*
Willerby, 278
William the Conqueror, 351*n*, 428
Willoughby, Hugh de, 249*n*; Sir Richard, 249*n*
Wilmot, G. F., 224
Wilsill, 390
Wilson, Willson, J. (artist), 214; Richard, 414
Wilton, 260
Wilton, Alice de, 162; Bulmer of, 97; John de, 162
Wincheslai, *see* Winksley
Winchester, Edington, William, bishop of, 251
Winkesley, *see* Winksley
Winkles, B. (artist), 211; H. (artist), 214
Winksley, Winkesley, Wincheslai, Wynkesley, Winsley, Nidderdale, 355*n*, 356, 357, 361*n*, 366*n*, 378, 379, 380, 385, 392*n*; church, 214, 380*n*; Hall at, 190; manor in, 359, 378; Ripon Chapter at, 354; Beltofts of, 379; Long of, 190
Winksley, Joan de, 379; John de, 366*n*; Thomas de, 379, arms of, 379
Winksley Woodhouse, 379; manor of, 379*n*
Winsley, *see* Winksley

Winterburn, Winterborne, 311, 311*n*
Winterscales, 217
Wintringham, Tanfield, Adam de, rector of, 148
Wistow, Radcliffe of, 100
Witton, East, church, 214
Wodehall, family of, 7; Juliana de la, prioress of Esholt, 7, 8, 27
Woderowe, William de, 149, 158
Wolds, East Yorks, 36, 48
Wollaton church, chantry in, 248, 249
Wollore, David de, 126, 161, 162; John de, 161
Wolsey, Cardinal, 416
Womme, John, 239
Wood, Woode, Agnes, 29, 31, 32; Martin, 393*n*; Thomas, 23; Walter, 9
Woodale, Horner of, 390*n*
Woodall, Lawrence, 186
Woodd, C. H. (artist), 203
Woodhall, manor of, 428
Woodhead, Dr. T. W., 111, 112, 348
Woodhouse church, 214
Woodhouse Cragg, 297; swastika-marked stone on, 43, 293
Woodmancye, William, 414
Woodward, A. M., F.S.A., 81, 321, 322, 327, 426
Woolswath, Wallerswath, Ulveswath, 391*n*
Worksop, prior of, 251
Worsborough, chapel of, 261
Worsley, N. (artist), 211
Wortelay, Elizabeth, 258
Wortley, New, church, 214
Wright, Wryght, R. P., 227; William, 186
Wrigley, Ammon, 1
Wriothesley, 401
Wroot (author), 23
Wycliffe church, 214
Wycliffe, John, 241*n*; Robert, rector of St. Cross in York, 241
Wyke church, 214
Wyloughby, Richard de, 248
Wynkeslay, *see* Winksley
Wyvill, C. (artist), 201, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214; Rev. E., rector of Spennithorne, 212*n*; Sir Marmaduke, 394*n*

Yafforth church, 214
Yarlsber Camp, earthworks, 218
Yeadon, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 23, 390; church, 214; Love of, 22
Yeadon, Yeddon, Alan de, 14, 17; Edward, 22; Gilbert, 22; Helewit de, 17; Hoda de, 17; John of, 7, 15; Richard of, 18; Sabina de, 17
Yeddon, *see* Yeadon
Yeoman, E., 201
York, 48, 52, 87, 105, 137, 142, 148, 156, 160, 164, 178, 215, 260, 277, 281, 299*n*, 313, 351*n*, 352, 355, 406, 409, 411, 426; Assize grain prices in, 51–54; Chapter of, 126, 162; Courts—Archbishop's, 96, County, 359; Painted glass, 230–232; Liberty of St. Peter, 354; Roman finds from, 77, 427; Vicars-choral at, 14
York, Gilds—Gild of St. Christopher, 272; Merchant Gild, 277
York, Religious Houses and Churches—Minster, 90, 105, 126, 140, 157–160, 165, 229, 230, 231, 232, 252, 259, 260, 280, 354*n*, chantries in, 136, 155–161, 237, 257, 281, Zouche Chapel in, 231, 238*n*, Ulleskelf prebend in, 149; St. Mary's Abbey, 229, abbot of, 251, Thomas de, 239; All Saints', North Street, 257, rector of, 242; All Saints', Pavement, 342, chantries in, 137, 240, 276; St. Cross, 277, Wycliffe, Robert, rector of, 241; St. George in Fishergate, chantry in, 282; St. Helen's, Stonegate, 135, 230, chantry in, 136, 238; St. Helen by the Walls, 263; Holy Trinity, *alias* Christchurch or curia Regis, chantries in, 241, 281; Holy Trinity in Gothrumgate, chantry of St. James, 238, rector of, 242; Holy Trinity in the King's Court, 135; St. John the Evangelist, chantry in, 239; St. John at Ousebridge End, 264, chantry in, 281; St. Martin's, Coney Street, 231, chantry in, 282; St. Martin in Micklegate, chantries in, 281, 282; St. Mary's, Bishophill Senior, 256, chantry in, 282; St. Mary in Castlegate, chantry in, 239, 240, rector of, 242; Pickering, John, rector of, 261; St. Michael-le-Belfrey, 261, 264; St. Nicholas in Micklegate, vicar of, 263; St. Olave's, 103; Parish Churches, chantries in, 139, 237; St. Peter the Little, 261, St. John's chantry in, 137, 237, St. Margaret's chantry, 137; St. Peter in the Willows, chantry in, 282; St. Sampson, 140, chantry in, 282; St. Saviour's, Wm. Frost's chantry in, 135; St. Saviour in the Marsh, chantry in, 241; St. Wilfred's, rector of, 242, Hemmyngburgh, Sir John de, rector of, 28; St. Andrewgate Maison Dieu, 278; Hospital of Isolda Akaster in North Street, 276;

Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, 278; Peter Lane Hospital, 278; St. Leonard's Hospital, 163, chantry in, 285
York, Streets and Places in—Aldewerk, 137; Awdwark, 137; Bedern, house near the, 157; Blake Street, 137; Bootham School, 227; Buildings in, 229; Castle, 87; College at, 140*n*; Garden in, 239; Gothrumgate, 137; Houses in, 159, 160, 237–240, 276; Leeman Road, 215; Leper houses, St. Andrewgate, 278; Fishergate, 278; Hestergate or Castle Mill, 278; Monkbridge, 276, 278; Library, 229; Merchants' Hall, Fossgate, 343; Micklegate, 137, 161; Micklegate Bar, 278; Monkebarre, 136; Ousebridge, 239; Property in, 238*n*; Shops, 137, 240, in Stayngate, 159, in Stonegate, 137; Walmegate, 137
York, Archbishops of—153, 354, 371, 373, 377*n*; Albert, 229; Arundel, 138; Bowet, 277*n*; Corbridge, Thos., 25; Egbert, 229; Giffard, 27; Greenfield, 9, 28; Grey, Walter de, 375*n*; Harcourt, E. V. V., 213; Kemp, 10, 25; Lee, 28, 29; Melton, 9, 25, 155, 156, 281, 374; Neville, 138, 153, 163, 238, 240, 274, 282; Pont l'Evêque, Roger de, 352; Rotheham, 157*n*; Scrope, 123, 141*n*, 245, 254, 280, 352; Thoresby, 126, 131*n*, 138, 144, 147, 148, 151, 157, 158, 238, 245, 248, 250, 281; Zouche, 123, 131*n*, 152, 155, 156, register of, 128*n*
Canons of—Barton, Henry, 245; Brugc, Walter, 259, 264; Ferriby, Wm., 428; Gill, 350; Hugate, Nicholas, 157; Mare, Thomas la, 159; Neville, Thos., 157*n*; Newport, Wm., 158; Thorpe, Adam, 281, 284; Wallore, David de, 126
Deans of — Ford, Lionel, 231; Jordan, 158, 159
Mayors of—Yorke, Sir Richard, 382*n*
Sheriffs of—368*n*, 381*n*; Hastings, Sir Ralph, 264; Salley, Wm., 276
York—Aaron the Jew of, 375*n*; Acastre of, 240; Alnewyk, goldsmith of, 160; Ampleford of, 240; Askham of, 282; Aumale, Wm. d', earl of, 288; Barneby of, 241; Blythe of, 258; Brideshall of, 263, 264, 285; Cholmley of, 100; Dalton of, 264; Douglas of, 211; Ferriby of, 161; Fouke of, 281; Grantham of, 238; Gray of, 239; Holme of, 239; Hornby of, 238; Houom of, 238; Hovyngham of, 281; Jones of, 204; Knight of, 254; Marshall of, 263; Monkhouse, W., of, 202, 203, 206, 209; Mud of, 310, 313; Perotts of, 261; Preston of, 264; Quenby of, 264; Selby of, 261; Syther of, 261; Tunder of, 282; Wade of, 310, 313; Wardeby of, 276; Wateby of, 239; Whettlay, wolman of, 257
York, Plain of, 48
York, Edmund, Duke of, 253
Yorke, arms of, 383*n*; family of, 382, 383*n*, 384; John, 389; Sir John, 383*n*, 389; May (artist), 209, 210; Sir Peter, 389; Sir Richard, 382*n*
Yorkshire, 348, 405, 411, 431; chantries in, 122, 237; monasteries in, 125; Curwen, Sir Thomas, Sheriff of, 307; Salvin, High Sheriff of, 87, 88
Yorkshire, East Riding, collectors for the, 310, 312; Roman finds in the, 427
Yorkshire, North Riding, collectors for the, 310, 313; Roman finds in the, 427; wages in, 51
Yorkshire, West Riding, churches, 199; collectors for the, 310, 311; Roman finds from, 427; wages in, 51
Yukflete, Robert de, 240
Yve, William, 22

Zouche, family of, 366*n*; register of, 128; William la, 367; William, archbishop of York, 123, 131*n*, 132, 152, 155, 156
Zugmantel, Roman fort at, 224

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